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THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH.

THE CIVILIZATION OF THE DAKHAṆ DOWN TO THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C.

BY THOMAS FOULKES, F.L.S., M.R.A.S., CHAPLAIN OF SAINT JOHN'S, BANGALORE.

IN the first article of the last volume I submitted an interpretation of Fa Hian's description of "the kingdom of the Dakshiṇa" contained in the thirty-fifth chapter of his travels, which gives ample proof, if my interpretation is correct, of the existence of a high state of material and intellectual civilization in Southern India in, and for some time before, the fourth century of the Christian era. The monuments of architecture and sculpture at Amarâvatî on the Kṛishṇa, and at Mahâmallapuram, a little to the south of Madras, afford very remarkable evidence to the same effect; and the copper-plate grants of the Pallava kings of Conjeveram, and of the kings of the neighbouring countries,. confirm and extend that evidence, and bring it within the circle of authentic history.

The outline of the history of the Dakhaṇ from that time down to modern days is clearly set down in these interesting ancient documents; and other external testimony, as it gradually increases, adds new confidence to the trust which these old deeds have won for themselves as faithful historical guides.

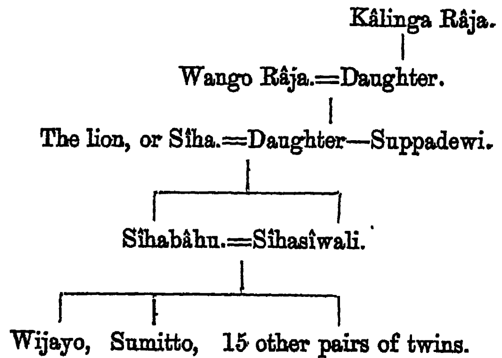
But the condition of the Dakhaṇ in the times before the Christian era remains still in great obscurity. Stray facts do exist which imply the existence of a well-organized state of things throughout the Peninsula for many ages up into that obscure time; and there is in those facts good ground for trusting that the main lines at least of the history of those times are not quite hopelessly irrecoverable. Some of the materials for the investigation of that history are already before the world, and they tell us plainly where we should seek for more; and from these materials I hope to be able to show in this paper that the material and intellectual progress of the Dakhaṇ for some centuries before the appearance of Gautama Buddha is spoken of by the most ancient authorities accessible to us as on a level with the condition of those better known parts of India whose civilization in those early times has long been well established.

In using these books as authorities for historical facts, it will, of course, be necessary to bear in mind that they are merely the best sources of original information on this subject at present available to us. Much criticism inevitably awaits them, both as regards their date and their relation to previous records, and the authenticity of some portions of their matter. They are used here simply as ancient records of still more ancient traditions which were current at the time when they received their present form; in the belief that "they were not likely to violate all probability of the past history of the Dakhaṇ in the eyes of those who first heard these epics and legends in the times when their authors lived," as I am reminded by the Editor in some suggestive remarks on this paper. Unless they are to be regarded as pure inventions,—and

this it is impossible to suppose them to be,—they contain a certain amount of historical truth available for purposes like that to which they are put by me here: and I hope I have not pressed them beyond the limit of trust which is at present due to them.

The historical books of Ceylon show that from the earliest times to which they refer, down to a modern period, a continuous and, for the most part, a friendly and intimate intercourse was kept up between that island and K â l i n g a, or the upper parts of the eastern coast of the continent of India. A somewhat similar, but for the most part hostile intercourse was also kept up with the C h o ḷ a and P â ṇ ḍ y a kingdoms, which possessed the rest of the eastern coast to the southwards. 'The Great Dynasty' of Ceylon originally sprang on the female side from the royal line of K a l i n g a;[1] and in more recent times, as Dr. Goldschmidt has shown,[2] the Simhalese were admonished in the royal inscriptions to choose their kings, on the failure of direct heirs to the throne, from the regal line of Kâlinga, on the traditionary grounds that the island of Ceylon belonged in some way to that dynasty, and that the national religion would be safe in their hands. And besides this, these books are, in the main, records of the religion of G a u t a m a B u d d h a, and they therefore deal, throughout those portions which treat of the establishment of Buddhism, with the localities which witnessed the acts of Buddha, and with the scenes on which the earliest events of his religion were transacted. It is quite natural, therefore, to turn to these books with the expectation of finding in them some allusions to the early condition of the D a k h a ṇ; and the allusions which they do contain, sometimes directly and sometimes incidentally and obscurely, to this part of India, show with unwavering uniformity, the common belief that monarchical government, and with it all that of necessity is implied in those words, was already in existence there in and before the seventh century before Christ.

The earliest historical political event connected with Ceylon which these books record is the arrival of prince V i j a y a, the founder of the 'Great Dynasty,' and his seven hundred followers, by sea from Bengal in the fifth or the sixth century before the Christian era, according to the date to be assigned to the death of Buddha: and in the chapter which describes this event there is the following reference to the kingdom of K â l i n g a:—"In the land of W a n g o, in the capital of W a n g o, there was formerly a certain Wango king. The daughter of the king of K â l i n g a was the principal queen of that monarch."[3] This verse occurs at the head of the pedigree of Vijaya, which then proceeds through the following steps:—



Vijaya landed in Ceylon "on the day that the successor of former Buddhas reclined in the arbour of the two delightful *sal* trees, to attain *nibbânam*,"[4] namely, according to *this* authority, in 543 B.C.; and therefore the Kâlinga Râja to whom this verse refers is to be placed some time about the seventh century before Christ.

Upham's versions of the sacred books of Ceylon, much condemned as translations, but of great value, in the absence of translations, as abstracts of the text and commentaries of those books, uphold the above extract from the *Mahâvamso* in the material points both of the event and the pedigree.[5]

At that time, then,—namely, some time about the sixth or seventh century before the Christian era,—this authority presents to us a king, and therefore a kingdom, in K â l i n g a; and this king of Kâlinga occupied a position among the contemporary kings of India of sufficient rank and dignity to warrant, or to induce the king of Bengal to seek the hand of his daughter in marriage, and to give her the position of his principal queen.

The additions to the text of the *Mahâvamsa*

[1] See Turnour's *Mahâvamso*, p. 43.
[2] *Ind. Antiq.* vol. VI. p. 328.
[3] Turn. *Mahâw.* chap. VI. p. 43.

[4] Turn. *Mahâw.* p. 47.
[5] See Upham's *Mahâvamso*, I. 68; *Râjaratnâcari*, II. 27; and *Râjâvali*, II. 163.

in Upham's version, which are apparently taken from the commentary, imply that this king of K â l i n g a was the successor of a line of kings who had reigned in that country before him:—"In the old time a certain princess, the daughter of the king Calingoo, one of the royal blood of the king Calingoo-Sakritty, of the country of Calingo in Dambe-dwipa, who was queen to the king Wangoo, of the country called Wangoo, brought forth a daughter to this king."[6]

The Reverend R. S. Hardy, in his *Manual of Budhism*, has translated a large number of Buddhist legends; and throughout such of these legends as relate to India there are very clear indications of a generally prevailing belief, at the time when these legends were written, that a succession of kings ruled in K â l i n g a long before the time of G a u t a m a B u d d h a; and they also contain numerous incidental proofs of the civilization of the D a k h a ṇ long before his appearance.

The following legend in Mr. Hardy's collection belongs to the second generation before Buddha, and if he was born about 560 B.C.[7] the famine in K â l i n g a to which it refers may be placed about 620 B.C.:—"In the Jambu-dwipa of a former age, the principal city of S i w i was called J a y a t u r â, in which reigned the king S a n d a or S a n j a; and his principal consort was P h u s a t î, who was previously one of the queens of the Dewa Sekra, and during four *asankyas* and a *kaplaksha* had exercised the wish to become the mother of a Budha. In due time they had a son, who was called W e s s a n t a r a, from the street in which his mother was passing at the time of his birth. This son was the Bodhisat who in the next birth but one became G o t a m a B u d h a. From the moment he was born, for he could speak thus early, he gave proof that his disposition was most charitable. When arrived at the proper age, he received in marriage M a d r î d e w î, the beautiful daughter of the king of C h e t i y a; and S a n d a delivered to them the kingdom . . . . At this time there was a famine in K â l i n g a for want of rain; but the king thereof having heard that W e s s a n t a r a had a white elephant that had the power to cause rain, sent eight of his brahmans to request it. When the messengers arrived at J a y a t u r â, it was the *poya* day, when the prince, mounted on his white elephant, went to the public alms-hall to distribute the royal bounty. The brahmans were seen by the prince, who asked them why they had come: and when they told him their errand, he expressed his regret that they had not asked his eyes, or his flesh, as he would have been equally ready to give them, and at once delivered to them the elephant, though its trappings alone were worth twenty-four lacs of treasure, saying at the same time, May I by this become Buddha!"[8]

In the sequel of this legend, which is called the *Wessantara Jâtaka*, the gift of the elephant was resented by the people of C h e d i, and prince Wessantara was, in consequence of it, driven into exile; from which, after several exhibitions of his unexampled charitable spirit, he was ultimately restored to his kingdom: the white elephant also was restored to C h e d i by the people of K â l i n g a, for the rains had fallen again, and "there was now plenty in the land;" and all the principal personages of the story were in due time born again, "and Wessantara became Gotama Buddha."[9]

The following legend of the vengeance of the gods upon K â l i n g a for the misconduct of its king, belongs to some undefined time, apparently much earlier than the time of the preceding story:—"At the time that S a r a b h a n g a B o d h i s a t was the chief of a company of ascetics, one of his followers, K i s a w a c h a, left the Giwulu forest, near the river Godâvari, where the fraternity resided, and took up his abode in a grove belonging to D a n d a k î, who reigned in the city of K h u m b â v a t î in K â l i n g a. It happened in the course of time that five hundred courtezans passed through the city in gay procession; and the people flocked in such numbers to see them that the street of the city was completely filled. The crowd was observed by the king from the upper story of his palace, and when he learnt that it was caused by the beauties of the city, he was offended that they should thus seek to captivate the people, and commanded that they should be dismissed from their office. One day, when the courtezans were walking in the royal garden, they saw the ascetic Kisawacha,

[6] Upham's *Mahâv.* I. 68.

[7] Buddha died about B.C. 480; see *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. pp. 149, 154.

[8] Hardy's *Man. Budh.* 116.

[9] *Ib.* 124.

his face covered with hair, and his beard flowing over his breast; and, as if they had been polluted by the sight of this miserable object, they called for water to wash their eyes, and spat upon the ascetic's body. Soon afterwards they were restored to their office, and concluded that this good fortune had happened to them in consequence of their having spat upon Kisawacha. About the same time the *purohita* or vizier lost his office; but he went to the courtezans and asked them by what means they had regained the king's favour; and when they told him that it was through nothing else but their having spat upon a miserable ascetic, he went to the garden and did the same. The king then remembered that he had dismissed the Brâhmaṇ without having properly inquired into his case, and commanded him to be restored; so he concluded that he also had been assisted through the insult he had shown to the ascetic. By and bye some of the provinces rebelled against the king, who collected an army to quell them. The Brâhmaṇ went to him and said that if he wished to conquer his enemies he must spit upon an ascetic who was in his garden, as it was by this means he and the courtezans had been restored to favour. The king took his advice, and went to the garden accompanied by his courtezans, all of whom spat upon the ascetic; and an order was given to the warders that no one should be admitted to the palace who had not previously done the same. A noble who heard of the indignity went to Kisawacha, cleansed his body from the filth, and gave him other garments; after which he inquired what would be the punishment of the king in consequence of the crime that had been committed. To this inquiry he replied that the *devas* were divided in opinion upon the subject: some were determined that the king alone should suffer; others that the king and the people should be punished in common; whilst others were resolved upon the entire destruction of the country. But he also informed the noble that if the king would come and ask his forgiveness, the threatened calamities would be averted. The noble therefore went to the king and made known to him what was taking place; but as he refused to listen to his advice he resigned his office; after which he again went to the ascetic, who recommended him to take all he had and go to some place at the distance of seven days' journey from the city, as it would most assuredly be destroyed. The king fought his enemies, and conquered them; and on the day on which he returned to the city it began to rain, so that the people were led to remark that he had been fortunate from the time he spat upon the ascetic. The *devas* then rained flowers, money, and golden ornaments, at which the people were still more pleased; but this was succeeded by a shower of weapons that cut their flesh; then by showers of white burning charcoal, that emitted neither smoke nor flame, which was succeeded by a fall of stones, and then by sand so fine that it could not be taken up in the hand, which continued to fall until it covered the whole country to the depth of eighty-seven cubits. The ascetic, the noble, and a certain merchant who received merit through the assistance he rendered to his mother, were the only persons saved."[10]

Of a similar character, referring to a similar undefined early time, is the following legend:—"In a former age, Nâlikera reigned in Kâliṅga, and at the same time five hundred Brâhmanical ascetics took up their abode in the forest of Himâla, where they lived upon fruits and dressed themselves in the bark of trees; but they had occasionally to visit the villages, in order to procure salt and condiments; and in the course of their wanderings they came to Kâliṅga. The people of the city gave them what they required, in return for which they said *bana;* and the citizens were so much captivated with what they heard that they requested them to remain and say *bana* in the royal garden. The king, observing a great crowd, inquired if they were going to some theatrical exhibition; but he was informed that they were going to hear *bana*, upon which he resolved that he also would be present. When the Brâhmaṇs heard that the king had arrived, they appointed one of their cleverest speakers to officiate. The *bana* was on the subject of the five sins, and the consequences of committing them were set forth, such as birth in the form of worms, beasts or *asuras*, or in hell, where the misery will have to be endured during many hundreds of thousands of years. These things were like an iron piercing the ears of the king, and he resolved that he would have his revenge. At

[10] Hardy, *Man. Budh.* p. 58.

the conclusion he invited the Brâhmaṇs to a repast at the palace; but before their arrival he commanded his servants to fill a number of vessels with filth, and cover them with plantain leaves. The Brâhmaṇs, on their way to the place of refection, said among themselves that, as they were about to receive food at the palace, it would be necessary for them to be very circumspect in their behaviour. When all were ready, the leaves were taken from the vessels, at the king's command, and the stench was most offensive; but he further insulted the Brâhmaṇs by saying, 'As much as you please you may eat, and as much as you like you can take home, as it is all provided for you alone. You derided me before the people, and this is your reward.' So saying, he ordered his ruffians to take them by the shoulders, and hurl them down the stairs, that had previously been smeared with honey and the gum of the *kumbuck* tree, so that they speedily slid to the bottom, where they were attacked by fierce dogs. A few attempted to make their escape, but they fell into pits that had been dug to entrap them, or were devoured by the dogs. Thus perished the whole of the five hundred Brâhmaṇs; but for this crime the *devas* destroyed the country by causing the nine kinds of showers to fall, until a space of sixty *yojanas* was covered with sand to the depth of eighty-seven cubits."[11]

The prevailing belief that the Dakhaṇ was civilized in very early times, which the foregoing extracts have been brought forward to illustrate, was shared by ancient Hindu authors as distinctly as by the Buddhists.

The *Purâṇas* and the great epics speak of the Dakhaṇ quite as familiarly as of the rest of India throughout the whole of the mythological as well as historical ages; and all these references to Southern India imply or assert that it was ruled by kings and organized into nations. The only exception to this is the Daṇḍakâraṇya.

The *Mahâbhârata* has comparatively little about the Dakhaṇ; but even here the kingdom of Vidarbha is quite conspicuous among the nations of ancient India for the splendour of its court, and other marks of civilized progress to be found in it. The following description of the scene of Damayantî's *svayaṁvara* and its circumstances may suffice to illustrate this:—

"Came the day of happy omen, moonday meet, and moment apt;
Bhîma to the *svayaṁvara* summoned all the lords of earth.
One and all upon the instant rose the enamoured lords of earth,
Suitors all to Damayantî, in their loving haste they came.
They—the court with golden columns rich, and glittering portal arch,
Like the lions on the mountains entered they the hall of state.
There the lords of earth were seated, each upon his several throne;
All their fragrant garlands wearing, all with pendant ear-gems rich.
Arms were seen robust and vigorous as the ponderous battle-mace,
Some like the five-headed serpents, delicate in shape and hue:
With bright locks profuse and flowing, fine-formed nose, and eye, and brow,
Shone the faces of the Râjas like the radiant stars in heaven.
As with serpents, Bhogavatî, the wide hall was full of kings;
As the mountain-caves with tigers, with the tiger-warriors full.
Damayantî in her beauty entered on that stately scene,
With her dazzling light entrancing every eye and every soul.
O'er her lovely person gliding all the eyes of those proud kings
There were fixed, there moveless rested, as they gazed upon the maid."[12]

A large portion of the *Râmâyaṇa* is occupied with transactions whose scenes were in the Dakhaṇ. For the purposes of this paper the forty-first chapter of the fourth book may be referred to, which describes the dismissal of the 'army of the South' from the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrâ to scour the whole of the Peninsula and Ceylon in search of Sîtâ. Here we find already organized into nationalities the

[11] Hardy, *Man. Budh.* p. 55.

[12] Dean Milman's translation in Prof. Williams' *Nalopâkhyânam*, p. 14.

Mekhalas, the Utkalas, the Daśârṇas, the Vidarbhas, the Ṛishikas, the Mâhiśakas, the Mâtsyas, the Kâliṅgas, the Kâśikas, the Ândhras, the Puṇḍras, the Chôḷas, the Pâṇḍyas, and the Kêraḷas. As a specimen of the cities of the south of those days, the following description of Bhogavatî, which probably lay in the heart of the Dakhaṇ, may be here quoted :—

"Near, Bhogavatî stands, the place
Where dwell the hosts of serpent race:
A broad-wayed city, walled and barred,
Which watchful legions keep and guard,
The fiercest of the serpent youth,
Each awful for his venomed tooth:
And throned in his imperial hall
Is Vâsuki who rules them all.
Explore the serpent city well,
Search town and tower and citadel,
And scan each field and wood that lies
Around it, with your watchful eyes."[13]

The *Purâṇas* mention the peoples named in the above list in the *Râmâyaṇa*, as well as several others which they place with them amongst the southern nations. As an instance of the great antiquity attached to their conception of the time of the settlement of these peoples in the Dakhaṇ, the Kâlingas are said to be the descendants of Kalinga, one of the five putative sons of Bali, the nineteenth in descent from Soma, the founder of the Lunar Dynasty.[14]

Kâlidâsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* has a description in its fourth book of a tour of conquest made by Raghu, the great grandfather of Râma, through the whole of the border-nations of India; and it incidentally describes some of the prominent features of the kingdoms through which he passed.[15]

Starting from Ayodhya at the head of an army of veteran troops, his route lay first eastwards towards the ocean; and when he had conquered those parts he proceeded to the south along the whole of the eastern coast, through the kingdoms of Orissa, Kâliṅga, Chôḷa, and Pâṇḍya. Then turning northwards he conquered the kingdoms lying along the western coast, passing through Kêraḷa and the mountainous regions from Coorg northwards to Trikûṭa, and then, through a kingdom of the Pârasîkas and Yavanas; to the banks of the Indus and a district in its neighbourhood occupied by the Huns. Crossing the Indus he entered the kingdom of Kâmboja, and when he had conquered it he passed on to the Himâlaya mountains, and subdued the Kirâtas and the Utsavasaṅketas. He then descended into the valley of the Brahmaputra, and conquered the kingdom of the Prâgjyotishas; and he finally returned to his capital through the kingdom of Kâmarûpa. In the absence of an English translation of this part of the *Raghuvaṁśa*, the passages which refer to the Dakhaṇ may be quoted here from the Rev. J. Long's Analysis of the poem in the twenty-first volume of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, page 454:—"Having conquered the Baṅgâlis who trusted in their ships, he erected pillars of victory on the islands of the Ganges. Having passed the Kapiśâ river by elephants, under the guidance of the people of Utkâl (Orissa), Raghu arrived at Kâliṅga. Mount Mahendra received from him a shock, as from the mahut's goad the stubborn elephant's head. Kâliṅga's monarch, mighty in elephants, in vain attacked Raghu, like Indra attempting to cut his wings. The soldiers, decorating the place with betel leaves, toasted their success in wine of Nâlikera; but Raghu, desiring victory only for the sake of justice, took possession of no land. Then to Agastya's land he marched, skirting the shore fringed with fruitful betel palms. The soldiers occupied the plain to the foot of the Malaya hills, where doves flit in spicy groves. The elephants had their temples fragrant from the dust of sandalwood which they had raised in their march. The Pâṇḍya kings rendered homage to Raghu by gems collected from the ocean's bed where Tâmraparṇâ rolls its waves. Having refreshed himself near the shore on the Malaya and Dardura sandal-covered hills, the paps of earth, he lined with troops the Sâhya hills, from which ocean had retired far and left earth's bosom bare; the soldiers then marched on to subdue the western people. The dust from the *ketaka* tree raised by the winds from the Mural river served to polish the soldiers'

[13] Griffith's *Râmâyana*, IV. 205.
[14] See Wilson's *Vishnu Purâna*, 4to ed. p. 444.
[15] See Stenzler's edition, p. 30 of text, p. 25 of Latin translation; or Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. V. p. 111; or Calcutta edition of 1871, p. 159.

armour; the tinkling coats of mail drowned the sound of the *betel* trees, agitated by the wind. Old ocean retired at Râma's request, but to Raghu she gave, as her tribute, dominion over western kings. The Trikuṭa mount, cut by the tusks of maddened elephants, afforded victory pillars. In his battle with the western people he could only recognize the enemy by the twang of the horny bow, so dense the dust lay round. The bearded heads strewed thick the ground. In vineyards fair the soldiers, wearied with warfare, refreshed themselves with wine."

Another passage, occurring in the sixth chapter of the same poem, bears similar testimony to the general belief in the early civilization of the Dakhaṇ. It forms part of the description of the *svayaṁvara* of Indumatî, the daughter of the king of Vidarbha,[16] and the grandmother of Râma: and it therefore belongs to the generation succeeding that which witnessed the triumphs of Raghu. The kings of Magadha, Anga, Mâlava, Anûpa, and Śûrasena were successively presented to Indumatî for her choice, and rejected by her: and then Mr. Long's summary[17] proceeds thus:—"Him followed Kâliṅga's monarch, lord of Mahendra, whose arms retain the traces of the twanging bow, a dweller on the ocean where the dashing waves, louder than the trumpet sounding the hours, gleaming through the windows, awake from sleep; the shore resounds with the rustle of palm leaves, while from other isles the winds waft the fragrance of the groves of clove. He was rejected. Next came Pâṇḍu's king with garlands decked of yellow sandal leaves, as Himâlaya, king of mountains, tinged with the rays of the rising sun; but he made no more impression on the maid than the lunar ray on lotus leaves, unclosed save when the sun appears. When the torch of the maid's presence was held up to a suitor, he was cheered, but on her passing by, he sunk again into the darkness of despair. As she came to Raghu's son, he stood in suspense, which was soon removed by the agitation of her right hand." . . And Aja the son of Raghu became the chosen husband of Indumatî. . . "The royal pair entered the streets of Vidarbha, which were strewed with branches of trees, and shaded from the heat by martial banners. The women, having left their other occupations, crowded to the windows to gaze; all their senses were concentrated in the eye. Bhoja Râja of Vidarbha having handed down Aja from an elephant, conducted him into the house, and seated him on a throne, loaded him with diamonds, the *Argha* and *Madhuparka*, a pair of silken garments, which, having put on, Aja went to Indumatî, drawn as is the ocean's wave to shore by the influence of the lunar orb. Then the priest of Bhoja, having offered *ghî* and other things to Agni, which he made a witness, united the pair in wedlock. The bride of partridge eyes cast grains into the flames, from which a wreath of smoke arose encircling her ears as with a garland fair. The royal pair mounted on a golden seat were sprinkled with moistened grains by heads of families and aged matrons. The rejected kings, hiding their wrath under the guise of joy, resembled a tranquil lake, beneath whose surface alligators lurk. Bhoja Râja accompanied Aja for three days and then returned." . . . . His departure was the signal for the rejected kings to throw off their "guise of joy;" and, with true Kshatriya instinct, their pent-up feelings found vent in a free fight in order to capture the bride. Aja slew foe after foe in the battle, and spared the rest; and "with arrows dipped in royal blood he wrote on the banners of the conquered foe,—To-day by Raghu's son ye are bereft of glory, but through his clemency not of life." And so he carried his bride in safety to Kosala, to receive the paternal blessing of Raghu.

It may be asked here, how can this view of the early civilization of the Dakhaṇ consist with the fact that the Dakhaṇ was the site of the Daṇḍakâraṇya? There can of course be no real contradiction of truth here if both these facts are true; and the solution of the apparent contradiction will be found in a revision of the popular idea that the Daṇḍakâraṇya extended over the whole area of the Dakshiṇa.[18] The passage in the *Râmâyaṇa* referred to above shows clearly enough that, notwithstanding the poetical mould in which Vâlmîki has cast his conception of the state of the Dakhaṇ, for the special purposes of his poem, he also had clearly before his mind a more real prosaic picture of its

[16] Stenzler's *Raghuvansa*, p. 52 of text, p. 43 of transl.; or Bomb. Sanskr. Ser. V. p. 181; or Calcutta ed. of 1871, p. 227.

[17] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* vol. XXI. p. 456.

[18] On this subject I have a separate paper in preparation.

condition, which was ready to be produced when the practical side of his events required it to be done; he has shown us as distinctly as possible that at the very time when Râma was wandering in exile through the wilds of the Daṇḍakâraṇya, the Dakhaṇ in which that *araṇya* was situated, was occupied by the Vidarbhas and the other nations named above, to all of which emissaries were sent to search for the lost Sîtâ. Moreover, the collocation of the Daṇḍakâraṇya with the above-named nations in this forty-first chapter of the fourth book of the *Râmâyaṇa* shows that Vâlmîki regarded it as occupying a limited portion only of the Dakhaṇ, in the midst of these nations, but yet quite distinct from them. After grouping together in the first ten verses several rivers and countries of the south under the grammatical government of the expression *sarvamevânupashyata* he proceeds to deal with another separate group thus:—

" Vidarbhânṛishikâṁśchaiva Ramyânmâhishakânapi tathâmâtsyakaliṅgâṁścha Kâśikâṁśchasamantataḥ Anvishyadaṇḍakâraṇyaṁ Saparvatanadîguhaṁ Nadîṁgodâvarîṁchaiva Sarvamevânupaśyata tathaivândhrâṁśchapuṇḍrâṁścha Choḷânpâṇḍyânsakeralân.

Thus the Daṇḍakâraṇya is as clearly separated from the countries with which it is here grouped as those countries are from each other, and still more so from the other countries of the Dakhaṇ which are included in the other groups.

It is so also in the *Raghuvaṁśa*. Kâlidâsa, notwithstanding his extensive and minute knowledge of Indian geography, found no difficulty in describing the exile of Raghu's great-grandchildren to the Daṇḍakâraṇya, although he had been vividly describing the powerful kingdoms of the Dakhaṇ a little while before in his account of the triumphal route of Raghu and of the marriage of Indumatî; he tells of their wanderings there for thirteen of their fourteen years' exile, without bringing them once over the boundaries of the kingdoms which surrounded it.

The natural inference from all this is that the Daṇḍakâraṇya—whatever its actual limits may have been, and whether it did or did not cover a larger area in any earlier age—is not spoken of as extending over the whole of the Dakhaṇ in the age of Raghu and Aja and Daśaratha and Râma; and that its existence, from that time forward as well as previously, was quite compatible with the contemporaneous existence of several strong kingdoms, and of much civilization, in the regions around it.

We may now sum up the several items of evidence contained in the above quotations in support of the position advocated in this paper. They show that there has been a prevailing belief from very early times, which runs continuously through the most ancient historical or *quasi*-historical writings of both the Hindus and the Buddhists, that the Dakhaṇ was the seat of well-ordered monarchical governments as far back, and therefore some time before, the time of Raghu, the great-grandfather of Râma the hero of the *Râmâyaṇa*;—that the monarchy was hereditary and absolute; that the purity of the royal blood was maintained by intermarriages in the royal houses; and that the princesses obtained their husbands, in some instances at least, by their own choice from among several rival royal candidates for their hand;—that the Dakhaṇ of those days contained the kingdoms of Orissa, Kâliṅga, Chôḷa, and Pâṇḍya on its eastern side, and, to the west of these, the kingdoms of Vidarbha, Ṛishika, Mâtsya, Kâśika, Andhra, Puṇḍra, Mâhishaka, Kêraḷa, and some others;—that the kingdom of Kâliṅga was divided into provinces of sufficient extent to admit of a treasonable combination being formed by some of them against their sovereign; and that the king had sufficient means to raise an army large enough to quell the rebellion;—that these kingdoms contained cities, towns, villages, towers, and citadels;—that some of the cities had wide streets, and some were fortified with walls and gateways;—that the royal cities had palaces of considerable size, having an upper storey approached by an external flight of steps, containing dining-halls sufficiently large to entertain five hundred guests at a banquet, and wide state-rooms supported by pillars of gold, and entered through doorways glittering with jewels, besides their private apartments;—that both the royal palaces and the citizens' houses had windows opening upon the public streets;—that there were noble families in those kingdoms; and that some of the nobles held office at court which they could resign at pleasure;—that among the court

officers was a court chaplain, who was a Brâhmaṇ, whom the king could dismiss and re-appoint at his pleasure, who performed the royal marriages, and who was entitled to give counsel to the king; and that Brâhmaṇs were employed as the king's state emissaries;—that the palaces contained large numbers of dancing girls holding an official position, and an extensive establishment of servants; and that they were guarded by warders, ruffians, and watch-dogs:—that the kings had large armies at their disposal using various kinds of weapons; and that the king of Kâliṅga in particular was mighty in elephants trained to war; and that the cities were protected by garrisons of soldiers;—that the people cultivated fields and gardens, betel-vines, cocoanut topes, plantain gardens, vineyards, and spice groves; and they suffered from famines and droughts caused by the failure of the rains;—that some of the people were occupied with merchandize and commerce; that salt and condiments, and such like things, were sold in the village shops; and that they used money in their transactions;—that their cooked food was served in vessels, and eaten off plantain leaves; and that they used condiments in their cookery, and drank wine both of the grape and of the cocoanut palm;—that they cultivated the arts of house-building and house-decoration, the art of the jeweller, and of coining money, and of working in metals, and other similar arts;—that they had learnt to train elephants for both domestic and martial uses;—that they employed their leisure in attending religious preachings and theatrical performances in large numbers, in which their kings sometimes joined them; and that the ornamental grounds of the palace were available to them for their recreations;—that they were accustomed to invite each other to repasts, and had street-processions at their weddings; and that on great occasions they decorated the public streets, strewing the ways with branches of trees, and suspending martial banners above them both for ornament and for protection from the sun;—that they decorated their persons with garlands, pendent earrings, and jewels of gold; and their kings' ornaments contained a profusion of pearls and diamonds, and their festive dress included silken garments;—that in their marriages a religious service was performed by the family priest, which was followed by a domestic ceremony conducted by the assembled guests;—that, side by side with acts of gross rudeness towards unpopular persons, and of insulting practical jokes played even upon Brâhmaṇs, the intellectual progress of those days was marked by penalties inflicted on persons who attempted to corrupt the morals of the people; by the courtesies of personal intercourse and the amenities of hospitality; by more circumspect behaviour than usual in the presence of superiors; by self-sacrificing interpositions on the behalf of injured persons; by a sense of moral pollution from contact with objects which disgusted the religious feelings; by the composition, and the exhibition, and the appreciation of dramatical works; by public displays of religious oratory, and an extensive popular interest in listening to them;—that the religion of those days included, or consisted in, the worship of the *devas*, with Indra at their head, to whom a control over human affairs was attributed; in ceremonial sacrifices offered to Agni; in a regard for omens; in a belief in the present favour of the gods shown towards such virtues as filial piety, and their present vengeance upon notorious sins; and in a belief in future divine retribution for sin, in punitive transmigrations of souls, and in a purgatorial hell;—and, finally, that there were Brâhmaṇs in the Dakhaṇ in those early times; some of whom, dwelling in the midst of the busy world, were employed in state affairs as well as in religious offices; while others devoted themselves to an ascetic life, some of whom dwelt in solitary hermitages in the forests which skirted the limits of civilized life, and some formed themselves into extensive monastic communities, which were connected with similar religious bodies in North India, and from which they proceeded on preaching itinerations throughout the country, receiving alms from the people of such things as they needed.

Such is the picture of the civilization of the Dakhaṇ in ancient times, as it has been painted by both Hindu and Buddhist old writers, and as it has been received through them by the Hindus and the Buddhists for many centuries past. It only remains here to mark the probable time to which this picture applies. Terminating in the reign of the king of Kâliṅga from whom the 'Great Dynasty' of Ceylon

traced its descent by the marriage of one of its princesses with the king of Bengal, which event has been placed above in the sixth or seventh century before Christ, the above quotations run upwards from that time to the reign of Raghu, king of Kosala. Raghu's date might be ascertained from that of his great grandson Râma; but the date of Râma has been variously placed from 2029 B.C. downwards. Bentley, in his *Historical View of Hindu Astronomy*, p. 13, from astronomical data, has placed the birth of Râma on the 6th of April 961 B.C.; and no later date than this is likely to be thought of. Taking the usual average of twenty-five years for a generation, Raghu must be placed about a century earlier than Râma; and in this way we arrive at about 1035 B.C. for the latest date likely to be claimed for Raghu's invasion of the Dakhaṇ. Some considerable time must then be allowed for the growth of the state of things which he found there. So we are brought at last to this conclusion,—*That the Dakhaṇ has been in possession of civilized institutions and manners for thirty centuries and more from the present time.* And if this conclusion should surprise anybody, it is nevertheless in perfect accordance with the fact, now scarcely to be doubted, that the rich Oriental merchandize of the days of king Hiram and king Solomon had its starting-place in the seaports of the Dakhaṇ; and that, with a very high degree of probability, some of the most esteemed of the spices which were carried into Egypt by the Midianitish merchants of Genesis xxxvii. 25, 28, and by the sons of the patriarch Jacob (Gen. xliii. 11), had been cultivated in the spice gardens of the Dakhaṇ.[19]

SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from Vol. VII., p. 308.*)

No. L.

The most complete account, in a connected form, of the Western Chalukya and Châlukya genealogy, is to be found in a stone-tablet inscription at a shrine of the god Basavaṇṇa at the temple of the god Sômêśvara on the north side of the village of Yêwûr or Yêhûr, in the Sôrâpûr or Surâpûr Ilâkhâ, which is on the eastern frontier of the Kalâdgi District. An abstract translation of part of this inscription is annexed to Sir Walter Elliot's paper *On Hindu Inscriptions* at *Madr. Jour. of Lit. and Sc.*, Vol. VIII., p. 193; and a transcription of the whole of it is given at Vol. I., p. 258, of his MS. Collection. It records a grant by Vikramâditya VI., or Tribhuvanamalla, in the second year of his reign, the Piṅgala *saṁvatsara*, *i.e.* Śaka 999 (A.D. 1077-8). To enable me to edit the text, I applied to Major Euan-Smith, First Assistant Resident at Haidarâbâd, to obtain for me a tracing or a rubbing of the original stone. He was kind enough to give the requisite instructions to the local authorities; but the result was, not a tracing or a rubbing, but partly a transcription and partly a hand-copy. In many respects, however, I have found the version thus obtained to be a very useful guide to the correct reading.

Meanwhile, in No. 2 of Mr. Wathen's *Ancient Inscriptions on stone and copper*, at *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. II., p. 378, and Vol. III., p. 258, I found an account, transcription, and abstract translation, of a copper-plate grant, in the Dêvanâgarî characters and the Sanskrit language, on three plates found at Miraj in the Southern Marâṭhâ Country. It records a grant by Jayasiṁha III., or Jagadêkamalla, dated Śaka 946 (A.D. 1024-5), the Raktâkshi *saṁvatsara*.

The genealogical portion of the Yêwûr tablet is in Sanskrit; and, down to and including the mention of Jayasiṁha III., it agrees almost word for word with the corresponding portion of the Miraj plates. These plates, in fact, must be one of the identical grants on which, as the Yêwûr inscription itself says, the genealogy given in it is based. By collating these three versions,—the copy of the Yêwûr tablet in Sir Walter Elliot's MS. Collection; the second copy of the same, obtained through Major Euan-Smith; and Mr. Wathen's reading of the Miraj plates,—I have succeeded in establishing the

[19] See Heeren's *Hist. Res.*, Asiat. Nations (Bohn's ed. 1846), vol. I. pp. 43, 350, 443; Rawlinson's *Herodotus* (1862 ed.), vol. II. p. 414; Yule's *Marco Polo* (1871 ed., vol. II. p. 325; art. 'Cinnamon,' *Encycl. Brit.* (new ed.), vol. V. p. 785; also Tennent's *Ceylon* (1860 ed.), vol. I. p. 600.

text without any material doubt, down to the notice of Jayasiṁha III. In respect of orthography, I follow the reading of the Yêwûr tablet, as far as I can determine it: in the Miraj plates, as published by Mr. Wathen, the letter *ḷ* is not used, and consonants are not doubled after *r*; and the letters *ṛ* and *ḻ* are not used in any of the three versions. From Sômêśvara I., or Âhavamalla, the son of Jayasiṁha III., down to Vikramâditya VI., the correct reading is often very doubtful, and some passages are entirely beyond my powers of conjecture. My version, however, will suffice for the present, for genealogical purposes; and I shall supplement the present paper with one that will detail all the generations of this branch of the dynasty, as they are now known. But of course it is desirable that, at the first opportunity, both the Miraj grant and the Yêwûr inscription should, for the sake of the other matters of interest contained in them, be edited in full from the originals.

The Yêwûr tablet commences with the usual Śaiva invocation;—*Namas=tuṁga-śiraś-chumbi* &c. This is followed by the Vaishṇava invocation, with which the Miraj plates commence:—*Jayaty=âvishkṛitaṁ Vishṇôr=vvârâhaṁ* &c. Both the tablet and the plates then continue with another Vaishṇava invocation:—

Text.

Śriyam=upaharatâd=vaḥ Śrî-patiḥ krôḍa-rûpô vikaṭa-viśada-daṁshṭrâ-prâṁta-viśrâṁti-bhâjaṁ| Avahad=adaya-dashṭ-âkṛishṭa-vispashṭa-kâṁḍa-pratanu-viśa-jaṭ-âgra-graṁthivad=yô dharitrîṁ||

Translation.

"May the lord[1] of Śrî, who assumed the form of a boar, confer prosperity upon you; he, who carried the earth resting on the tip of his formidable white tusk, just like the bunch on the fore-part of a slender water-lily, the plainly-seen stem of which has been mercilessly compressed and pulled up!"

Both the tablet and the plates then give a verse in praise of the reigning monarch at the time of the grants to be recorded. In the tablet, the name is that of Tribhuvanamalla; in the plates, it is that of Jagadêkamalla:—

Text.

Kari-makara-makarik-âṁkita-jaḷanidhi-rasa(śa)nâṁ vaśîkarôt[illegible]=avani-vadhûṁ | Tribhuvanamalla-kshmâpatir ([illegible], Jagadêkamalla-bhûpatir) = akaḷaṁk[illegible]-yaśô-[illegible]burâsi(śi)-vaḷayita-bhuvanaḥ ||

Translation.

"May the king Tribhuvanamalla, (*or*, Jagadêkamalla), by the ocean of whose spotless fame the world is encircled, render subject to his control the bride which is the earth, girt about, as if by a zone, with the ocean which is marked with sea-monsters, both male and female, resembling elephants!"

Then follows in each a description of the Chalukya family:—

Text.

Gadyaṁ[2] || Svasti Samasta-bhuvana-saṁstûyamâna-Mânavya-sagôtrâṇâṁ Hâritî[3]-putrâṇâṁ Kauśikî-vara-prasâda-labdha-śvêtâtapatr-âdi-râjya-chihnânâṁ sapta-matṛikâ-parirakshitânâṁ Kârttikêya-vara-prasâda-labdha-mayûra-pichchha-kuṁta[4]-dhvajânâṁ bhagavan-Nârâyaṇa-prasâd-âsâdita-vara-varâha-lâṁchhan-êkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśîkṛit-ârâti-râja-maṁḍalânâṁ samastabhuvanâśraya-sarvvalôkâśraya-Vishṇuvarddhana-Vijayâdity-âdi-viśêsha-nâmnâṁ râja-ratnânâm=udbhava-bhûmiḥ | Vṛittaṁ || Kabaḷita-Naḷa-lakshmîr=ddurjjay-aurjjitya-hârî vihata-pṛithu-Kadaṁb-âḍaṁbarô Mauryya-nirjjit | Nija-bhuja-bala-bhûmn=ôtpâṭayan Râshṭrakûṭân khi(gi)ḷita[5]-Kaḷachuri-śrîr=asti Châḷukya[6]-vaṁśah ||

Translation.

"Hail! There is the Châḷukya family, which devours in a mouthful the glory of the Naḷas; which appropriates the power of those who are hard to be conquered; which destroys the arrogance of the mighty Kadambas; which uproots the Râshṭrakûṭas with the abundance of its strength of arm; and which swallows

[1] Vishṇu.

Various Readings.

[2] This word is not in the plates.—[3] MS. Collection, and Second Copy obtained through Major Euan-Smith, *Hâriti*; Mr. Wathen's reading of the Plates, *Hâriti*.—[4] MS. Coll., *piṁchha-kuṁta*; S. C., *piṁśa-kaṁta*; W. P., *pichha-kuṁta*.—[5] MS. Coll. and S. C., *khiḷita*; W. P., *giḷita*.—[6] Mr. Wathen's reading of the name in the plates is always *Châmushya*, which, he suggests, may be a mistake for 'Chahumana' or 'Chohan.' On a subsequent occasion the mistake is explained to be that of his Paṇḍit, in reading *Châmushyâ* where he ought to have read *Châlukya* or *Chalukya*.

up the glory of the Kaḷachuris;—the birthplace of jewels of kings, who were of the lineage of Mânavya, which is praised over the whole world; who were the descendants of Hâritî; who acquired the white umbrella, and other signs of sovereignty, through the excellent favour of Kauśikî; who were preserved by the seven mothers (*of mankind*); who acquired the banners of the peacock's tail and the spear through the excellent favour of Kârttikêya; who had the territories of hostile kings made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the excellent sign of the boar, which they acquired through the favour of the holy Nârâyaṇa; and who possessed the distinguishing names of 'asylum of the universe', 'refuge of all people', 'Vishṇuvardhana', 'Vijayâditya', and other (*titles*)."

Then a reference is made to the early traditions of the family. In *rájyam ayôdhyam*, 'a kingdom not to be (*successfully*) warred against', which seems to be the correct reading, a punning allusion is probably made to Ayôdhyâ, which, it is said, was the capital of the Chalukyas in early times; see, for instance, No. IX. of this Series, Vol. V., p. 15, transcr. l. 8. The mention in this verse of "the country that includes the region of the south" does not necessarily imply that the Chalukyas crossed the Narmadâ southwards at this early time. As I have stated at Vol. VII., p. 247, I am strongly inclined to think that this did not happen till the time of Pulikêśi I. And, if the suggested identification of the Jayasiṁha I. of the southern grants with the Jayasiṁha of the Kaira grants be accepted, Kaira is quite far enough to the south from Ayôdhyâ for the settlement of the Chalukyas there, when they left Ayôdhyâ, to be spoken of in the terms of this verse:—

Text.

Taj-jêshu râjyaṁ=anupâlya gatêshu râjasv=êkôna[7]-shashṭi-gaṇanêshu purâd=ayôdhyaṁ[8] | Tad-vaṁśa-jâs=tad=anu shôḍaśa bhûmipâlâḥ kshmâṁ dakshiṇâpatha-jushaṁ bibharâṁ-babhûvuḥ ||

Translation.

"Sixty kings, less by one, born in that (*family*), having from their city governed their kingdom which was not to be (*successfully*) warred against, and having passed away,—after that, sixteen kings, born in that lineage, ruled the country that includes the region of the south."

Then allusion is made to a temporary loss of their power by the Chalukyas, and to the restoration of it in the person of Jayasiṁha-Vallabha, with whom the genealogical portion of the two inscriptions commences:—

Text.

Dushṭ-âvashṭabdhîyâṁ cha[9] katipaya-purush-âṁtar-âṁtaritâyâṁ Châḷukya-kula-saṁpadi bhûyaś=Châḷukya-vaṁśya êva || Vṛittaṁ[10] || Kaṁdaḥ[11] kîrtti-lat-âṁkurasya kamaḷaṁ Lakshmî-viḷâs-âspadaṁ vajraṁ vairi-mahîbhṛitâṁ pratinidhir=ddêvasya daitya-druhaḥ | Râj=âsîj=Jayasiṁha-Vallabha iti khyâtaś=charitrair=nnijair=yyô rêjê chiram=âdi-râja-charit-ôtkaṁṭha-prajân=âharan[12] | Yô Râshṭrakûṭa-kuḷam=Indra[13] iti prasiddhaṁ Kṛishṇ-âhvayasya[14] sutam=ashṭa-śat-êbha-sainyaṁ | Nirjjitya dagdha-nṛipa-paṁcha-śatô babhâra bhûyaś=Chaḷukya-kuḷa-vallabha-râja-lakshmîṁ ||

Translation.

"The fortunes of the Châḷukya family having been impeded by wicked people, and having been interrupted by several other men (*of hostile races*),—then, again, there was a king, belonging indeed to the Châḷukya lineage, renowned under the name of Jayasiṁha-Vallabha,—the bulbous root of the tendril of the creeper of fame; the water-lily which was the place of the sportive play of the goddess of fortune; a very thunderbolt to hostile kings; the counterpart of the god[15] who destroyed the demons,—who shone for a long time, captivating his subjects, who longed for the deeds of kings of early times, with his achievements. Having vanquished him, who was the son of Kṛishṇa, and belonged to the Râshṭra-

Various Readings.

[7] MS. Coll. and S. C., *êkânta*; W. P., as in my text.—[8] MS. Coll., *purâdayôdhyaḥ*; S. C., *prâdayâdyaṁ*; W. P., *purâvyayôyaṁ*.

[9] This word is not in the MS. Coll. and S. C.—[10] This word, also, is not in the MS. Coll. and S. C.—[11] This word is omitted in the MS. Coll. and S. C.—[12] MS. Coll., *bhavitôtkaṁṭhaprajânâṁhrutuḥ*; S. C., *charitôtkarâprajânâṁharata*; W. P., *charitâtkaṁṭhâḥprajânâṁharan*.—[13] MS. Coll., *Raṭṭakûṭakulachaṁdra*; S. C. and W. P., as in my text. The MS. Coll. reads throughout *Raṭṭakûṭa* for *Râshṭrakûṭa*.—[14] MS. Coll., *Kṛushṭnâṁhvayasya*; S. C., *Krishṭnashṭâyasya*; W. P., *Kṛishṇâjhyasya*. [15] Vishṇu.

k û ṭ a family, and was renowned under the name of I n d r a, and possessed an army of eight hundred elephants,—and having completely destroyed five hundred kings,—he again nourished the regal fortunes of the (*kingly*) favourites of the C h a ḷ u k y a family."

Text.

Chaṭula-ripu-turaga[16]-paṭu-bhaṭa-karaṭi-ghaṭâ-kôṭi-ghaṭita-raṇa-râgaḥ | Su-kṛita-Hara-charaṇa-râgas = tanayô=bhût=tasya Raṇarâgaḥ ||

Translation.

"His son was R a ṇ a r â g a, whose love for war was produced by the handsome horses of the enemy and their skilful warriors and their troops of elephants, and who delighted in (*worshipping*) the auspicious feet of H a r a."

Text.

Tat-tanayaḥ Pulakêśî Kêśi-nisûdana-samô=bhavad=râjâ | Vâtâpi[17]-purî-vara-patir=akaḷita-khaḷa-Kaḷi-kaḷaṁka-kaḷaḥ || Vayam=âpi Pulakêśi-kshmâpatiṁ varṇṇayaṁtaḥ puḷaka-kaḷita-dêhâḥ paśyat=âdyâpi saṁtaḥ | Sa hi turaga-gajêṁdrô[18] grâma-sâraṁ sahasra-dvaya - parimitam = ṛitviksâch - chakâr[19]= âśvamêdhê ||

Translation.

"His son was king P u l a k ê ś î,—equal to the destroyer[20] of (*the demon*) K ê ś î[21]; the lord of V â t â p i, the best of cities; who acquired not the faults and deceits of the wicked K a l i age. See now !, even today, we, while describing king P u l a k ê ś î, have our bodies experiencing the sensation of the hair standing erect through pleasure; for he, who was possessed of horses and noble elephants, bestowed two thousand most excellent villages[22] upon the priests at the celebration of the horse-sacrifice."

Text.

Tat-tanayaḥ | Naḷa-niḷaya-vilôpî Mauryya-niryyâṇa-hêtuḥ prathita-pṛithu-Kadaṁba-staṁbha-bhêdî kuṭhâraḥ | Bhuvana-bhavana-bhâg - âpûraṇ - âraṁbha - bhâra - vyavasita-sita-kîrttiḥ Kîrttivarmmâ nṛipô=bhût ||

Translation.

His son was king K î r t t i v a r m â, who destroyed the habitations of the N a ḷ a s; who was the cause of the exile of the M a u r y a s; who was the axe to sever the column which was the famous and mighty K a d a m b a s; and whose white fame busied itself with the burden of the undertaking of filling (*all*) the divisions of the palace which was the world.

Text.

Tad=anu tasy=ânujaḥ | Sarvva-dvîp[23]-âkramaṇa-mahasô yasya nau-sêtubaṁdhair= ullaṁghy=âbdhiṁ vyadita pṛitanâ[24] Rêvatî-dvîpa-lôpaṁ | Râja-striṇâṁ[25] haṭha-patir= abhûd=yaś=cha Kâḷachchurîṇâṁ[26] babhrê bhûmiṁ saha sa sakaḷair=mmaṁgaḷair= Mmaṁgaḷîśaḥ ||

Translation.

"After him, his younger brother, M a ṅ g a l î ś a, governed the earth with complete prosperity,—whose army, he being powerful enough to invade all islands, crossed the ocean by bridges of boats, and effected the plundering of the island of R ê v a t î; and who became the husband, by ravishment, of the queens of the K â ḷ a c h c h u r i s."[27]

Text.

Jyêshṭha-bhrâtus=sati suta-varê=py= arbbhakatvâd=aśaktê yasminn=âtmany=akṛita hi dhuraṁ Maṁgaliśaḥ pṛithivyâḥ | Tasmin= pratyarppayad[28]=atha mahîṁ yûni Satyâśrayê= sau Châḷukyânâṁ ka iva hi pathô dharmmy= ataḥ prachyavêta[29] || Jêtur=ddiśâṁ vijita-Harsha-mahâ-nṛipasya dâtur=mmanôratha-śat-âdhikam = artthayêd=yaḥ[30] | Saty-âdi-sarvva-guṇa-ratna-gaṇ-âkarasya saty-âśrayatvam= upalakshàṇam=êva yasya ||

Translation.

"Since M a ṅ g a l î ś a took upon himself the

Various Readings.

[16] MS. Coll. and S. C., as in my text; W. P., *ripururaga.*
[17] MS. Coll. and S. C., as in my text; W. P., *Dhâtâpi.*—
[18] MS. Coll., as in my text; S. C. and W. P., *gajêṁdra.*—
[19] MS. Coll., *parikhatavrittiśyaṁchakâra*; S. C., *parikhatavṛittisyaṁchchakârâ*; W. P., as in my text.
[20] Krishṇa, *i.e.* Vishṇu.
[21] There is a fanciful attempt to allot a meaning to his name in these two verses.
[22] Or, "the revenues of a village, calculated at two-thousand (*of the standard coins then current*)."

Various Readings.

[23] MS. Coll., *sarvôrvîpâ*; S. C., *sarvûdvipâ*; W. P., as in my text. — [24] MS. Coll., *vyadhitapratanô*; S. C., *vyaditapṛitana*; W. P., *vyathitapṛitanâ.*—[25] MS. Coll. and S. C., as in my text; W. P., *rôjyaśriṇâṁ.*—[26] MS. Coll., *Kâlaśchurîṇâṁ*; S. C., *Kâḷashṭarîṇâṁ*; W. P., *Kâlachhurîṇâṁ.*
[27] The vowel of the first syllable is lengthened, and the *cha* is doubled, only for the sake of the metre; *conf.* transcr. l. 6 of No. XIII., at Vol. V., p. 67.

Various Readings.

[28] MS. Coll., *pratyâsvipad*; S. C., *pratyâdvipad*; W. P., as in my text.—[29] MS. Coll., *prabhuvetu*; S. C., *prabhuvêta*; W. P., as in my text.—[30] MS. Coll., *arthêyadbhâh*; S. C., *artyayadvâḥ*; W. P., as in my text.

k û ṭ a family, and was renowned under the name of I n d r a, and possessed an army of eight hundred elephants,—and having completely destroyed five hundred kings,—he again nourished the regal fortunes of the (*kingly*) favourites of the C h a ḷ u k y a family."

Text.

Chaṭula-ripu-turaga[16]-paṭu-bhaṭa-karaṭi-ghaṭâ-kôṭi-ghaṭita-raṇa-râgaḥ | Su-kṛita-Hara-charaṇa-râgas = tanayô=bhût=tasya Raṇarâgaḥ ||

Translation.

"His son was R a ṇ a r â g a, whose love for war was produced by the handsome horses of the enemy and their skilful warriors and their troops of elephants, and who delighted in (*worshipping*) the auspicious feet of H a r a."

Text.

Tat-tanayaḥ Pulakêśî Kêśi-nisûdana-samô=bhavad=râjâ | Vâtâpi[17]-purî-vara-patir=akaḷita-khaḷa-Kaḷi-kaḷaṁka-kaḷaḥ || Vayam=api Pulakêśi-kshmâpatiṁ varṇṇayaṁtaḥ puḷaka-kaḷita-dêhâḥ paśyat=âdyâpi saṁtaḥ | Sa hi turaga-gajêṁdrô[18] grâma-sâraṁ sahasra-dvaya - parimitam = ṛitviksâch - chakâr[19]= âśvamêdhê ||

Translation.

"His son was king P u l a k ê ś î,—equal to the destroyer[20] of (*the demon*) K ê ś î[21]; the lord of V â t â p i, the best of cities; who acquired not the faults and deceits of the wicked K a l i age. See now !, even today, we, while describing king P u l a k ê ś î, have our bodies experiencing the sensation of the hair standing erect through pleasure; for he, who was possessed of horses and noble elephants, bestowed two thousand most excellent villages[22] upon the priests at the celebration of the horse-sacrifice."

Text.

Tat-tanayaḥ | Naḷa-nilaya-vilôpî Mauryya-niryyâṇa-hêtuḥ prathita-pṛithu-Kadaṁba-staṁbha-bhêdî kuṭhâraḥ | Bhuvana-bhavana-bhâg - âpûraṇ - âraṁbha - bhâra - vyavasita-sita-kîrttiḥ Kîrttivarmmâ nṛipô=bhût ||

Translation.

His son was king K î r t t i v a r m â, who destroyed the habitations of the N a ḷ a s; who was the cause of the exile of the M a u r y a s; who was the axe to sever the column which was the famous and mighty K a d a m b a s; and whose white fame busied itself with the burden of the undertaking of filling (*all*) the divisions of the palace which was the world.

Text.

Tad=anu tasy=ânujaḥ | Sarvva-dvîp[23]-âkramaṇa-mahasô yasya nau-sêtubaṁdhair=ullaṁghy=âbdhiṁ vyadita pṛitanâ[24] Rêvatî-dvîpa-lôpaṁ | Râja-strîṇâṁ[25] haṭha-patir=abhûd=yaś=cha Kâḷachchurîṇâṁ[26] babhrê bhûmiṁ saha sa sakaḷair=mmaṁgaḷair=Mmaṁgaḷîśaḥ ||

Translation.

"After him, his younger brother, M a ṅ g a l î ś a, governed the earth with complete prosperity,—whose army, he being powerful enough to invade all islands, crossed the ocean by bridges of boats, and effected the plundering of the island of R ê v a t î; and who became the husband, by ravishment, of the queens of the K â ḷ a c h c h u r i s."[27]

Text.

Jyêshṭha-bhrâtus=sati suta-varê=py=arbbhakatvâd=aśaktê yasminn=âtmany=akṛita hi dhuraṁ Maṁgalîśaḥ pṛithivyâḥ | Tasmin=pratyarppayad[28]=atha mahîṁ yûni Satyâśrayê=sau Châḷukyânâṁ ka iva hi pathô dharmmy=ataḥ prachyavêta[29] || Jêtur=ddiśâṁ vijita-Harsha-mahâ-nṛipasya dâtur=mmanôratha-śat-âdhikam = artthayêd=yaḥ[30] | Saty-âdi-sarvva-guṇa-ratna-gaṇ-âkarasya saty-âśrayatvam=upalakshaṇam=êva yasya ||

Translation.

"Since M a ṅ g a l î ś a took upon himself the

Various Readings.

[16] MS. Coll. and S. C., as in my text; W. P., *ripururaga.*
[17] MS. Coll. and S. C., as in my text; W. P., *Dhâtâpi.*—
[18] MS. Coll., as in my text; S. C. and W. P., *gajêṁdra.*—
[19] MS. Coll., *parikhatavrittiśyaṁchakâra*; S. C., *parikhatavṛittisyaṁchchakârâ*; W. P., as in my text.

[20] Krishṇa, *i.e.* Vishṇu.

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[27] The vowel of the first syllable is lengthened, and the *cha* is doubled, only for the sake of the metre; *conf.* transcr. l. 6 of No. XIII., at Vol. V., p. 67.

Various Readings.

[28] MS. Coll., *pratyâsvipad*; S. C., *pratyâdvipad*; W. P., as in my text.—[29] MS. Coll., *prabhuvetu*; S. C., *prabhuvêta*; W. P., as in my text.—[30] MS. Coll., *arthêyadbhâh*; S. C., *artyayadvâḥ*; W. P., as in my text.

burden of (*the government of*) the earth while the best of the sons of his elder brother was incompetent (*to rule*) on account of his childhood, he then restored the earth to him, Satyâśraya, when he became a young man,—to him, who conquered the regions, and who vanquished the great king Harsha, and who gave more than a hundred-fold of what was desired to any one, who made requests to him, and whose condition of being the asylum of truth became indeed his designation because he was the mine of all the jewels of truth and all other virtuous qualities; for who of the Châḷukyas, being of a religious disposition, would deviate from this path (*of propriety and family custom*)?"

Text.

Aḍamarîkṛita-dig-valayô = rddita-dviḍ=amarî-parigîta-mahâ-yaśâḥ | Mṛiḍam=arishṭa-kṛitaṁ manas=ôdvahan=Naḍamari-kshitipô=jani tat-sutaḥ[31] ||

Translation.

"King Naḍamari was born as his son,—who made the circuit of the regions free from tumult; who caused distress to his enemies; whose great fame was sung by the lovely women of the gods; and who carried the beneficent Mṛiḍa[32] in his heart."

Text.

Sutas=tadîyô guṇa-ratna-mâḷîbhû-vallabhô=bhûd=bhuja-vîryya-śâḷî | Âdityavarmm=ôrjjita-puṇya-karmmâ têjôbhir=âditya-samâna-dharmmâ ||

Translation.

"His son was Âdityavarmâ,—garlanded with the jewels of his virtuous qualities; the favourite of the world; possessed of prowess of arm; of very holy deeds; equal to the sun in splendour."

Text.

Tat-sutô Vikramâdityô vikram-âkrâṁta-bhû-taḷaḥ | Tatô=pi Yuddhamall-âkhyô yuddhê Yama-samô nṛipaḥ ||

Translation.

"His son was Vikramâditya, who pervaded the earth with his prowess; and from him (*was born*) king Yuddhamalla, who was equal to Yama (*in dealing out death*) in battle."

Text.

Taj-janmâ Vijayâdityô vîr-ânêk-âṁga-saṁgarê | Chaturṇṇâm = maṁḍalânâm=apy = ajayad=Vijay-ôpamaḥ ||

Translation.

"From him was born Vijayâditya, who, resembling Vijaya[33] (*in courage and strength*), conquered even four dominions in many personal conflicts of brave men."

Text.

Tad-bhavô Vikramâdityaḥ Kîrttivarmmâ-tad-âtmajaḥ | Yêna Châḷukya-râja-śrîr=aṁtarâyiṇy=abhûd[34]=bhuvi ||

Translation.

"From him was born Vikramâditya. His son was Kîrttivarmâ, through whom the regal fortune of the Châḷukyas became impeded on the earth."

Text.

Vikramâditya-bhûpâḷa-bhrâtâ Bhîma-parâkramaḥ | Tat-sûnuḥ Kîrttivarmm=âbhût mṛityu-sâdhita[35]-durjjanaḥ ||

Translation.

"The brother of king Vikramâditya was he who possessed the prowess of Bhîma.[36] His son was Kîrttivarmâ, who killed wicked people."

Various Readings.

[31] S. C. and W. P. agree in this verse, except that the former reads *arishṭatidaṁ* and *ôddahaṁtadamari*. MS. Coll. reads *Atkamarîkritadigvalayôshṭitadvidhamariparigîta-mahâyaśâḥ* | *Mruḍamarishṭatidaṁmanasôdvahaṁtada-marakshitipôjanitastataḥ* ||, whence it is clear how Sir Walter Elliot obtained the name of Amara. The alliteration requires that, in the first word of the fourth line of the verse, the second syllable should be *ḍa*, and the fourth *ri*. The first syllable may be *ta*, according to MS. Coll. and S. C., or *na*, according to W. P.; I cannot say for certain without seeing the originals. But I incline in favour of Naḍamari as the correct form of the name; because, if it were Taḍamari, W. P. would have read *ôdvahaṁs=Taḍamari*.

[32] Śiva.

[33] A name of Arjuna, and of others.

Various Readings.

[34] MS. Coll., *aṁtaraiyyaṁṇabhûd*, corrected in pencil into *aṁtarâyâdabhûd*; S. C., as in my text; W. P., *uttarâyiṇyabhûd*.

[35] MS. Coll., *mrutyusâdhita*; S. C., *mṛittyusâddhita*; W. P., *mṛitprâsârdita*.

[36] From this it may be inferred that his name was Bhîma. The verse might be translated "His son was Kîrttivarmâ, the brother of king Vikramâditya,—who possessed the prowess of Bhîma, and who killed wicked people",—thus introducing another Vikramâditya into the genealogy, and making him and the Kîrttivarmâ of this verse the sons of the Kîrttivarmâ of the preceding verse. Sir Walter Elliot and Mr. Wathen substantially agree with me in their translations; but they have got rather mixed up over this with the preceding and following verses.

Text.

Taila-bhûpas=tatô jâtô Vikramâditya-bhû-patiḥ | Tat-sûnur=abhavat=tasmâd=Bhîma-râjô=ri-bhîkaraḥ ||

Translation.

"From him was born king Taila. His son was king Vikramâditya. From him (*was born*) king Bhîma, who was terrible to his enemies."

Text.

Ayyaṇ-âryyas=tatô jajñê yad-vaṁśasya śriyaṁ sukhaṁ[37] | Prâpayaṁt=îva vaṁśasya saṁbabhrê Kṛishṇa-naṁdanâ[38] ||

Translation.

"From him was born the noble Ayyaṇa, the glory of whose lineage the daughter of Kṛishṇa[39] nourished, causing it to attain, as it were, the happiness of (*her own*) lineage."

Text.

Abhavat=tayôḥ tanûjô vibhava-vibhâsî[40] virôdhi-vidhvaṁsî | Têjô-vijit-âdityaḥ satya-dhanô Vikramâdityaḥ || Chêd-îśa-vaṁśa[41]-tilakâṁ Lakshmaṇa-râjasya naṁdanâṁ nuta-śîlâṁ Boṁthâdêvîṁ[42] vidhivat=pariṇinyê[43] Vikramâdityaḥ ||

Translation.

"Their son was Vikramâditya, who shone brightly through his power; who destroyed his enemies; who surpassed the sun in lustre; and who abounded in truth. Vikramâditya married according to rite Bonthâdêvî, the glory of the family of the lords of Chêdi[44], the daughter of king Lakshmaṇa, possessed of (*good*) character that was commended."

Text.

Sutam=iva Vasudêvâd=Dêvakî Vâsudêvaṁ Guham=iva Girij=âpi dêvam[45]=Arddhêṁdumaulêḥ | Ajanayad=atha Boṁthâdêvy[46]=ataḥ Taila-bhûpaṁ vibhava-vijita-Śakraṁ[47] Vikramâditya-nâmnaḥ || Ari-kuṁbhi-kuṁbha-bhêdana-ripu-durgga-kavâṭa-bhaṁjana-prabhṛitiḥ | Sahaja-baḷasya Harêr=iva bâḷa-krîḍ=âbhavad=yasya || Kiṁ cha | Râshṭrakûṭa-kuḷa[48]-râjya-saṁbaddhâv=ubhau[49] | Urjjityâch = charaṇâv = iva[50] prachaḷitau sâkshât=Kalêḥ krâmataḥ krûrau baddha-śarîrakau guru-jana-drôha-prarôhâv=iva | râj-âkhaṁḍita[51]-Râshṭrakûṭaka-kula-śrî-valli-jât-âṁkurau lûnau yêna sukhêna Karkara-raṇa-staṁbhau[52] raṇa-prâṁgaṇê || Itthaṁ purâ Diti-sutair=iva bhûta-dhâtrîṁ yô Râshṭrakûṭa-kuṭiḷair=ggamitâm=adhastât | Uddhṛitya Mâdhava iv=âdi-varâha-rûpô babhrê Chaḷukya-kuḷa-vallabha-râja-lakshmîṁ || Hûṇa[53]-prâṇahara-pratâpa-dahanô yâtrâ-trasan[54]-mâravaḥ Chaidya-chchhêdy=akhiḷa[55]-kshamâ-jaya-naya-vyutpanna-vîr-Ôtkaḷaḥ[56] | Yên=âty-ugra-raṇ-âgra-darśita-baḷa-prâchuryya-śauryy-ôdayaḥ kârâgâra-nivêśitaḥ kavi-vṛishâ yaṁ[57] varṇṇayan=ghûrṇṇatê || Brahma-Har-âbhâd[58]=abhavad=bhûpâḷâd=Râshṭrakûṭa-kuḷa-tiḷakât | Lakshmîr=iva salila-nidhêḥ Śrî-Jâkabb-âhvayâ[59] kanyâ || Châḷukya-vaṁś-âṁbara-bhânumâḷi Śrî-Taila-bhûpâḷa upâyat=ainâṁ | Tayôś=cha lôk-âbhyudayâya yôgaḥ sach-chaṁdrikâ-chaṁdramasôr=iv=âsît. ||

Various Readings.

[37] MS. Coll., as in my text; S. C., *śukaṁ*; W. P., *svakaṁ*.—[38] MS. Coll., *prâpayaṁtiravaṁśasyôsaṁbôjrê-krishṭanaṁdanâ*, with some corrections, introducing the word *vajra*, which I cannot quite make out; S. C., *prâpayaṁtivadassaṁchisaṁbabhrêkṛishṇanaṁdanân*; W. P., *prôpayayannivavaṁśaṁsavavritêkashṇanaṁdanâṁ*.

[39] Probably the Râshṭrakûṭa king Kṛishṇa-Akâlavarsha-dêva of the Sâlôtgi inscription at Vol. I., page 205, dated "when Śaka 867 had expired", but "in the Plavaṁga *saṁvatsara*", which was Śaka 869.

Various Readings.

[40] MS. Coll., and S. C., as in my text; W. P., *vijayavihâsî*.—[41] MS. Coll., *Bhêdirvaṁśa*; S. C. and W. P., as in my text.—[42] MS. Coll. and S. C., as in my text; W. P., *Voṁthâdêviṁ*.—[43] MS. Coll. and S. C., *pariṇitai*; W. P., as in my text.

[44] The name of a people who lived in Bandêlkhaṇḍ. Mr. Garrett, in his *Classical Dictionary*, *sub voce* 'Chêdyas', speaks of the country of Chêdi, "which is usually considered as Chandail, on the west of the Jungle mahâls, towards Nâgpûr. It is known in times subsequent to the *Purâṇas* as Raṇastambha." But he does not give his authority for the latter statement.

Various Readings.

[45] MS. Coll., *Girijâmidêvam*; S. C., *Girijâmirdêvam*; W. P., as in my text.—[46] MS. Coll. and S. C., as in my text; W. P., *Voṁthâdêvî*.—[47] MS. Coll. and S. C., as in my text; W. P., *śatrum*.—[48] MS. Coll., *kiṁchidraṭṭakula*; S. C. and W. P., as in my text.—[49] MS. Coll., *saṁbaddhâvyabhau*; S. C., *saṁbaddhâvucha*; W. P., *saṁbhavau*, with nothing after it.—[50] MS. Coll., *arjityâścharaṇvdiva*; S. C., *jûjityâchcharaṇvâliva*; W. P., as in my text.—[51] MS. Coll. and S. C., as in my text; W. P., *kâlâtkhaṁḍita*.—[52] MS. Coll. and W. P., as in my text; S. C., *Karkacharaṇastaṁbhâ*.—[53] MS. Coll., *dyûṇa*; S. C., *dyâṇa*; W. P., as in my text.—[54] MS. Coll., *yatrâtra*; S. C., *yautrâtra*; W. P., as in my text.—[55] MS. Coll., *bhêdyaśchaḷukyakhiḷa*; S. C., *bhêdyabhêdyakhiḷa*; W. P., as in my text.—[56] MS. Coll., *virôtpala*; S. C., *viritpaḷiḥ*; W. P., *dhîrutpaṇaḥ*.—[57] MS. Coll., *nivêśitakapidhapayaṁ*; S. C., *sidêśitaḥkavidhripâyaṁ*; W. P., as in my text.—[58] MS. Coll., *Bhashmaharabhêd*; S. C., *Bhammaharattâl*; W. P., *Bhaṁbhabharabhâd*.—[59] MS. Coll., *Jâkâbhyâṁhvaya*; S. C., *Jâkabjâvhvyâ*; W. P., *Jâkadhvâdvayâ*. The termination of the name is undoubtedly *abbâ*, the Sanskritized form of the Canarese *avva*, *avve*, 'mother', which, like the Sanskrit *ambâ*, *ambikâ*, 'mother', is affixed to proper names for the sake of respect.

Translation.

"Then,—as Dêvakî brought forth a son, Vâsudêva[60], from Vasudêva, and even as the Daughter[61] of the mountain brought forth a son, the god Guha[62], from him[63] who wears a portion of the moon on his tiara,—so Bonthâdêvî brought forth, from Vikramâditya, a son, king Taila, who surpassed Śakra[64] in power;—whose childhood's play, he being innately strong as Hari was, consisted of cleaving open the frontal projections on the foreheads of the elephants which were his enemies, and of breaking through the doors of the forts of his foes;—And, moreover, by whom were easily cut asunder in the field of battle the two pillars of war[65] of Karkara[66], which belonged to the kingdom of the Râshṭrakûṭa family, and which, from their great strength, were manifestly the two feet of Kali stretched out in the act of striding, and which were cruel and firmly knit, and which were the branches of enmity against spiritual preceptors, and which were the young shoots of the creeper of the fortunes of the Râshṭrakûṭaka family, (*hitherto*) unbroken by (*any other*) kings;—Who lifted up the royal fortunes of the kingly favourites of the Chaḷukya family, which had been made to sink down by the deceitful practices of the Râshṭrakûṭas, as formerly Mâdhava[67], in the form of the first boar, rescued the earth which had been caused to sink down by the sons of Diti[68];—Who destroyed the life-destroying power of the Hûṇas[69]; who caused the inhabitants of the deserts[70] to tremble at his journeying forth; who eradicated the Chaidyas[71]; who subjugated the brave Utkaḷas[72] by all his patience and victory and administrative talent; by whom any one who possessed an abundance of strength and increase and courage, manifested in the exceedingly fierce van of battle, was cast into prison; and in describing whom (*even*) the best of poets is driven to his wit's end.[73] As Lakshmî was (*born*) from the ocean, so from that king, the glory of the Râshṭrakûṭa family, who resembled Brahmâ and Hara, (*there was born*) a daughter named Śri-Jâkabbâ. The king Śrî-Taila, the sun of the sky which was the family of the Châḷukyas, married her; and their union, like that of the excellent moonlight and the moon, was for the happiness of mankind."

Text.

Śrî-Taila-bhûmipâḷât Śrî-Jâkabbâ[74] samajîjanat | Śrîmat-Satyâśrayaṁ Skaṁdam= Aṁbikâ Tryaṁbakâd=iva || Vi[75]dvishad-gôtra-vitrâsî dêvô vibudha-saṁmataḥ | Div=îva bhuvi yô dhattê sarvva-varṇṇa-dharaṁ dhanuḥ || Api cha | Yasya pratâpa-jvalanêna dagdhaḥ prarôhat=iv=âri-gaṇasya vaṁśaḥ | Bâṇaiḥ prarûḍh-âṁkura-jâla-kalpair=ddiśâṁ vijêtuḥ pathi saṁnivishṭaiḥ ||

Translation.

"From the king Śrî-Taila, Śrî-Jâkabbâ gave birth to the glorious Satyâśraya;—as Ambikâ[76] (*gave birth to*) Skanda[77] from Tryambaka[78];—Who, causing trouble to the families of his enemies, and being godlike, and being honoured by learned people, carried on the earth a bow that supported all castes, just as (*Indra*), who causes trouble to the cow-pens of his foes, and who is a god, and who is honoured by gods, carries in the sky a bow[79] that contains all colours;—And, moreover, by the flame of whose prowess the family of his enemies was, as it were, burnt up, as he conquered the regions with arrows which were like a cluster of young sprouts grown forth, and were gathered together (*in dense numbers*) on his path."

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60 Krishṇa. 61 Pârvatî. 62 Kârttikêya.

63 Śiva. 64 Indra.

65 Sir Walter Elliot takes *ranastambha* as the name of a place, and does not translate *Karkara* at all. Mr. Wathen takes *Raṇastambha*, as well as *Karkara*, as the name of a king. A *raṇa-stambha*, 'pillar of war', is the same as a *kîrtti-stambha*, 'pillar of fame', *viz.*, a column set up to celebrate a victory. *Raṇa-stambha* might be the name of a place, but not of a person; and the sense is entirely opposed to its being used here as a proper name at all.

66 The Kakkarâja, or Kakkaladêvarâja, of the Kardâ plates at *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. III., p. 94, dated Śaka 894; —and the Kakkala of the Khârêpâṭaṇ plates at *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. I., p. 209, dated Śaka 930, subsequently to him, in which it is expressly said that he was conquered by the Châlukya king Tailapa.

67 Vishṇu.

68 The mother of the Daityas, or demons.

69 A people living in Bhâratavarsha.

70 The sandy plains of central and northern India

71 The people of Chêdi; see note 44 above.

72 The people of Orissa.

73 This verse is not altogether satisfactory; but there is no full translation of it by which I might approach more closely to the original text. Mr. Wathen translates, "Who destroyed the *Râjâs* of Hûna-Dêśa. In whose praise priests are constantly employed." While Sir Walter Elliot gives, "He likewise humbled Chôla, and many other princes."

Various Readings.

74 MS. Coll., *Jakabyâ*; S. C., *Jâkabjâ*; W. P., *Jâkadhvâ*.—75 This verse and the following are not in the MS. Coll. and S. C.

76 Pârvatî. 77 Kârttikêya.

78 Śiva. 79 The rainbow.

Text.

Tasy=ânujaḥ Śrî-Daśavarmma-nâmâ tad-vallabhâ Bhâgyavat=îti dêvî | Tayôr=abhûd=vikrama-śîḷa-śâḷî Śri-Vikramâditya-nṛipas=tanûjaḥ || Asau nija-jyêshṭha-pituḥ parôkshaṁ babhâra vârrâśi-vṛitâṁ dharitrîṁ | Bhujêna kêyûra-latâm = iv=ôchchair = vvidârit-ârâti-kadaṁbakêna || Jyô[80]stn=êv=âchchha-sunirmmalâ niśi saras-tîrêshu haṁs-âkṛitiḥ kâśa-stôma-samâ saritsu gaganê gaur-âbhra-vṛiṁda-dyutiḥ | Kîrttir=yyasya tad-udyam-ôchita-śarach-chihnâyamânâ ripûn=nityaṁ bhâvayat=îttham=anya-samayê=py=â-mâsa-vidvêshiṇî || Varṇṇ-âśramâṇâṁ sthitayê sthitô=pi yaś=ch=âkarôd=varṇṇa-viśêsha-hâniṁ | Sva-kîrttibhir=vyâpta-dig-aṁtarâbhis=tathâpi lôkê mahanîya êva || Tyag-âdayô yasya guṇâḥ prasiddhâḥ saṁkhyâm=atikramya sadâ pravṛittâḥ | Yaḥ saj-janânâṁ hṛidayâni badhvâ samâchakarsha sva-samîpa-dêśaṁ ||

Translation.

"His younger brother was he whose name was Śrî-Daśavarmâ, and whose wife was the queen named Bhâgyavatî. Their son was the king Śrî-Vikramâditya, who was endowed with the character of heroism. Beyond the sight of his most noble father, he, with his arm which dispersed the assemblage of his foes[81], lifted up on high the earth, encircled by the ocean, as if it were the thread of a bracelet.[82] His fame,—as if it were the moon-light in the night which is as pure as crystal; or resembling a swan on the banks of a river; or like a branch of *kâśa*-grass beside the streams; or radiant as a mass of white clouds,—becoming the mark of an autumn season suitable for his effort[83], and continuing its hostility up to the end of a (*whole*) month, always caused his enemies to be thus (*in difficulties*), even at any other time. Though he stood out for the maintenance of the castes and stages of life, he destroyed all distinctions of colour[84] by his (*white*) fame which pervaded all the regions; nevertheless, he was verily worthy to be honoured in the world. His celebrated qualities of liberality, &c., always surpassed enumeration; and, having taken captive the hearts of good people, he attracted to himself the country lying near to him."

Text.

Tad=anu tasy=ânujaḥ | Yasy=âkhiḷa-vyâpi yaśô=vadâtam=akâṁḍa-dugdh-âṁbudhi-vṛiddhi-śaṁkâṁ | Karôti mugdh-âmara-suṁdarîṇâm=abhût=sa bhûyô[85] Jagadêkamallaḥ || Sad=âvana-sthaḥ paṭu-vikram-âḍhyô[86] mad-âṁdha-gaṁdhêbha-ghaṭâ-vipâṭî | Dhar-ôrjjita-prasphurita-prabhâvô rarâja yô=sau Jayasiṁha-râjaḥ || Ya[87]tra prasîdati samasta-jagach=chharaṇyê nyakchakrur=Aṁtakam=api kshitipâḥ sakôpaṁ | Yasmân=manôratha-path-âtigam=arttham=artthî saṁprâpya saṁsmarati na sma sura-drumâṇâṁ || Agamad=akhiḷa-dhâtrî yêna râjanvatîtvaṁ nivasati nṛipa-lakshmîr=yyasya śubhr-âtapatrê | Sa sakaḷa-namit-âri-kshôṇibhṛin-mauḷi-ratna-dyuti-sulalita[88]-pâdô gaṁḍaroḷ-gaṁḍa[89]-bhûpaḥ || A-dôshâkara-saṁgô=pi vin=âpi sukha-dûshaṇaṁ | Sad-bhûti-bhûshaṇô yaś=cha saṁprâpa jagad-îśatâṁ || Vi[90]khyâta-Kṛishṇaverṇṇâ (?)[91]-Taila-snêh-ôpalabdha-saraḷatvaḥ[92] | Kuṁtaḷa-vishayô nitarâṁ[93] virâjatê mallik-âmôdaḥ ||

Translation.

"After that, again, there was his younger brother, Jagadêkamalla; whose white fame, pervading everything, makes the lovely women of the gods to be apprehensive of an unseasonable increase of the full-swollen ocean. He is that same king Jayasiṁha, who is

Various Readings.

[80] This verse, as also the two that follow, is not in the MS. Coll. and S. C.

[81] As this epithet might also be translated "which dispersed the hostile Kadambakas", there may possibly be a punning reference to the Kadambas.

[82] Mr. Wathen translates, "This Vikramâdityarâja, of his own prowess, succeeded his uncle in the government"; and adds, in a note, "Daśavarmâ, therefore, was not king." But I do not think that *jyêshṭha-pitṛi* can mean 'uncle.' The meanings of *jyêshṭha* are 'elder, senior', 'an elder brother', 'chief, greatest', and, as I take it here, 'most excellent, most noble, preëminent.' The sense of the verse obviously is that the kingdom was threatened by some hostile power; that Vikramâditya was deputed to resist the invasion; and that he gained a victory at some distant part of the territories, and therefore beyond the range of sight of his father. Sir Walter Elliot only gives, "And to them was born Vikramâditya, who broke the strength of the Kadambas."

[83] Because the rains would then have ceased, and the country would have become passable again. This verse, however, is rather obscure.

[84] The play on words is in *varṇa*, 'colour', and 'caste.'

Various Readings.

[85] MS. Coll. and S. C., as in my text; W. P., *bhûpô*.—[86] MS. Coll., *vikramâdyê*; S. C., *vikramâdyô*; W. P., *vikramâdmô*.—[87] This verse is not in the MS. Coll. and S. C.—[88] MS. Coll. and S. C., *salalita*; W. P., *saṁvalita*.—[89] MS. Coll. and S. C., as in my text; W. P., *gaṁḍarôgaṁḍa*; *gaṁḍaroḷ* is the Canarese loc. plur. of *gaṁḍa*.—[90] This verse is not in W. P.—[91] MS. Coll., *krishṭṇavarṇâ*; S.C., *kṛishnavarna*.—[92] MS. Coll., *saraḷatai*; S. C., *saraḷatvê*.—[93] MS. Coll., *vishayânvitarâṁ*; S. C., *vishayanitatâṁ*.

glorious, always continuing in protection, and abounding in skilful valour, and tearing open the frontal globes of the rutting elephants who are those that are blind with passion, and possessed of great glory which gleams over the world. While he is the protector, the world is calm, and kings treat with contempt even angry Death; and the beggar, having obtained from him wealth that surpasses his wish, remembers not the (*plenty-giving*) trees of the gods. Through him the whole world has attained the condition of being possessed of a good king; the goddess of royalty dwells in his white umbrella; having his feet made beautiful with the lustre of the jewels in the diadems of all the hostile kings who have been bowed down by him, he is a very king of heroes among heroes. Abstaining, even without obstructing their happiness, from the society of faulty people, and being decorated with good feeling, he attained the lordship of the world. The district of Kuntaḷa, fragrant with its jasmines, is very glorious, having attained fertility[94] through the moisture[95] of the celebrated (*river*) Kṛishṇaverṇâ, and honesty[94] (*on the part of its inhabitants*) through the affection[95] of the celebrated (*and former king*) Taila."[96]

The identity of the two inscriptions ceases at this point. The Miraj plates continue:—

Text.

Sa tu śrî-pṛithvîvallabha-mahârâj-âdhirâja-paramêśvara-paramabhaṭṭâraka-Satyâśrayakulatilaka-samastabhuvanâśraya-Châlukyâbharaṇaśrîmaj-Jagadêkamalladêvaḥ śrîmad-Vallabhanarêṁdradêvaḥ kuśalî sarvvân=êva yathâ - sambadhyamânakân = râshṭrapati - vishayapati - grâmakûṭak - âyuktaka - niyuktak-âdhikârika-mahattar-âdîn=samâdiśaty=astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ yath=âsmâbhiḥ Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta - saṁvatsara - śatêshu navasu shaṭ-chatvâriṁśad-adhikêshv=aṁkataḥ saṁvat 946 Raktâkshi - saṁvatsar - âṁtarggata - Vaiśâkha - paurṇṇamâsyâm=Âdityavârê yaṁ Chaṁdramil-âdhipatiṁ balavaṁtaṁ Chôlaṁ nirgghâtya sapta-Koṁkaṇ-âdhiśvarâṇâṁ sarvvasvaṁ gṛihîtvâ uttara - dig - vijay - ârtthaṁ Kôlhâ(llâ ?)pura-samîpa - samâvâsita - nija - vijaya - skaṁdhâvârê Pagalaṭi-vishay - âṁtaḥpâti - Mudunîra - grâma - jâtâya Kauśika-gôtrâya Bahvṛicha-śâkhâya brahmachâriṇê Śrîdharabhaṭṭa-pautrâya Rêvaṇâryyabhaṭṭa-putrâya Vâsudêvâryya-śarmmaṇê yajana-yâjan-âdi-shaṭ-karmma-niratâya vêda-vêdâṁga-pâragâya. Paḍadore-dvi - sahasr-âṁtaḥpâti - Karaṭikaṇṇu-triśata - madhyê Mâḍabhûrûru-grâmaḥ sa-dhânya-hiraṇy-âdêyaḥ nidhi-nidhâna-samêtaḥ râjakîyânâm=an-aṁguli-prêkshaṇîyaḥ sa-śulkaḥ sarvva-kara-bâdhâ-parîtaḥ sarvvanamasyô=grahârô dattaḥ ||

Translation.

"He, the glorious Jagadêkamalladêva, the glorious Vallabhanarêndradêva,—the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the most worshipful one, the glory of the family of Satyâśraya, the asylum of the universe, the ornament of the Châlukyas,—being in good health, thus informs all those who are concerned, (*viz.*) the lords of countries, the lords of districts, the heads of villages, the *Âyuktakas*, the *Niyuktakas*, the *Âdhikârikas*, the *Mahattaras*[97], and others:—'Be it known to you that,—in nine centuries of years, increased by forty-six, (*or*) in figures, the year 946, in the years which had expired in the era of the Śaka kings, on the day of the full moon of (*the month*) Vaiśâkha in the Raktâkshi *saṁvatsara*[98], on Sunday,—at Our victorious camp which, after warring against the mighty Chôla, the supreme lord of (*the city of*) Chandramila, and after taking the property of the lords of the Seven Koṅkaṇas[99], is located near (*the city of*) Kôlhâpura[100] for the purpose of conquering the northern country,—the village of Mâḍabhûrûru, in the Karaṭikaṇṇu Three-hundred which lies in the Paḍadore Two-thousand, has been given by Us, with its grain and gold and *adêya*[101], and with its deposit of treasure, and not to be pointed at with the finger (*of confisca-*

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[94] *Saralatva*. [95] *Snêha*.

[96] This verse is rather obscure, and it is not easy to see why it is introduced. The Kṛishṇaverṇa, or Kṛishṇaveṇṇâ, is a river somewhere in the Kuntaḷa district, mentioned in several other inscriptions; and *taila* cannot well apply to anything but the king of that name.

[97] These are four classes of officials, the nature of whose functions is not apparent. Professor Monier Williams explains *Mahattara* as the same as *Grâmakûṭa*, 'the head-man, or the oldest man, of a village.' But the *Grâmakûṭakas* are evidently referred to here as distinct from the *Mahattaras*.

[98] By the *Tables* in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, Śaka 946 was the Raktâkshi *saṁvatsara*.

[99] Or, "of the seven lords of the Koṅkaṇas."

[100] This is the modern form of the name. The original probably has 'Kollâpura', which is the ancient form, and is used in inscriptions of even later date than this.

[101] A technical term, the proper meaning of which is not clear. Professor Monier Williams explains it, from *dâ*,

tion) by the king's people, and with its customs-duties, and attended by (*exemption from*) all taxes and opposing claims[102], and as an entirely rent-free[103] *agrahâra*-grant, has been given by Us to Vâsudêvâryaśarmâ, who was born at the village of Mudunîra in the district of Pagalaṭi; who is of the Kauśika *gôtra;* who is of the Bahvṛicha *śâkhâ;* who is a religious student; who is the son's son of Śrîdharabhaṭṭa and the son of Rêvaṇâryabhaṭṭa; who is intent upon the six rites of sacrificing, and causing sacrifices to be performed, &c.; and who is well versed in the *Vêdas* and the *Vêdâṅgas*.' "

The rest of the inscription consists of a description of the boundaries of the village, and of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses. At the end come the words:—

Text.

Śrîmad-râjâdhirâja-râjachûḍâmaṇêḥ śrîmaj-Jayasiṁhadêvasya dattiḥ ‖ Śâsan-âdhikâri-mahâprachaṁḍa-daṁḍanâyaka-śrîmat-Prôṇâryya-pratibaddha-lêkhaka-Mâïayyêna likhitaṁ ‖ Maṁgalaṁ mahâ-śrî-śrî-śrî ‖

Translation.

"The gift of the glorious supreme king of kings, the most excellent of kings, the glorious Jayasiṁhadêva. Written by Mâïayya, the writer attached to (*the office of*) the most impetuous Leader of the forces, the glorious Prôṇârya, who is entrusted with the authority of (*issuing*) charters. (*May there be*) prosperity and great good fortune!"

At the same point, the Yêwûr tablet continues with the genealogy:—

Text.

Tataḥ pratâp-ôjjvalana-prabhâva-nirmmûla-nirddagdha-virôdhi-vaṁśaḥ | Tasy=âtmajaḥ pâḷayitâ dharâyâḥ śrîmân=abhûd=Âhavamalladêvaḥ ‖ Maṁgaḷaṁ ‖ Âtm-âvasthâna-hêtôr=abhilashati sadâ maṁḍalaṁ Mâlav-êśô dôlaṁ tâḷîvan-âṁtâny=anusarati[104] sarinnâtha-kûḷâni Chôḷaḥ | Kanyâkubj-âdhirâjô bhajati cha tarasâ kaṁdara-sthânam[105]=âdêr=uddâmô yat-pratâpa-prasara-bhara-bhay-ôdbhûti-vibhrâṁta-chittaḥ ‖ Âmnâna[106]-Taila-guṇa-saṁgrahaṇa-pravṛiddha-têjô-viśêsha-daḷita-dvishad-andhakâraḥ | Aṁdh-ârttatâṁ samanusṛitya[107] kavi-pradhânair=yyaḥ prôchyatê nanu Chaḷukya-kuḷa-pradîpaḥ ‖ Nâmn=êv=âti-chalaṁ[108] dvishan-mṛiga-kulaṁ vibhrâṁsya[109] têjô-dhikai ratnair=a-sphuritaṁ[110] purâ Gajapatês=tan=nâśayitvâ madaṁ | Tuṁgânâm=avanîbhṛitâm=anudinaṁ . . . . prâpa Śrî-Jayasiṁha[111]-naṁdana iti khyâtiṁ cha yaḥ prastutâṁ ‖ Jâtv=aty-ayukt-Âṁtakaja[112]-prabhâva-nirmmûlan-ôddâma-baḷasya yasya | Virâjatê nirjjita-Mînakêtôr=ddêvasya Châḷukya-mahêśvaratvaṁ ‖

Translation.

"Then the protector of the earth was his son, the glorious Âhavamalladêva, who entirely destroyed the family of his enemies by the power of the radiance of his splendour. (*May it be*) auspicious! Having his thoughts distracted by excess of fear arising from the burden of the putting forth of his prowess, the lord of Mâḷava is ever in quest of a territory in which to establish himself; and Chôḷa, in a state of doubt, betakes himself to the banks of the ocean, edged with groves of palm-trees; and the king of Kanyâkubja, who was uncontrolled from the beginning, quickly experiences an abode among the caves. Having destroyed the darkness which was his enemies by the excess of his brilliance which was increased by his acquiring through tradition the virtuous qualities of (*the former king*) Taila, he is properly called 'the torch of the family of the Chaḷukyas' by eminent poets, who had fallen into the condition of being distressed by the darkness. Having caused to disappear, as if by (*the mere mention of his*) name, the herd of the deer which were his enemies, very swift (*in the act of fleeing*),—and having, with jewels abounding in brilliance, destroyed the fury of Gajapati[113], which had not been manifested before,—and having . . . .

'give', as 'an object which, in law, it is either not right, or not necessary, to give or surrender.' It may be connected with *dô*, 'cut', and may mean 'wood, the felling of which is prohibited.' [102] *Bâdhâ*.

[103] *Sarvanamasya*; equivalent to *sarvamânya*; see *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XII., p. 378, note 42.

Various Readings.

[104] MS. Coll., *dôḷaṁtâḷîvanâṁtatyanusarati*; S. C., *dôḷaṁtâḷîvanâṁtâtyanyasarati*.—[105] MS. Coll., *'kaṁdarastâyam*; S. C., *raṁdarâstâhim*.—[106] MS. Coll., as in my text; S. C., *âmâna*.—[107] MS. Coll., *adaṁtêtâṁmanyasputya*; S. C., *aṁdatvatâsamanyaśrutyâ*.—[108] MS. Coll., *baḷaṁ*; S. C., as in my text.—[109] MS. Coll., *vibhrâja*; S. C., *vibhrâsya*.—[110] MS. Coll., as in my tex;; S. C., *astvaḷitaṁ*.—[111] MS. Coll., *tatpâpadarmyâdasa*[illegible]-*prâptasrîjayasiṁha*; S. C., *datvâpadaṁmudvôsyaprâp*[illegible]-*jayasiṁha*.—[112] MS. Coll., *jâtvatyayuktânakaja*; S. [illegible] *ôdvṛityâyuktâṁtakaja*.

[113] 'The lord of elephants'; the title of some southern dynasty.

[114] of eminent kings,—he acquired the renowned appellation of 'the son of Śrî-Jayasiṁha.' He, the godlike one, whose strength was irresistible in subverting the power of the excessively ill-behaved son of Antaka[115], having conquered him[116] who bears (*the emblem of*) a fish upon his banner,—his condition of being the great lord[117] of the Châḷukyas is glorious."

Text.

Tasmâd=ajâyata jagaj-janita-pramôdaḥ
śriṁgâra-vîra-rasikaḥ kavi-lôka-kâṁtâḥ |
Kâṁtâ -vilôla-nayan -ôtpala -châru -chaṁdraś=
Châḷukya-vaṁśa-tiḷakô Bhuvanaikamallaḥ ||

Translation.

"From him was born Bhuvanaikamalla, the ornament of the Châḷukya lineage,—who produced the happiness of the world; who was characterized by love and bravery; who was dear to poets; and who was as a beautiful moon to (*cause to open into blossom*) the water-lilies which were the tremulous eyes of his mistresses."

After this the copy in the MS. Collection and the Second Copy differ so hopelessly, and each is so unpresentable by itself, that I cannot any further reconstruct the text in a readable form. There is one more verse in praise of Bhuvanaikamalla, and then four in praise of his younger brother Vikramâditya, also called Tribhuvanamalla; they do not seem to contain any historical allusions. The Sanskṛit portion of the inscription terminates here, and is followed by the words:—*Idu tâmra-śâsanadoḷ = irdda Châḷukya-chakravarttigaḷa vaṁśada râjyaṁ-geyd=arasugaḷa râjâvaḷi*; *i.e.* "This (*is*) the royal genealogy, which was in a copper-plate charter, of the kings, who exercised dominion, of the lineage of the Châḷukya emperors."

Then commences the Canarese portion. After a verse invoking a blessing on a Leader of the forces, named Ravidêva, it reverts to, and recapitulates part of, the genealogy. Starting with the god Brahmâ, who was born from the water-lily that grows in the navel of the god Vishṇu, it states that, among the Châḷukyas, who were born in his family, there was king Taila, whose son, (omitting Satyâśraya) was Daśavarmâ. His son was Vikrama, to whose younger brother, Jayasiṁhavallabha, king Âhavamalla was born. His sons were Sômêśvara and Kali-Vikrama, or 'the brave Vikrama.' There is then given, at some length, the genealogy of Ravidêva, or Raviyaṇabhaṭṭa as he is also called, by birth a Brâhmaṇ of the Kâśyapa *gôtra;* and it is recorded that he caused a certain Nâgavarmâ to build a temple of the god Svayaṁbhû-Śiva at the village of Êhûr.[118] Then come the grants to this temple:—

Text.

Svasti Samasta-bhuvan-âśrayaṁ śrîpṛithvîvallabha -mahârâj-âdhirâja-paramêśvara-paramabhaṭṭârakaṁ. Satyâśraya-kuḷa-tiḷakaṁ Châḷuky-âbharaṇaṁ śrîmat-Tribhuvana-malladêvara vijaya-râjyam=uttar-ôttar-âbhivṛiddhi - pravarddhamânam = â-chaṁdr - ârkka-târaṁ baraṁ saluttam = ire Kalyâṇada nelevîḍinoḷ=sukha-saṁkathâ-vinôdadiṁ râjyaṁ-geyyuttam=ire | Râshṭrapati-vishayapati-grâmakûṭak - âyuktaka - niyuktak - âdhikârika - mahattar-âdi-saṁmatadiṁ Svasti śrîmach-Châḷukya-Vikrama-varshada 2neya Piṁgaḷa-saṁvatsarada Śrâvaṇa-paurṇṇamâsi Âdityavâra sôma-grahaṇa-mahâ-parvva-nimittadiṁ palavu ṁ mahâ-dânaṁgaḷaṁ koṭṭu dâna-kâladoḷ śrîman-mahâpradhânaṁ hĕri-lâḷa[119] saṁdhi-vigrahi daṁḍanâyakaṁ Raviyaṇabhaṭṭara binnapadiṁ avar=mmâḍisida Êhûra[120] Śrî-Svayaṁbhû-dêvargge gaṁdhadhûpa-dîpa-naivêdy-âdy-archchanakkaṁ khaṁda - sphuṭita - jîrṇṇ-ôddhâra-nava-sudhâkarmmakkaṁ pâvuḷa[121]-varggakkaṁ vô(ô)duva kêḷva vidyârtthi-tapôdhanara chhâttrara[122] aśan-âchchhâdanakkaṁ avargge va(o)khkhaṇisuva bhaṭṭarggaṁ Chaitra-pavitr-âbhyâgat-âdi-pûjegaḷgaṁ saṁkrâṁti-grahaṇ-âdi-parvva-hôma-bali-kriy-âdigaḷgaṁ Brâhmaṇ-âdi-dîn-

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[114] Some words in the text are unintelligible here; see note 111 above.

[115] Some southern king named Kâma must be alluded to here. The god Kâmadêva, who is certainly referred to in the last part of the verse, and probably here also, is sometimes said to be the son of Dharma, *i.e.* Yama, or Antaka.

[116] The Pâṇḍya king. *Mîna-kêtu*, 'fish-bannered', is also an epithet of Kâmadêva.

[117] *Mah-êśvara.* There is also an allusion to the destruction of Kâmadêva by Mahêśvara, or Śiva.

[118] This is the form of the name here in both copies. The metre shows that the first syllable is long.

Various Readings.

[119] MS. Coll., *hirêlâla*; S. C., as in my text.—[120] MS. Coll., *Yêvûra*; S. C., *Êhûra*.—[121] MS. Coll., as in my text; S. C., *pâvaḷa*.—[122] MS. Coll., *śâstrara*; S. C., *chhâ-*

ânâtha-saṁtarppaṇakkam=âgi alliya[123] âchâryyar[124]=Eḷemêlasiṁhapadô[125]nmaṁḍaliya Maliyâḷapaṁḍitadêvara śishyar=Mmiriṁjiya[126] Chikkadêvara praśishyar=appa śrîmat(j)-Jñânarâśipaṁḍitargge dhârâ-pûrvvakaṁ mâḍi koṭṭa Nariyuṁboḷey=erppattara[127] baḷiya Kiṟiya-Beḷḷuṁbaṭṭeya polad-oḷag=Eḷarâveya tîrtthada gaḍiṁbadal Raṭṭara-Mallana poladoḷ[128]=aḷedu biṭṭa kariya nelaṁ mattar=innûṟ-ayvattu[129]||

Translation.

"Hail! While the victorious reign of the glorious Tribhuvanamalladêva,—the asylum of the universe, the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the most worshipful one, the glory of the family of Satyâśraya, the ornament of the Châḷukyas,—was flourishing with perpetual increase, (*so as to endure*) as long as the moon and sun and stars (*might last*), and while he was ruling, with the delight of pleasing conversations, at the capital of Kalyâṇa,—with the consent of the lords of countries[130], the lords of districts, the heads of villages, the *Âyuktakas*, the *Niyuktakas*, the *Âdhikârikas*, the *Mahattaras*, and others,—Hail!,—at the time of making gifts, after the bestowal of certain great gifts on account of the great festival of an eclipse of the moon on Sunday, the day of the full-moon of (*the month*) Śṛâvaṇa of the Piṅgaḷa *saṁvatsara*, which was the second of the years of the glorious Châḷukya Vikrama[131],—at the request of the glorious Great Minister, ... [132], the officer for peace and war, the Leader of the forces, Raviyaṇabhaṭṭa,—there were given, with libations of water, for the god Śrî-Svayaṁbhû of Êhûr, whose temple he had caused to be built, to the holy Jñánarâśipaṇḍita, the *Achârya* of that place, the disciple of Maliyâḷapaṇḍitadêva of Eḷemêlasiṁhapadônmaṇḍali, and the disciple's disciple of Chikkadêva of Miriñji[133], two hundred and fifty *mattars* of black-soil land, measured by the *gaḍimba*[134] of the sacred place of Eḷarâve, in the field of Raṭṭara-Malla in the lands of (*the village of*) Kiṟiya-Beḷḷumbaṭṭe which is near to[135] the Nariyuṁboḷe[136] Seventy (?),—for the incense and the lamp and the perpetual oblation and the other forms of worship, and to repair whatever may become broken or torn or worn-out through age, and for renewing the whitewash, and for . . . .[137], and to provide food and clothing for the student-ascetics and the pupils who read and listen (*to that which is read to them*), and for the *Bhaṭṭas* who preach to them, and for the *Chaitra* and the *Pavitra* and the entertainment of guests and the other rites, and for the *hôma* and the *bali* and other offerings at the time of the passage of the sun and at eclipses and at other festivals."

The rest of the inscription is taken up with the other details of the grants, and with the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses.

No. LI.

After writing the above paper, I found in the Elliot MS. Collection, at Vol. I., p. 325, another inscription which, though it does not make the same acknowledgment as the Yêwûr tablet, must have been founded in the same way on the Miraj plates and some other copper-plate grant. It is on a stone-tablet on the right side of the image in the temple of the god Vîrabhadra at Âlûr in the Gadag Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâḍ District. It is another inscription of the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI., and is dated in the sixteenth year of his reign, the Prajâpati *saṁvatsara*, *i.e.*

trara.—[123] MS. Coll. omits from *saṁkrâṁti* down to *alliya*, inclusive.—[124] MS. Coll., *braṁhmachâryyar*; S. C., as in my text.—[125] MS. Coll., *siṁhvapadô*; MS., *siṁhapapô.*—[126] MS. Coll., *śishyamiriṁjiya*; S. C., *sishyariṁjaya.*—[127] MS. Coll., *aruvattara*; S. C., *orpattara.*—[128] MS. Coll., as in my text; S. C., *puḷeyoḷ.*—[129] MS. Coll., *mattariṁnûraivattu*; S. C., *mattaranûrayvattu.*

[130] These names of officials, so unusual in an Old Canarese inscription, are in themselves strong proof that the Miraj plates are the principal source from which the Yêwûr inscription was drawn up.

[131] By the *Tables* in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, the Piṅgala *saṁvatsara* was Śaka 999.

[132] *Hĕri-lâḷa*, or *hirê-lâla*; meaning not known. The first part of the word is probably *hĕri*, as in ll. 12-13 of the Kâdarôḷi inscription at Vol. I., p. 141; and it *may* be the same word as *ereya*, 'husband, master.'

[133] The modern Miraj.

[134] This must be some standard measure; but I cannot obtain any clue to the explanation of it. On examining a clearer photograph of Major Dixon's No. 105, published at Vol. IV., p. 278, I find that the reading in ll. 15-16 should be *Śrî-Praṇamêśvara-dêvara gaḍimbada gaḷeya*; the text and translation should be corrected accordingly, and note †, p. 279*a*, should be cancelled.

[135] *Baḷiya.*

[136] sc. '(the village of) the stream of the jackal.'

[137] *Pâvuḷa-varggakkaṁ*, or *pâvaḷa-varggakkaṁ*; meaning not known.

Śaka 1013 (A.D. 1091-2), and also in the forty-ninth year of his reign, the Krôdhi *saṁvatsara*, *i.e.* Śaka 1046 (A.D. 1124-5). The MS. Collection copy of this inscription does not enable me to improve any further on my version of the Miraj plates and the Yêwûr tablet. It will, however, be useful and convenient to give here an abstract of its contents.

The opening verses are arranged rather differently. First comes the verse *Jayaty=âvishkṛitaṁ Vishṇôr*, &c.; then the verse *Śriyam=upaharatâd=vaḥ*, &c.; then the verse *Karimakara-makarik-âṅkita*, &c., in praise of Tribhuvanamalla; and then the verse *Namas=tuṁga-śiraś-chuṁbi*, &c., followed by the words *Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbbhâya namaḥ*.

It then continues, in just the same way as the Yêwûr tablet, with but few verbal differences, and repeating most of its mistakes, from *Svasti Samasta-bhuvana-saṁstûyamâna-Mânavya-sagôtrâṇâṁ*, down to *vidârit-ârâti-kadaṁbakêna* in the description of Vikramâditya V.; except that it omits the verse *Hûṇa-prâṇahara-pratâpa-dahanô*, &c. in the description of Taila II. The verses concerning Naḍamari and Adityavarmâ occur with precisely the same mistakes as in the MS. Collection copy of the Yêwûr tablet.

In the description of Jayasiṁha III., it gives only *Tad=anu tasy=ânujaḥ*, followed by the verse *Sad=âvana-sthaḥ*, &c. The other verses are omitted.

In the description of Âhavamalla or Sômêśvara I., it gives only the verse *Tataḥ pratâp-ôjjvalana*, &c.

The only verse descriptive of Bhuvanaikamalla or Sômêśvara II., is *Tasmâd=ajâyata jagaj-janita*, &c.

In the description of Vikramâditya VI., there are the same four verses as in the Yêwûr tablet; but even this fresh version of them does not enable me to make out the text with any approach to accuracy.

Then, omitting the words *Idu tâmra-śâsanadoḷ=irdda*, &c., it winds up the genealogy with the statement, partly in the Canarese and partly in the Sanskrit idiom, and altogether very much mixed up, *Śrî-pṛithvîvallabha-mahârâj-âdhirâja-paramêśvaraṁ paramabhaṭṭârakaṁ Satyâśraya-kuḷa-tiḷakaṁ Châḷuky-âbharaṇaṁ śrîmat-Tribhuvanamalladêvaḥ kuśaḷî sarvvân=êva yathâ-saṁbadhyamânakân rashṭrapati-vishayapati-grâmakûṭak-âyuktaka-niyuktak-âdhikârika-mahattar-âdîn samâdiśaty=astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ yath=âsmâbhiḥ râj-âvaḷi samâpta*, *i.e.* "The glorious Tribhuvanamalladêva,—the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the most worshipful one, the glory of the family of Satyâśraya, the ornament of the Châḷukyas,—being in good health, thus informs all those who are concerned, (*viz.*) the lords of countries, the lords of districts, the heads of villages, the *Âyuktakas*, the *Niyuktakas*, the *Âdhikârikas*, the *Mahattaras*, and others, that, The royal genealogy has been finished by Us."

The rest of the inscription is in Old Canarese, with the occasional use of Sanskrit inflections in the first record of grants, as if the writer of the inscription had by him for reference some *dâna-patra*, or 'deed of gift,' drawn up in the Sanskrit language. The first record of grants is dated at the time of the sun's commencing his progress to the north, on Thursday, the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of the month Pushya of the Prajâpati *saṁvatsara*, which was the sixteenth of the years of the glorious Châḷukya king Vikrama, while the victorious camp was located at the *râj-âśraya*, or 'capital',—*i.e.*, probably, at the city of Kalyâṇa in the Dekkan. It states that two hundred *nivartanas* on the north of the village, and other portions of land, at the *agrahâra*-village of Mâḷad-Âlûr in the Mâsavâḍi One-hundred-and-forty, were given to Mahâdêvayyanâyaka, a *Bhaṭṭa* of the Vasishṭha *gôtra*, for the rites of the temple of the god Traipurusha[138], during the government[139] of Raviyaṇabhaṭṭa, the glorious High Minister, ... [140], the officer for peace and war, the Leader of the forces; and that the two-hundred *Mahâjanas*, headed by the *Ûroḍe*[141], of the village of Mâḷad-Âlûr, gave certain grants of *gadyâṇas* of gold and certain lands into the trusteeship[142] of Suragiya-Mahâdêvay-

[138] *i. e.*, Brahmâ, Vishṇu, and Śiva, conjointly.

[139] *Âḷkeyal.*

[140] *Hiri-lâḷa-kurunaḍa*; meaning not known.

[141] From *ûr*, 'village', and *oḍe*, 'king, master, governor, proprietor.' *Ûroḍe* is perhaps another designation of the *Gauḍa*, or 'village-headman.'

[142] *Kayyal*; *lit.*, 'into the hand.'

yanâyaka, for the purposes of the *grâma-kârya* or 'village-rites.'

The second record of grants is dated at the time of the *mahâ-saṁkramaṇa*, or the sun's commencing his progress to the south, on Sunday, the day of the full-moon of the month Śrâvaṇa of the Krôdhi *saṁvatsara*, which was the forty-sixth of the years of the glorious Châḷukya king Vikrama. It states that while the Leader of the forces, Suragiya-Permâḍiyarasa, was governing at Mâḷad-Âlûr[143], the two hundred *Mahâjanas*, headed by the *Ûroḍe*, of the *agrahâra*-village of Mâḷad-Âlûr, which was a grant of the glorious Janamêjaya, built a *maṇṭapa* for the god Traipurusha-Sarasvatî, and gave certain grants of *gadyâṇas* of gold and certain lands into the trusteeship[144] of Suragiya-Permâḍiyarasa, for the purpose of the *grâma-kârya* or 'village-rites.'

THE CHALUKYAS AND PALLAVAS.

BY LEWIS RICE, BANGALORE.

The long-continued animosity and contests between the kings of these two dynasties are matters of history. It would almost seem as if there were something in their origin, as implied in an expression to be noticed further on, which rendered them mutually inimical. Indeed 'Chalukya' has a suggestive resemblance to the Greek name 'Seleukeia,' while the Pallavas have been described[1] as Pahlavas, denoting a Persian origin, and as Skythians.[2] It is true the Chalukyas claim a very circumstantial Hindu descent; but, from inscriptions recently published, the question arises whether it may not have been adopted from the Kadambas, whose dominion was probably the wealthiest and most extensive which the Chalukyas supplanted. Of the Pallavas, sufficient is not known. But, apart from any such hypothesis, there were abundant reasons to account for a state of continual hostility between the two powers. The following inscription contains so many new and interesting details in regard to the subject, that the above seemed an appropriate heading under which to publish it.

The object of the inscription is a grant by the Chalukya king Kîrtti-varmma II., and it is dated not only in the Śaka era, but in the year of the king's reign, thus fixing the date of his accession, and, by consequence, the termination of his predecessor's reign:—points, as far as my information goes, not before known. It also clears up the doubt as to whether Vikramâditya's successor was his son Kîrtti-varmma, or his nephew of the same name. These bits of information alone would give the inscription value. But it is in connection with the yet little known Pallavas, that it supplies details which seem to me of chief interest.

The grant is engraved in Haḷe Kannaḍa characters on five copper plates (9½ in. by 5¼ in.), secured in the usual way by a metal ring, bearing a *varâha* or boar (1½ in. by 1 in.) on the seal.[3] The language throughout may be described as high Sanskṛit, and it is generally free from inaccuracies. The date is Śaka 680 (A.D. 758), the 11th year of the king's reign, thus giving us A.D. 747 for the end of the reign of Vikramâditya II., and the beginning of that of Kîrtti-varmma II., who makes the grant. This consists of a gift of certain villages in the Pânuṅgal district (the modern Hângal, in Dhârwâḍ) to a Brâhmaṇ named Mâdhava-śarmma, on the application of Śri-Dosirâja, apparently the local chief or ruler.

The origin of the Chalukya (here Chaulukya) family being described in the usual manner of their early inscriptions, the first king mentioned is Paulakeśi, who is stated to have performed the horse-sacrifice. His son Kîrtti-varmma was the subduer of the kings of Vanavâsî, *i. e.* the Kadambas. Next comes Satyâśraya, who gained victories on simply riding forth alone on his horse Chitrakanṭha, and who defeating Harsha-varddhana, the king of all the north, thence took the title of *Parameśvara*, which,

[143] *Chakravarttiya prasâd-ôpalabdhiyiṁ agrahâraṁ Mâḷad-Âlûra mêl-âḷkeyaṁ sukhadiṁd=âḷuttam-irddu.*

[144] *Kayyal.*

[1] H. H. Wilson's *Vishṇu Purâṇa* (FitzEdward Hall's edition), vol. II. p. 187; vol. III. p. 292, &c.

[2] General Cunningham, *Archæol. Rep.* vol. III. p. 4.

[3] It was shown to me in Vokkalêri, about thirty miles north-east of Bangalore, by a man who had bought it for *four annas* of a râiyat who found it while digging,—where, I could not ascertain.

as well as the surname Satyâśraya, is adopted by all the succeeding kings.

Vikramâditya follows,[4] who smites down the kings of Pâṇḍya, Choḷa, Keraḷa, and Kaḷabhra.[5] With him commences the first notice of the Pallavas,—according to the inscription, till then unconquered. For he is said to have forced the king of Kânchî, "who had never bowed to any man", to lay his crown at his feet. This must have been at the end of the 6th century.

Vinayâditya, his son, succeeded. He, it is said, captured the whole army of Trairâjya (Pallava), the king of Kânchî; levied tribute from the rulers of Kavera, Pârasîka, Siṁhala, and other islands; and by churning all the kings of the north acquired the *Pâḷi-dhvaja*, and immense wealth. The island of Siṁhala must be Ceylon, while Kavera, if meant to be described as an island, I can only guess may be some island on the Kâverî (a derivative from Kavera), such as Śrirangam, Śivasamudram, Seringapatam, or some other; but the intervention of Pârasîka, a well-known name for Persia, between the two, makes it doubtful whether the term 'island' is to be applied to more than Siṁhala. The geography here seems rather uncertain, but it is strange to find a Pârasîka in this connection, unless indeed the Pallavas, retaining the tradition of a supposed Persian origin, should have given the name to some island in the south. The churning of all the kings of the north implies a large range of conquests. But among the trophies of these victories is the *Pâḷi-dhvaja*, or flag, which is several times mentioned in the succeeding parts of the inscription. This term is quite new to me, and I have met with no explanation of it,[6] unless *Pâḷi* is the well-known name of the sacred language of the Buddhists, and is equivalent to Buddhist. The word is spelt here with the heavy *ḷa* of Kannaḍa, a letter which, it appears,[7] occurs in Sanskṛit only in the Vedas. If it be the name of the language above mentioned, we may suppose that the banner, from its designation, bore some legend or motto in Pâḷi —perhaps the Buddhist formula of faith.

In the next reign, that of Vijayâditya, were apparently completed the conquests his grandfather had made in the south, and those his father had made in the north. By the latter victories were obtained the following regal trophies:—the Gaṅgâ, Yamunâ, and *Pâḷi-dhvajapaṭa*, the great *ḍhakkâ* drum, rubies, and lusty elephants. Further on the *Pâḷi-dhvaja* is again mentioned as one of the chief insignia of this king. With it are now associated, as it appears, the Gaṅgâ and Yamunâ flags, which are quite as difficult to account for.

With Vikramâditya II. we are brought to close quarters with the Pallavas. Soon after his coronation (A. D. 733) he resolved to use the whole powers of the kingdom, now at his disposal, to root out the Pallavas, the obscurers of the splendour of the former kings of his line, and *prakṛity-amitrasya*, 'by nature hostile,' an expression to which I have referred at the beginning of this paper. Vikramâditya, by a rapid movement, got into the Udâka district, which, it seems, must have been in the Pallava territories, though whether it is a name or a descriptive term is not clear. Here he encountered the enemy, and in the battle which took place slew the Pallava king, whose name was Nandi Pota-varmma,[8] and captured the following trophies:—his lotus-mouthed trumpet, his drum called 'Roar of the Sea,' his chariot, standard, immense and celebrated elephants, together with his collection of rubies which by their own radiance dispelled all darkness.[9] The victorious Chalukya next made a triumphal entry into Kâñchî, the Pallava capital, which he refrained from plundering. Here he was struck with admiration at the sculptures of the city. These, we are told, consisted of statues in stone of Râja-siṁheśvara and other *deva-kula* which had been made (*nimmâpita*) by

[4] I may mention here that I have since met with a grant by Ambera, the son of Satyâśraya, which I am inclined to think is unique.

[5] Perhaps the Kalabhuriyas or Kalachuriyas.

[6] See *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII. p. 111, note 25.—Ed.

[7] Max Müller, *Sans. Gram.*

[8] *Pota* resembles some forms of Buddha. As a Sanskrit word it has the meaning 'the young of any animal.' But there is a local god of this name. C. P. Brown says (*Tel. Dict.*) "he is a rustic god, like Pan, worshipped (chiefly by herdsmen) throughout the Telugu, Kannaḍa, and Marâṭhâ countries: after him many men are named. His wives, after whom some women are named, are called Gangamma and Polakamma or Poleramma. These answer to Punch and Judy." In Mysore, Potappa is represented as a man with a sword in one hand, and a buffalo's head in the other. His figure is invariably placed in the temples of Dharma Râya, the chief object of worship among the Tigalar, a class of cultivators from the Tamiḻ country.

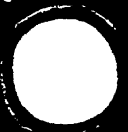
[9] The temple at Paṭṭadkal, in Kalâdgi, was erected to celebrate this victory, by Lokamahâdevî, the queen of Vikramâditya: *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 85.

WESTERN CHALUKYA GRANT OF KIRTTIVARMA II. — SAKA 679.

I.

J. F. FLEET, BO C S

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH. LONDON, S.E.



Narasiṁha Pota-varmma, who must have been a former Pallava king, though at what distance of time is not known, but he is expressly stated to have been a friend of the twice-born, *i.e.* the Brâhmaṇs. These statues the conqueror caused to be overlaid with gold.

Of the magnificent works of sculpture executed under the Pallavas we have sufficient evidence in the Amarâvatî stûpa, and in the remains of Mahâbalipûr, or the Seven Pagodas. But the subject of these statues is not clear. *Deva kula* would seem to imply that they were images of gods, but there is no such god as Râja-siṁha that I am aware of. It seems allowable to suppose that they were statues of deified members of the royal family. It is a common practice to erect a *liṅga* in the name of a deceased king. Thus the celebrated temple at Haḷebîḍ is dedicated to Hoysaḷeśvara, and the late Mahârâja of Maisûr founded the temple of Châmarâjeśvara in honour of his father Châma Râja. Now the account which Sir Walter Elliot has given of the first encounter of the Chalukyas and the Pallavas runs to the following effect:—In the reign of Trilochana-Pallava the Chalukya king Jayasiṁha invaded the kingdom. He was, however, slain. But his wife, then pregnant, fled and took refuge with a Brâhmaṇ named Vishṇu-Somayâji, in whose house she gave birth to a son named Râja-siṁha. On attaining to man's estate he renewed the contest with the Pallavas, in which he was finally successful, cementing his power by a marriage with a princess of that race.

If the Râjasiṁheśvara statue in question was that of a former prince of his own race, the first who had been victorious over the Pallavas, and whose memory, from the fact of his having married into their family, Vikramâditya now found to be thus reverently cherished, it would account, perhaps, for his moderation towards the city, and for his commemorating his entry by causing the statues to be gilded.

We are next introduced to him in a seaside residence at a place called Jayamambha, situated on the shore of the southern ocean,[10]—of which a graphic description is given in truly oriental style,—where he dwelt in peace after withering up Pâṇḍya, Choḷa, Keraḷa, Kaḷabhra, and other kings.

We now arrive at the reign of Kîrtti-varmma, the donor of the grant. On attaining the proper age he was made *Yuvarâja*, and, in order to distinguish himself by some warlike exploit, requested permission to march against the king of Kâñchî, the enemy of his race. The victorious expedition of the preceding reign had therefore reduced, but not crushed, the Pallava power. The young prince obtained his father's permission, and marched against the weakened Pallava, who, being unable to withstand him in the field, took refuge in a hill-fort. There Kîrtti-varmma seems to have left him, but scattered his forces and plundered his treasures, carrying off elephants, rubies, and gold, which he delivered to his father. Thus in due time he became a *Sârvvabhauma*, or universal emperor.

Such are some of the details furnished by this interesting inscription, a transcript and translation of which here follow. The gradual accumulation of the titles invariably applied to the later Chalukya kings will be noticed. Pulakeśi is simply '*vallabha-mahârâja.*' Kîrtti-varmma prefixes *pṛithivî* to *vallabha.* Satyâśraya further prefixes *śrî*, and assumes the title '*parameśvara*,' which he had won. Vikramâditya extends the list with *bhaṭṭâraka;* while in the description of Vijayâditya is first used the phrase *samasta-bhuvan-âśraya*, which afterwards became a title.

It was only thirty years later than the date of this grant that, according to Wilson, the Buddhists were expelled from the neighbourhood of Kâñchî to Ceylon. In 788 A.D., he says, Akalaṅka, a Jain teacher from Srâvaṇa Belgoḷa, who had been partly educated in the Bauddha college at Ponataga (near Trivatûr, south of Kâñchî), disputed with them in the presence of the last Bauddha prince, Hemasitala, and having confuted them, the prince became a Jain, and the Bauddhas were banished to Kandy.[11]

Vokkalêri Plates. Transcript.

I. Svasti Jayaty âvishkṛitam-Vishṇor-vârâham kshobhitârṇavam dakshiṇonnata-daṁshṭrâgra-viśrânta-bhuvanam

[10] Called Ghûrṇamânârṇa—no doubt a descriptive epithet, and not a name. If the latter, the first part of it might suggest another derivation, besides the many already given, for Coromandel.

[11] *McK. Coll.* vol. I. p. lxv.

vapuś Śrîmatâm sakala-bhuvana-samstûyamâna-Mânavyasa-gotrânâm Hâriti-putrâ-
nâm sapta-loka-mâtṛibhis-sapta-mâtṛibhir-abhivarddhitânâm Kârttikeya-parirakshaṇa-prâ-
pta-kalyâṇa-paramparâṇâm bhagavan-Nârâyaṇa-prasâda-samâsâdita-varâha-lân-
chane-kshaṇa - kshaṇa - vaśîkritâśesha - mahîbhṛitâm Chaulukyânâm kulam - alanka-
ri shṇor aśvamedhâvabhṛitha-snâna-pavitrîkrita-gâtrasya śri-Paulake-
śi vallabha-mahârâjasya sûnuh parâkramâkrânta-Vanavâsy-âdi-para-nṛipati-ma-
ṇḍala - praṇibaddha - viśuddha - kîrtti - śrî - Kîrtti - Varmma - pṛithivî - vallabha - mahârâjas tasyâ-
tmajas samara-samsakta-sakalottara-patheśvara-śrî-Harsha-Varddhana-parâja-
yopâtta-Parameśvara-śabdas tasya Satyâśraya-śrî-pṛithivî-va-
II.a. llabha-mahârâjâdhirâja-parameśvarasya priya-tanayasya prajnâ[vina]ya-
sya khaḍga-mâtra-sahâyasya Chitrakaṇṭhâbhîdhâna-pravara-turangameṇaikenaivo-
tsâditâśesha-vijagîshor-avanipati-tritayântaritâm-sva-guro-śrîyam-âtma-
sâtkṛitya prabhâva-kulîsa-dalita-Pâṇḍya-Choḷa-Keraḷa-Kaḷabhra-prabhṛiti-bhû-
bhṛi[d] pad-abhra-vibhramasyânanyâvanata-Kânchîpati-makuṭa-chumbita-pâ-
dâ mbhujasya Vikramâditya-Satyâśraya-śrî-pṛithivî-vallabha-mahâ-
râjâdhirâja-parameśvara-bhaṭṭârakasya priya-sûnor Bâlendu-Śekha-
rasya-Târakâratir-iva Daitya-balam-atisamuddhatam-Trairâjya-Kânchîpati-
balam-avashṭabhya karadîkṛita-Kavera-Pârasîka-Śimhaḷâdi-dvîpâdhipa-
II.b. sya sakalottara-patha-nâtha-mathanopârjjitorjjita-pâḷi-dhvajâdi-samasta-
pâramaiśvaryya-chinhasya Vinayâditya-Satyâśraya-śrî-pṛithivî-vallabha-mahârâ-
jâdhirâja-parameśvara-bhaṭṭârakasya priyâtmajaś śaiśava-varâdhigatâśeshâ-
stra-śâstro dakshineśâ-vijayini-pitâmahe-samunmûlita-akhila-kaṇṭa-
ka-samhatir uttarâpatha-vijigîshor-guror-agrata-evâhava-vyâpâra-
m-âvaran-narâti-gaja-ghaṭa-pâṭana-viśîryyamâṇa-kṛipâṇa-
dhâras samagra-vigrahâgresaras sa-sauhâsar-asikah-parâṅmukhîkṛita-śa-
tru-maṇḍalo Gangâ-Yamunâ-pâḷi-dhvajapaṭa-ḍhakkâ-mahâśabda-chinhâ-mâ-
ṇikya-matangajâdîn-pitṛiśât-kurvvan-paraih-palâyamâner-âsâdya
katham-api vidhi-vaśâd apanîto pratâpâd eva visha-
III.a. ya-prakopam arâjakam-utsârayan-Vatsa-Râja-ivânapekshitâ-parasahâ-
yakas tadavagrahân-nirggatya-sva-bhujâvashṭambha-prasâdhitâśesha-viśvambharah pra-
bhur-Akhaṇḍîva śakti-trayatvât chhatru-mada-bhanjanatvâd udâratvân niravadyatvâ-
d yas samasta-bhuvanâśrayas sakala-pâramaiśvaryya-vyakti-hetu-pâḷi-
dhva jâdy-ujvala-prâjya-râjyâ Vijayâditya-Satyâśraya-śrî-pṛithivî-
va llabha-mahârâjâdhirâja-parameśvara-bhaṭṭârakasya priya-putra-
s sakala-bhuvana-sâmrâjya-lakshmî-svayamvarâbhisheka-samayânanta-
ra-samupajâta-mahotsahah âtma-vamśaja-pûrvva-nṛipati-chchhâyâ-
pahârinah prakṛity-amitrasya(h) Pallavasya samûlottûla-
III.b. nâya-kṛitamatir ati-tvarayât-udâka-vishayam-prâpyâbhimu[kh]âgatan Nandi-Pota-Va-
rmmâbhidhânam-Pallavam-raṇa-mukhe-samprahṛitya prapalâsya-kaṅkamukha-vâdi-
tra-samudraghoshâbhidhâna-vâdya-viśeshân khaṭvânga-dhvaja-prabhûta-prakhyâta-
hasti-varân sva-kiraṇa-nikara-vikâsa-nirâkṛita-timiram-mâṇikya-râśi-
n-cha hastekṛitya Kalaśabhava-nilaya-harid-angan-ânchita-kânchîya-
mâna- Kânchîm-avinâśya-praviśya santata-pravṛitta-dânâ-nândita-dvijja-
dînânâtha-jano Narasimha-Pota-Varmma-nimmâpita-śilâmaya-Râja-
Simheśvarâdi-deva-kula-suvarṇa-râśi-pratyarppanopârjitojita-puṇyah a-
nivârita-pratâpa-prasara-pratâpita-Pâṇḍya-Choḷa-Keraḷa-Kaḷabhra-pra-
IV.a. bhṛiti-râjanyakah kshubhita-kari-makara-kara-hata-dalita-śukti-mukta-muktâphala-
prakara-mâridhi-jâla-vilasita-velâkula-Ghûrṇamânârṇâbhidhâne dakshinâ-
rṇave śarad-amala-śaśadhara-viśada-yaśo-râśimayam Jayamambha-
m atishṭhipad Vikramâditya-Satyâśraya-śrî-pṛithivî-vallabha-mahârâjâdhirâ-

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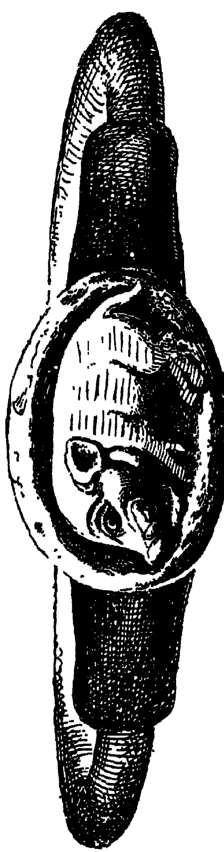
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ja-parameśvara-bhaṭṭârakasya priya-sûnuh bâlye-suśikshita-śastra-śâstraś śatru-sha t-vargga-nigraha-paras sva-guṇa-kalâd(h)-ânandita-hṛidayena-pitrâ-samâ-ropita-yauva-râjyah sva-kula-vairiṇam-Kânchîpate[r]-nnigrahâya mâm-preshaya i-ty âdeśam-prârthya-labdhvâ tadanantaram eva krita-prayâṇas-sann abhimukham-âga-tya prakâśa-yuddham-kartum-asamartha-pravishṭha-durggam-Pallavam-bhagna-śaktim-kritvâ matta-matangaja-mâṇikya-suvarṇa-koṭir-âdâya pitre samarpitavâ-

IV.*b*. n evam-krameṇa-prâpta-Sârvvabhauma-padah pratâpânurâgâvana[mya]mâna-maku-ṭa-mâlâ-rajah-punja-pinjarita-charaṇâ-sarasî[ru]hah Kîrtti-Varmma-Satyâśraya-śrî-pṛithivî-vallabha-mahârâjâdhirâja-parameśvara-bhaṭṭârakas sarvvân-eva-m-âjnâpayati viditam-astu-vosmâbhir nava-saptaty-uttara-shaṭ-chhateshu Śaka-varshe-shv-a tîteshu pravardhamâna-vijaya-râjya-samvatsare ekâdaśe vartta-mâ ne Bhîmarathi-nady-uttara-taṭastha-bhaṇḍâra-Gaviṭṭage-nâma-grâma-m-adhivasati-vijaya-skandhâvâre Bhâdrapada-paurṇamâsyâm śrî-Dosi-Râja-vijnâpanayâ Kâmakâyana-gotrâya Ṛig-Yajur-vveda-pâraga-śrî-Vishṇu-Śarmmaṇah-pautrâya Krishna-Śarmmaṇah-putrâya Mâdhava-Śarmmaṇe [Pâ]nungal-vishaye Aṛadoṛe-nadi-dakshiṇa-taṭe Tâmara-

V. mûge-Pânungal-Kiṛuvaḷḷi-Bâlavûru-ity etevo-grâmân-madhye Nengiyûr-Nandiva sahitas Suḷḷiyûr-nnâma-grâmo dattas tadâgâmibhir asmad-vamśyair anyaiś-cha-râjabhi[r â]yur-aiśvaryyâdînâm-vilasitam-achirâmśu-chañchalam-avagachchhadbhir âchandrârka-dharârṇṇa va-stithi-samakâlam-yaśaś-vivîrshubhis svadatti-nirvviśesham-paripâlanîyam uktañ-cha bhagavatâ-vedavyâsena-Vyâsena bahubhir vvasudhâ-bhuktâ-râjabhis Sagarâ-di bhih yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis tasya tasya tadâ phalam svandâtum sumahâchchhakyam duhkham anyasya pâlanam dânam vâ pâlanam vetti dânâ-chchreyo-nupâlanam svadattâm paradattâm vâ yo hareta vasundharâm shashṭim varsha sa-hasrâṇi vishṭâyâm jâyate krimir iti mahâ-sandhivigrahika śrîmad-Anî-vârita-Dhananjaya-puṇya-vallabhasya likhitam idam śâsanam.

Translation.

May it be well! Supreme is the Boar-form of the resplendent Vishṇu, which dispersed the waters of the ocean and bore up the peaceful earth on the tip of his strong right tusk.

Of the Mânavya *gotra* praised in all the world, sons of Hâriti, nourished by the seven mothers the mothers of the seven worlds, through the protection of Kârttikeya having acquired a succession of good fortune, (or the succession to Kalyâṇa), having in a moment brought all kings into their subjection at one glimpse of the boar-ensign obtained from the favour of the adorable Nârâyaṇa, were (*the kings of*) the auspicious Chaulukya race.

To which (*race*) being an ornament, his body purified by the final ablutions of the horse-sacrifice, was Śrî-Paulakeśi-Vallabha-Mahârâja.

Whose son, with unsullied fame gained by the conquest of the groups of the Vanavâsi and other hostile kings, was Śrî-Kîrtti-varmma, favourite of the earth, great king.

His son, who encountering in battle Śrî-Harsha-varddhana the lord of all the north, by defeating him acquired the title of *Parameśvara* (supreme lord), was Satyâśraya, favourite of earth and fortune, great king of kings, supreme lord.

His dear son, perfect in wisdom and reverence, his sword his only aid; making his own the wealth which his father, alone, mounted simply on his splendid horse named Chitrakaṇṭha, and desiring to conquer all regions, had won, together with that inherited for three generations; rejoicing in splitting with the thunderbolt of his valour the mountains the Pâṇḍya, Choḷa, Keraḷa, Kaḷabhra, and other kings, from the sky to their base; whose lotus-feet were kissed by the crown of the king of Kâñchî who had never bowed to any other man, was Vikramâditya-Satyâśraya, favourite of earth and fortune, great king of kings, supreme lord and sovereign.

His dear son, who as Târakârâti (Kumârasvâmi) the son of Bâlenduśekhara

(Śiva) to the forces of the Daityas, so captured the proud army of Trairâjya, the king of Kâñchî; levier of tribute from the rulers of Kavera, Pârasîka, Siṁhala, and other islands; possessed of the *Pâḷi-dhvaja* and all other marks of supreme wealth which by churning all the kings of the north he had won and increased, was Vinayâditya-Satyâśraya, favourite of earth and fortune, great king of kings, supreme lord and sovereign.

His dear son, having in youth acquired the use of all the weapons and accomplishments of a great king; uprooter of the clumps of thorns (*springing up*) among the kings of the south of whom his grandfather was the conqueror; exceeding in valour in the business of war his father who desired to conquer the north, he surrounded his enemies, and with his arrows destroyed their elephant forces; war his chief policy; with his glad sword causing the hosts of his enemies to turn their backs; in the same manner as his father, capturing from the hostile kings he had put to flight, the Gaṅgâ, Yamunâ, and *Pâḷi* flags, the emblems of the great *ḍhakkâ* drum, rubies, and lusty elephants; with difficulty stopped by destiny; by his valour exciting the country; in removing kings who cherished evil designs, like Vatsarâja; desiring not the assistance of another; in setting out and with his own arm conquering and subjecting the whole world, a lord like Indra; by the three modes of policy, by breaking the pride of his enemies, by generosity, and by his invincibility, having become the refuge of the world; having acquired a kingdom resplendent with the *Pâḷi-dhvaja* and other tokens of all supreme wealth, was Vijayâditya-Satyâśraya, favourite of earth and fortune, great king of kings, supreme lord and sovereign.

His dear son, who upon being anointed as the self-chosen of the Lakshmî of the dominion of the whole world, obtained great energy; who, determined to root out the Pallavas, the obscurers of the splendour of the former kings of his line and by nature hostile, going with great speed into the Udâka province, slew in battle the Pallava named Nandi Pota-varmma who came against him, captured his defiant lotus-mouthed trumpet, his drum called 'Roar of the Sea,' his chariot, his standard, immense and celebrated elephants, clusters of rubies (*māṇikya*) which by their own radiance dispelled all darkness; and entering without destruction Kâñchî, the zone (*kâñchi*) as it were of the lady the region of Agastya's abode (*i.e.* the south), acquired the great merit of covering with gold Râja-siṁheśvara and other gods sculptured in stone, which Narasiṁha Pota-varmma—the protector of poor and indigent Brâhmaṇs rejoiced by the bestowal of continual gifts—had made (or created); the sovereign who by his invincible valour having withered up Pâṇḍya, Choḷa, Keraḷa, Kaḷabhra, and other kings, was residing in Jayamambha, the embodiment of a fame as brilliant as the pure light of the autumn moon, situated on the shore of the southern ocean called the 'Rolling Ocean,' whose beach was strewn over and glittering with marine heaps formed of clusters of pearls scattered from their shells by the blows of the snouts of crocodiles resembling mighty elephants, was Vikramâditya-Satyâśraya, favourite of earth and fortune, great king of kings, supreme lord and sovereign.

His dear son, in youth well instructed in the use of arms, perfect in subduing the six kinds of passions, who through the joy which his father felt on account of his good qualities had obtained the rank of *Yuvarâja*, praying for an order saying, "Send me to subdue the king of Kâñchî, the enemy of our race," immediately on obtaining it marched forth and going against him broke the power of Pallava, who unable to make war on a large scale took refuge in a hill-fort, and capturing his lusty elephants, rubies, and treasury of gold, delivered them to his own father: thus in due time obtaining the title of *Sârvvabhauma*, the lotus of his feet covered with the pollen the gold dust from the crowns of lines of kings prostrate before him through reverence or fear, Kîrtti-varmma, favourite of earth and fortune, great king of kings, supreme lord and sovereign, thus commands all people:—

Be it known to you from us, that, the 679th Śaka year having passed and the 11th year of the increase of our victorious reign being current, from our victorious camp stationed at the village of Gaviṭṭage, on the northern bank of the Bhîmarathî river, on the full-moon day of Bhâdrapada, on the application of Śrî-Dosirâja, is given to Mâdhava-śarmma, the son of Kṛishṇa-

śarmma, and grandson of Śrî-Vishṇu-śarmma, of the *Kâmakâyana gotra*, versed in the Ṛig and Yajur Vedas, together with Neṅgiyûr and Nandi, the village named Suḷḷiyûr, situated in the Pânuṅgal district, on the southern bank of the Aṟadoṟe river, in the midst of the villages of Tâmaramûge, Pânuṅgal, Kiṟuvaḷḷi, and Bâlavûru.

This let future kings, whether of our own or of any other race, reflecting that life and wealth are fleeting, preserve as long as sun, moon, earth, and ocean endure, as if a gift made by themselves, and thus perpetuate their glory. And by the adorable Vyâsa, arranger of the Vedas, hath it been said: The earth has been enjoyed by Sagara and other kings; according to their [gifts of] land, so was their reward. To make a gift oneself is easy; to maintain another's, that is the difficulty; but of making a gift or maintaining one, the maintaining a gift is the best. Whoso resumes a gift made by himself or by another shall assuredly be born a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years.

By the great minister for peace and war, Śrîmad-Anivârita-Dhanañjaya-puṇya-vallabha was this *śâsana* written.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

PÂRSÎ SAGRÎS, NASASÂLÂRS, &c.

To the Editor of the "Indian Antiquary."

SIR,—With reference to the letters of Mr. Sorâbjî Kâvasjî Khambâtâ and Professor Monier Williams which appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*, *ante*, pp. 179 and 227, I beg to communicate to you the result of my personal observation and the information obtained from authentic sources.

In Bombay, Sûrat, Naosârî, Punâ, and several other places inhabited by Pârsîs, *Sagrîs* are indispensable adjuncts to the Towers of Silence, and the objects for which they are constructed are as follows:—First, for keeping an oil lamp intended to throw its light during the night-time into the inner part of the several Towers of Silence. The *Sagrîs* have holes or apertures so arranged that the light of the lamp goes directly into the inner part of the tower through a large hole made in the wall of the tower for this special purpose. All the towers, without a single exception, are provided with such holes corresponding to the holes or apertures of the *Sagrîs*. Secondly, for keeping up the sacred fire, which is fed with sandalwood by a priest or a layman, according as the circumstances of the different towers allow. In Bombay, for instance, where the Pârsî inhabitants are comparatively richer than in the Mufassal, their funds permit them to engage the services of a priest who officiates in the *Sagrî*, and takes the necessary care of the sacred fire. In this *Sagrî*, which was constructed some three or four years ago, the brass vessel (*afargâṅ*) containing the sacred fire is so arranged that the light from it passes through the apertures of the *Sagrî* into the inner part of the towers, which are provided with large holes, as I have stated above. It is not absolutely necessary that the light from the fire should fall on the dead body; but it is desirable, according to the oldest usage, that the light from the oil lamp should pass into the inner part of the tower, in the manner described. Attention is paid by the officers in charge of the compounds or enclosures of the Towers of Silence to cutting and pruning the shrubs and the leaves of trees intercepting the passage of light from the *Sagrî* to the tower.

2. Corpse-bearers as a body are divided into two classes, namely, *Nasasâlârs* and *Khândhiâs*. *Nasasâlârs* are those privileged persons who can enter the Towers of Silence, but they are as much corpse-bearers as the *Khândhiâs* are. In addition to their duties as described by Mr. Khambâtâ, they relieve the *Khândhiâs* at certain intervals on the road, and carry the corpse themselves by turns. They also carry the dead bodies of infants, and little children, independent of the *Khândhiâs*. But the *Nasasâlârs* are better paid than the *Khândhiâs*, on account of certain social disadvantages under which they labour. Those disadvantages are correctly described by the learned Professor in his letter to the London *Times*. His remarks are evidently applicable to the *Nasasâlârs*, whom he rightly calls bearers, and who are the only privileged few who can go inside the Towers. Notwithstanding the advanced views of some of our young men, the *Nasasâlârs* generally are not allowed to mix with the rest of the community in social gatherings. At public and private dinner parties they are kept aside and served separately. In Sûrat, Naosârî, and other Mufassal towns they are strictly prohibited, according to the tenets of the Zoroastrian religion, from coming in contact with the rest of the community.

Why the dog is fed with bread is an open question, and I am unable to give my opinion one way or the other. So far as my information goes, it is a mere custom of long standing, and has no religious significance. The dog is never fed

at the time of the funeral, as has been stated, but the bread is handed to the keeper, who feeds him at his leisure. It is a harmless practice, and can be dispensed with.

In justice to the learned Oxford Professor, I must say that his papers on the Towers of Silence and on Pârsî funeral rites and ceremonies show a remarkable fulness of information, and a complete mastery over the subject which he has handled. With trifling inaccuracies, which are hardly worth noticing, his information upon the whole appears to be very correct.

N. J. RATNÂGAR.

JAINISM.

AMONG other questions put down for consideration and discussion at the Congrès des Orientalistes at Lyons, on the 31st of August last, there was formulated a subdivision devoted to "Les Djainas sont-ils d'anciens Bouddhistes antérieurs à Sakia Mouni, ou des Bouddhistes modifiés depuis les persécutions brahmaniques ?"

As I have paid some attention to this subject,[1] though unable to attend the Congress, and therefore unaware of the course taken in the discussion, you will perhaps allow me to advert in your columns[2] to a very important item, bearing upon the relative priority of the creeds of Jainism and Buddhism, which has not hitherto been noticed: that is to say, how their reputed dates balance and adjust themselves *inter se* within the bounds of reasonable probability.

The Jains have a fixed and definite date for the *Nirvâṇa* of "Mahâvîra," their great saint, which is established by the concurrent testimony of their two sects, whose method of reckoning varies in itself, thereby securing, as it were, a double entry. The Śvetambaras date in the era of Vikramâditya, 57 B.C.; the Digambaras reckon by the Śaka *saṁvat*, 78 A.D., and both arrive at the same figures of B.C. 526-7 for the death of Mahâvîra. This calculation is equally supported by the dynastic lists, which satisfactorily fill in *the* period from the accession of "Pâlaka, the lord of Avanti, [who] was anointed in that night in which .... Mahâvîra entered Nirvâṇa," "to the four years of Saka," who immediately preceded Vikramâditya.[3]

On the other hand, Buddha's date varies according to different authorities from the extreme points of B.C. 2420 to 453, and even is reduced so low as 370 B.C.: so that up to this time modern inquirers have been unable to concur in the determination of this epoch[4] further than to suspect, as we are taught by the Chinese, that the period was antedated from time to time, with the direct purpose of arrogating priority over other saints.

Now, if the ascertained Jain date will serve to determine the era of Buddha, under the theory that Buddha *himself* was a disciple of Mahâvîra, it will, in the fact, go far to establish the priority of the latter, and the pre-existence of the creed of which he was the twenty-fourth or last prophet.

The date of Buddha most largely accepted has been adopted from the Ceylon annals, which supply the figures 543 B.C.[5] But, as was remarked by Mr. Turnour, who first investigated the local traditions, the acceptance of such a date involved an error, in default of the required period of sixty years (sixty-six); or, to use his own words, "the discrepancy can only proceed from one of these two sources: viz. either it is an intentional perversion, adopted to answer some national or religious object, which is not readily discoverable; or Chandragupta is not identical with Sandracottus."[6] A partial reconciliation of the error was proposed by the method of restoring to the dynasty of the Nandas the full hundred years assigned to them by some Paurâṇik authorities, in lieu of the forty-four allowed for in the Ceylon lists; but if the local annals were so dependent for their accuracy upon extra-national correction their intrinsic merits could have stood but little above zero; and any such summary introduction of sixty-six years from outside sources could scarcely have been held to be satisfactory, unless the *assumed* total of 543 years B.C. were proved to be a *fixed quantity* by better external testimony than hitherto has been adduced.

To General Cunningham belongs the merit of having first proposed, in 1854, the fixing of Buddha's *Nirvâṇa* in "477 B.C."[7]—a result which he obtained from original figure calculations; while Max Müller, in 1859, independently arrived at the same conclusion, from a more extended critical review of the extant literary evidence.[8]

General Cunningham has lately enlarged the sphere of his observations, and in adopting Colebrooke's view in regard to the fact that Gautama Buddha was "the disciple of Mahâvîra" has materially fortified his early arguments—in reasserting that the *Nirvâṇa* of Buddha must be

[1] 'Jainism; or, the Early Faith of Aśoka' (Trübner, 1877), *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IX. p. 155.

[2] This appeared in the *Athenæum* of Nov. 2, 1878.

[3] Bühler, *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 363; *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IX. p. 15, note 2.

[4] Prof. Wilson, *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. XVI. p. 247; see also vol. IX. N. S. p. 170; Beal, *Travels of Fah-Hian*, pp. xxvi. 22; and Hiwen-Thsang (Paris, 1857), vol. I. p. 162.

[5] Lassen; St. Hilaire; M. Barth, *Revue Critique*, 13th June 1874; Prof. Weber, *History of Indian Literature* (London, Trübner, 1878), p. 287; Childers, *Pali Dictionary*. I myself am only a recent convert, *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. I. p. 463.

[6] The *Mahâwanso*, Ceylon, 1837, pp. xlviii., l.-lii., &c.

[7] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* 1854, p. 704.

[8] *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1859, p. 298.

placed in "478 B.C.," or "forty-nine years"[9] after the *release* of Mahâvîra, the last of the Jinas. General Cunningham does not concern himself with the larger question of ancient religions, but confines himself to his favourite *métier* of working out sums with equal elaboration, but with less fanciful details than of old.

The passages relied upon by Colebrooke in 1826[10] have since been confirmed by important contributions from other sources. None, however, bring the question home so distinctly, and in so quaintly graphic a way, as Prof. Weber's translation of a passage from the *Bhagavati*,[11] wherein the *Chela*, "the holy Mahâvîra's eldest pupil, Indrabhuti"—" houseless of Gautama's Gotra,"—begins to distrust the negative perfection of Jainism, in the terms of the text,—"Thereupon that holy Gautama, in whom faith, doubt, and curiosity arose, grew and increased, rose up. Having arisen, he went to the place where the sacred Śramaṇa Mahâvîra was...... After performing these [salutations] he praises him and bows to him. After so doing, not too close, not too distant, listening to him, bowing to him, with his face towards him, humbly waiting on him with folded hands, he thus spoke. . . ."

In conclusion, I may recapitulate certain deductions, which I have suggested elsewhere. The juxtaposition of the last representative of the one faith with the first exponent of the other, which took over so many traditions that it retained in common with the parent creed, is a point of marked importance. Eclipsed for a time by the energy of the reformers, whose missionaries carried the Buddhist doctrines over so large a section of the globe, non-proselytizing Jainism has survived in its simplicity—as the natural outcome of the ideas and aspirations of a primitive race—still undisturbed in the land of their common birth; while Buddhism, with its fantastic elaborations, retains scant honour, and no place within the limits of its *nidus* in India proper.—Edward Thomas.

BOOK NOTICES.

The Poetical Works of Behâ-ed-dîn Zoheir, of Egypt, with a metrical English Translation, Notes, and Introduction, by E. H. Palmer, M.A., Lord Almoner's Reader and Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. Vols. I. and II. Cambridge University Press, 1877.

Abu'l Faḍhl Zoheir ibn Muhammad el Mohal-lebi el'Atakî, surnamed Behâ-ed-Dîn, was secretary to the Sulṭân El Malik es Sâlih, Nejm-ed-dîn, great-grand-nephew of the Sulṭân Saladin. The adventures of this prince in search of a throne, and his rule in that of Egypt, which he ultimately got possession of, filled up some ten years of the middle of the 13th century A.D. and 7th of the Hijra, and during the whole of them our author was his faithful and efficient servant in good and evil fortune. After the death of his master, in A.H. 647 (A.D. 1249), Behâ-ed-Dîn lived in retirement at Cairo, where he died of the plague in A.D. 1258, *teste* Ebn Khallikân, who knew him well, and to whose memoir of him, embodied in Professor Palmer's work, we are indebted for the above.

Behâ-ed-Dîn was a remarkable man; and his character, or rather that of his poetry, was the result of strange circumstances of time and place. The Crusades were over, and the spirit which prompted them had ceased to show itself but in desultory and abortive adventures. The instinct of Jehad was as decrepit among the Arab races, and though the wave of Ottoman conquest was yet to rise over Eastern Europe, its true character was little more religious than that of any other migration of warlike Tâtars.

"The intercourse between Eastern and Western nations," says Professor Palmer, "had become greater than at any previous period of modern history * * * * * * * In poetry Alexandria seems to have been, what it certainly was in philosophy and theology, the meeting-place of East and West. These causes, more exhaustively discussed in the translator's Preface, acted so strongly upon our author that his poetry reminds Professor Palmer of the English lyrists of the 17th century, and particularly of Herrick. For our own part, whether Behâ-ed-Dîn or the Professor be responsible, we find in many pieces a strong resemblance to the thought and manner of the late Mr. Praed. The apt wit and polished diction which produce this effect are combined with modesty and clearness of thought and expression. Zoheir's mountains do not invade the sky; nor do the sun and moon run to earth when his lady unveils. When he has to describe a garden, instead of a lot of nonsense about Paradise and Peristân, we have the following verses, deservedly singled out for especial praise by his translator:—

"I took my pleasure in a garden bright—
  Ah, that our happiest hours so quickly pass!
That time should be so rapid in its flight.—
Therein my soul accomplished its delight,
  And life was fresher than the green young grass.
There rain-drops trickle through the warm still air
  The cloud-born firstlings of the summer skies;
Full oft I stroll in early morning there,

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[9] *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Calcutta, 1877, p. v.
[10] Prof. Cowell's edition of Colebrooke's *Essays*, vol. II. p. 278; *Trans. R. As. Soc.* vol. I. p. 520.
[11] *Fragment der Bhagavati*, Berlin, 1867.

When, like a pearl upon a bosom fair,
The glistening dewdrop on the sapling lies.
There the young flowerets with sweet perfume blow;
There feathery palms their pendent clusters hold,
Like foxes' brushes waving to and fro;[1]
There every evening comes the after-glow,
Tipping the leaflets with its liquid gold."

Another piece is a farewell, full of quiet pathos and truth; some of our readers must have often witnessed the groves without the gate used as the halting and starting points of caravans, amid the bustle of men and beasts :—

Good-bye.

"The camelmen were on the move;
The fatal hour was drawing nigh;
But ere we went away my love
Came up to bid a last 'good-bye.'

She dared not breathe the word 'farewell,'
Lest spiteful folk should overhear.—
When lovers have a tale to tell,
There always is a listener near.

I wept, and watched her as she took
Some paces onward weeping sore,
Then turned to give one longing look
And whisper a 'good-bye' once more."

Many of the pieces in this volume are mere fragments, apparently impromptu, or at least composed on slight occasions, such as answers to letters, invitations to dinner, and the like. The thought, though not very deep, is almost always happy, as in the following acknowledgment of a note :—

"Your letter came, and I declare
My longing it expresses quite;
Methinks my heart was standing there,
Dictating to you what to write."

The volume, however, is not entirely filled with these graceful trifles. Sympathy and manly consolation find fit expression in the short poem addressed to his friend Sherif-ed-dîn upon the death of a younger brother. We regret, however, that Professor Palmer should have headed it "In Memoriam," and adopted in his translation the metres of Tennyson's famous poem. The comparison provoked is, if not odious, at least unnecessary; though the Arab poet has no cause to fear it, the less that his grief is expressed within the moderate limit of seven stanzas. Zoheir could write sharply, too, when he pleased, though his stern moods are few, and his wrath tempered by the dignified self-restraint of an Eastern gentleman, as in the remonstrance addressed to a minister at whose house he had been rudely repulsed, and to whom he says, in conclusion :—

"My wrath is kindled for the sake
Of Courtesy, whose lord thou art:
For thee, I take it so to heart,
No umbrage for myself I take.

But be thy treatment what it will,
I cannot this affront forget;
I am not used to insult yet,
And blush at its remembrance still."

He is less merciful to a ridiculous old coquette, to whom he says :—

"I see you walking in the street in veils of muslin dressed,
Like an old and worthless volume with a new and handsome back;
When I ask what is beneath them, people set my mind at rest,
For they say it is a lot of bones put in a leathern sack."

And scorn and courage are both well shown in the vigorous lines which one would willingly suppose to have been written while his master was captive in Kerek to a treacherous kinsman, his adherents fled or rebellious, and the faithful poet struggling to maintain the cause that seemed hopeless :—

"Shall I linger any longer where at merit men demur,
Where they deem a cur a lion, where a lion's like a cur?
Many a precious pearl of poetry in their honour had I strung;
By my life, the gems were wasted which before such swine I flung.
Well! the world is not so narrow but a man his way may win,
And the doors are open widely, if he choose to enter in.
I have that within my bosom tells me that success is near,
And Ambition gives me earnest of a glorious career."

The extracts given above are all taken, almost at hazard, from the few first pages of Professor Palmer's translation, which contains about 350 pieces. Our readers can judge from this of the amount and value of his labours. If one may draw any augury from the extraordinary though tardy success of a much less important work (Mr. Fitzgerald's translation of 'Umar Khayyam's *Rubaiyyat*), they ought to meet with some recognition from the general public; and to the Orientalist, and especially the student of Arabic, these two volumes, the one containing the Arabic text, and the other the English version, will prove as useful as interesting. S.

[1] The allusion is to *pendent* fox-tails used to decorate caparisons of chargers.

THE BHADRACHELLAM AND REKAPALLI TALUQAS.

BY Rev. JOHN CAIN, DUMMAGUDEM.

(*Continued from Vol. IV. p.* 198.)

The Kois.

IN some notes of a missionary tour in this part of the country written by a friend of mine, the Rev. F. W. N. Alexander, and published in the *Madras Church Missionary Record* for 1861, there are several mistakes which a tourist was quite liable to make, but which have been copied into other periodicals, and therefore I think it advisable to notice them in this paper.

A K o i, whom Mr. Alexander met in a village about two miles from Dummagudem, caused him to infer that the K o i s think heaven to be "a great fort, and in it plenty of rice to eat for those who enter it: that hell is a dismal place where a crow, made of iron, continually gnaws off the flesh of the wicked," &c. &c. This must have been that particular Koi's own peculiar belief, for it certainly is not that of any of the K o i s with whom I so frequently come in contact; and a native friend of mine, whom they all most highly respect, and who knows more of their customs and beliefs than any one else here, has inquired of them several times, and each time they have replied that they had never heard of such an idea before. As I wrote in a former paper, they either believe that the spirits of the departed wander in the jungle in the form of *piśâchas*, or they believe that at death they entirely cease to exist. A few who have mixed with Hindus have some faint belief in a kind of transmigration.

The mention of the iron crow reminds me that about two years ago a rumour rapidly spread in some of the K o i villages south of Dummagudem that an iron cock was abroad very early in the morning, and upon the first village in which it heard one or more cocks begin to crow it would send a grievous pestilence and at least decimate the village. In one instance at least this led to the immediate extermination of all the unfortunate cocks in that village. How the rumour arose no one could tell, and when I asked the chief executioner what ground he had for believing such a tale he only replied, "I do not know; they told me."

Last year the inhabitants of a village on the left bank of the Godâvarî, about a mile to the north of Dummagudem, were startled by the *Tallâris* (village peons) of the neighbouring village bringing about twenty fowls and ordering them to be sent on to the next village south of Dummagudem. On being asked the reason of this order, they replied that the cholera goddess was selecting her victims in the villages further north, and that to induce her to leave their parts some of those villages had sent these fowls as offerings to her, but they were to be passed on as far as possible before they were slain, for then she would follow them in anticipation of the feast, and so might be tempted quite out of these regions. The police however interfered, and they were passed back into the Upper Godâvarî District, C. P., but I could not find out what eventually was the fate of the fowls. I ought to add that the villages on the banks of the Godâvari are chiefly inhabited by Hindus, and they were the people who were passing on these offerings.

There is generally one *vêlpu* for each *gens*, and in a certain village, whose name I cannot get hold of, there is the chief *vêlpu* for the whole tribe of K o i s. When any of the inferior *vêlpus* are carried about, contributions (in kind or in cash) are collected by its guardians almost exclusively from the members of the *gens* to which the *vêlpu* belongs. When the superior *vêlpu* is taken to any village, all the inferior *vêlpus* are brought, and with the exception of two are planted some little distance in front of their lord. There are two, however, which are regarded as lieutenants of the paramount power, and these are planted one on each side of their superior. As it was expressed to me, the chief *vêlpu* is like the Râja of Bâstar, these two are like his ministers of state, and the rest are like the petty *zamindârs* under him. The largest share of the offerings goes to the chief, the two supporters then claim a fair amount, and the remainder is equally divided amongst those of the third rank. No K o i s from this part ever go on any sort of pilgrimage, &c., to the village where this highest *vêlpu* is kept.[1]

[1] The people who carry this *vêlpu* about are not called Marmirândlu, but Oddílu or Oddêlu. I hope to say something about this name in a future paper.

At the present time Koi bridegrooms and brides are *not* "distinguished" from the rest of the wedding guests "by a piece of cardboard on the forehead of each, marked with a triangle."

It is scarcely correct to say that the Kois worship the "*spirits* of the mountains;" they acknowledge that they worship the *dêvatalu* or the *dayyamulu* (demons) of the mountains, and those who "know well that the great God is the creator, preserver, and punisher of the human race" are very few and far between.

The Korra Râzu is supposed to be the deity who has supreme control over tigers, and the above-mentioned friend of mine once saw a small temple devoted to his worship, a few miles from the large village of Gollapalli, Bâstar, but it did not seem to be held in very great respect.

The names most revered are those of the Pâṇḍava family, and the name Bhîma is generally pronounced at the commencement of all marriage ceremonies. They say their dance is copied from Bhîma's march after a certain enemy.

There is no Koi temple in any village near here, and the Kois are seldom if ever to be found near a Hindu temple. Some time ago there was a small mud temple to the goddesses Sârlammâ and Kommalammâ at Pedda Nallapalli, and the head Koi of the village was the *pûjâri*, but he became a Christian nine years ago, and took to cultivation immediately, and the temple fell into ruins and soon melted away.

In every Koi *samatu* there are two leading men who fill the posts of advisers and helpers to the *samatu dora*; they are called Peṭṭanadârulu, and in every village there are one or more Peṭṭanandârulu who assist in like manner the head man of each village.

The custom of calling the Kois *doralu* (*dora*= lord. *Tel.*) has been traced by some (*Central Provinces Gazetteer*, p. 500) to the ending *tor* in the word *Koitor*. This has always seemed to me to be rather doubtful, as this honorific affix is not only conceded to the Kois, but also to several other castes, *e.g.* the (true) Vellamma caste, and to all the most influential natives in the independent or semi-independent neighbouring states. All the petty *zamindârs* in Bastar are thus honoured, whatever may be their caste. As the Kois live so much apart, and as the only other people who usually reside in their villages are their *Mala* and *Madiga* servants, to whom the Kois are really *doralu* (lords), it seems to me more probable that these servants conceded to them the same title as the lower Hindus concede to their Vellamma masters. Whether the derivation from *-tor* would account for the Koi women being honoured with the full title *dora sanulu* (ladies) seems to be me to be a little doubtful. Many of the Kois on the Bastar plateau, and more particularly those who are Śaivites, call themselves the Bhûmi Razulu, *i. e.* the kings of the earth.

The maternal uncle of any Koi girl has the right to bestow her hand on any one of his sons, or any other suitable candidate who meets with his approval. The father and the mother of the girl have no acknowledged voice in the matter. A similar custom prevails amongst some of the Komâṭi (Vaiśya) caste.

At present the Kois around here have very few festivals except one at the harvest of the *zonna* (*sorghum vulgare*). Formerly they had one not only for every grain crop, but one when the *ippa* flowers (*Bassia latifolia*) were ready to be gathered, another when the pumpkins were ripe, and so on with reference to all their vegetable produce. Now at the time the *zonna* crop is ripe and ready to be cut they take a fowl into the field, kill it, and sprinkle its blood on any ordinary stone put up for the occasion, after which they are at liberty to partake of the new crop. In many villages they would refuse to eat with any Koi who has neglected this ceremony, to which they give the name *Kottalu*, which word is evidently the plural of the Telugu adjective *kotta* = new. The Hindus seldom put the sickle to any field without similar but rather more elaborate ceremonies.

VOCABULARY OF KOI WORDS.

I have several vocabularies which I hope to complete and send to the *Indian Antiquary* some time during the next few months, but thinking that some Tamil scholars will be glad to see at once a short vocabulary I have sent the following. The Ku language mentioned by Bishop Caldwell in his *Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* seems to be the language of the people whom we here designate Kois; whatever may be the name they give to themselves in Orissa, they all call themselves Kois here.

As, with the exception of ry few words, Tamil is an unknown tong me, I have refrained from attempting to w the similarity of some of the Koi words t mil words. In these parts the Kois use a great many Telugu words, and cannot always clearly understand the Kois who come from the plateau in Bastar; and a few years ago when Colonel Haig travelled as far as Jagdalpuram the Kois from the neighbourhood of Dummagudem who accompanied him were frequently unable to carry on any conversation with many of the Kois on this plateau. There are often slight differences in the phraseology of the inhabitants of two villages within a mile of each other, as last year when two of my teachers living not more than a mile apart were collecting vocabularies in the villages in which they lived they complained that their vocabularies often differed in points where they expected to find no variety whatever. Until my vocabularies are a little more complete I must refrain from noticing the sounds of the Koi alphabet. It will be noticed how all the words borrowed from the Telugu take the purely Koi terminations in the plural.

English.	Koi. *Singular.*	*Plural.*
Father	Tappe	Tappêru
Mother	Avva (*grand-mother*, Tel.)	Avvânku
Elder brother	Anna (Tel.)	Annalôru
Younger brother	Tammudu (Tel.)	Tammûnku
Elder sister	Akka (Tel.)	Akkânku
Younger sister	Âlâḍi	Âlâsku
Grandfather	Tâta (Tel.)	Tâtalôru
Grandmother	Kârô	Kârônku
Maternal uncle	Mênamâmâlu (Mênamâmâ, Tel.)	Menamâmalôru
Father's younger brother	Sûdayya	Sûdayyalôru
Mother's younger sister	Chinni	Chinnînki
Father's sister	Mênapôru (Mênatta, Tel.)	Mênapôyênku
Son	Marri	Marku
Daughter	Mayyâdi	Maiyasku
Fire	Kissu	
Water	Êru (*river*, Tel.)	
Earth	Nêla (Tel.)	Nêlku
Cow	Goḍḍu (*cattle*, Tel.)	Godku
Bullock	Konda	Konângu
Dog	Nai	Naiku
Cat	Verkâdi	Verkânku

English.	Koi. *Singular.*	*Plural.*
Chatty	Kunḍâ (Tel.)	Kuṇângu
Tree	Mâra	Mârângu
Man	Maṇusunḍu	Maṇusku
Woman	Nâṭuva	Nâṭuvaku
Husband	Mutupal	Mutupalôru
Wife	Mutte	Muttênku
Buffalo	Pôku	Pônku
Fowl	Korru	Korku
Cock	Goggôḍi	Goggôḍingu
Tiger	Ḍuvvu	Ḍuvvungu
Elephant	Ênuga	Ênagêngu
Daytime	Payyelu (Pagalu, Tel.)	*wanting.*
Night	Sarka	
River	Vângu (Vâgu=*a nallá*, Tel.)	Vânku
Well	Nuyyi (Tel.)	Nuyyinku
Cloth	Chîle	Chîlêngu
Tongue	Nâlik (Nâluka, Tel.)	Nâlikêngu
Head	Netti (Tel.)	Nettingu
	Tala (Tel.)	Talangu
	Purre	Purrengu
Hand	Kai	Kaikku
Nose	Mosôru	Mosônku
Ear	Kevvu	Kevvuku
Eye	Kanḍu	Kaṇku
Foot	Kalu (Tel.)	Kâlku
Belly	Ḍokka	Ḍokkângu
Loin	Muḍuslu	Muḍusûlingu
Hair	Kelu	Kelku
Knee	Boṭṭumenda	Boṭṭumeṇa
Back	Mêdôlu	Mêdûlingu
Day	Nêndu	
	Rôzu (Hind.)	Rôzku
To-morrow	Nâdi	
Day after to-morrow	Mannêṭika	
Year	Nîruḍan (Nira-du=*last year* Tel.)	Nîrudanku
	Êndu	Êndku
Month	Nela (Tel.)	Nelangu
Moon	Nela (Tel.)	
Sun	Poḍudu	
House	Lônu	Lônku
Hut	Kêtul	Kêtulingu
Star	Ukka	Ukkângu
Leaf	Âki (Aku, Tel.)	Âkîngu
Flower	Pungâri	Pungâku
Stick	Duḍḍi	Duḍḍîngu
Axe	Goḍḍêli (Goddâli, Tel.)	Goḍḍelingu
'Bandy'	Banḍi	Baṇingu
Road	Arri	Arrangu
Field	Chêṇu (Tel.)	Chênku
Crop	Panṭa (Tel.)	Panṭangu

English.	Koi. Singular.	Plural.
Bush	Potke	Potkengu
Root	Vêku	
Finger	Vaṇusu	Vanusku
Low ground	Lonka	Lonkângu
Elevated ground	Bôru	Bôrkû
	Miṭṭa (Tel.)	Miṭṭangu
Sleep	Unzôru	no plural.
Dust	Dummaramu	"
Food	Dôḍa	"
Cup	Ginne (Tel.)	Ginnengu
Vegetable	Kussîri	Kussirangu
Bird	Piṭṭa (Tel.)	Piṭṭângu
Fish	Kîl	Kîlêngu.
Stone	Kallu (Tel.)	Kalku
Body	Ollu (Tel.)	Olku
Heart	Gunḍe (Tel.)	Guṇe
Fever	Eḍki	Eḍkingu
Flesh	Avungu	no plural.
Name	Peddêru	Peddêku
Mouth	Pavuru	Panku
Skin	Tôlu (Tel.)	Tôlku
Tail	Tôka (Tel.)	Tôkângu
Tooth	Pallu (Tel.)	Palku
Bone	Tsûla	Tsûlângu
Knife	Kasêru	Kasêku
Forehead	Nuduru (Tel.)	Nuduringu

In February I hope to take a tour in the Bâstar country, when my vocabularies can be enlarged and compared with the words used in the very heart of the tract inhabited by the Kois.

CUSTOMS OF THE KOMTI CASTE.

BY MAJOR J. S. F. MACKENZIE, MAISUR COMMISSION.

It is generally believed by other castes that when a marriage takes place in the family of a Komti some member of this family is obliged to go through the form of inviting the Mâdigas of the place. If the Mâdigas were to hear the invitation the Komti would certainly be assaulted and treated roughly; for the Mâdigas look on the invitation as an insult and unlucky. In order to prevent the Mâdigas hearing the invitation, the Komti takes care to go to the back of a Mâdiga's house at a time when he is not likely to be seen, and whispers, into an iron vessel commonly used for measuring out grain, an invitation in the following words:—"In the house of the small ones (*i.e.* Komtis) a marriage is going to take place; the members of the big house (*i.e.* Mâdigas) are to come."

The light to kindle the fire used during the Komti's marriage ceremony must be obtained from a Mâdiga's house; but, since the Mâdigas object to giving it, some artifice has to be used in getting this fire.

I also find that it is the custom to obtain the fire for burning Kâma,—the Indian Cupid,—at the end of the Holi feast, from a Mâdiga's house. The Mâdigas do not object to giving the fire—in fact they are paid for it.

There is said to be another queer custom among the Komtis, and one from which some of the families derive their distinguishing name. After the marriage has been completed, the figure of a cow is made of flour, and into its stomach they put a mixture of turmeric, lime, and water, called *wokale*. This is evidently meant to represent blood. After the cow has been worshipped in due form, it is cut up, and to each different family is secretly sent that portion of the cow which according to custom they are entitled to receive. For example, the family called Komârlavaru receive the horns, the Guntla the neck, &c. I need hardly say that the Komtis stoutly deny having any such customs, which they say they have, through the ill-will of other castes, been credited with.

I cannot discover the connection between two such different castes as the Komtis and Mâdigas, who belong to different divisions. The Komtis belong to the 18 *pana* division, while the Mâdigas are members of the 9 *pana*.

One reason has been suggested. The caste goddess of the Komtis is the virgin Karnîkâ Ammâ, who destroyed herself rather than marry a prince because he was of another caste. She is usually represented by a vessel full of water, and before the marriage ceremonies are commenced she is brought in state from her temple and placed in the seat of honour in the house.

The Mâdigas claim Karnîkâ as their goddess; worship her under the name of Mahâtangî; and object to the Komtis taking their goddess.

Bangalore, October 1878.

A FOLKLORE PARALLEL.

BY PROFESSOR C. H. TAWNEY, M.A., CALCUTTA.

In the story of the Widow's Son, a Norwegian tale, found in Thorpe's *Yuletide Stories*, the following incident occurs :—" A youth found himself in the house of a Troll, and entered a room which he had expressly been forbidden to enter. In it he found a horse, who warned him that if the Troll returned he would certainly kill him. The horse then gives him the following directions :—' Now lay the saddle on me, put on the armour, and take the whip of thorn, the stone, and the water-flask, and the pot with ointment, and then we will set out.' " The youth does so, and the story continues :—

" When the youth had mounted the horse it set off at a rapid rate. After some time the horse said, 'I think I hear a noise; look round, can you see anything?' 'A great many are after us, certainly a score at least,' answered the youth. 'Ah! that is the Troll,' answered the horse, 'he is coming with all his companions.' They travelled for a long time, until their pursuers were gaining on them. 'Throw now the thorn whip over your shoulder,' said the horse, 'but throw it far away from me.' The youth did so, and at the same moment there sprang up a large thick wood of briars.

" The youth now rode on a long way, while the Troll was obliged to go home for something wherewith to hew a passage through the wood. After some time the horse said, 'Look back, can you see anything now?' 'Yes, a whole multitude of people,' said the youth, 'like a church congregation.' 'That is the Troll; now he has got more with him; throw out now the large stone, but throw it far from me.' When the youth had done what the horse desired, a large stone mountain arose behind them. So the Troll was obliged to go home after something with which to bore through the mountain; and while he was thus employed the youth rode a considerable way. But now the horse again bade him look back; he then saw a multitude like a whole army; they were so bright that they glittered in the sun. 'Ah! that is the Troll with all his friends,' said the horse. 'Now throw the water-bottle behind you, but take care to spill nothing on me!' The youth did as he was directed, but, notwithstanding his caution, he happened to spill a drop on the horse's loins. Immediately there rose a vast lake, and the spilling of the few drops caused the horse to stand far out in the water; nevertheless he at last swam to the shore. When the Trolls came to the water, they lay down to drink it all up, and they gulped and gulped it down till they burst. 'Now we are quit of them,' said the horse."

A very similar incident occurs in the story of Prince Śṛingabhuja in the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara, lambaka* vii. *taraṅga* 39. The prince is to marry the daughter of a Râkshasa named Agniśikha, on condition that he performs various tasks. All these he executes successfully by the help of his intended, Rûpaśikhâ. At last the Râkshasa Agniśikha said to him, " Go hence to the south only two *yojanas*' distance, and you will find an empty temple of Śiva in a wood. In it lives my dear brother Dhûmaśikha. Go there now, and say this in front of the temple :—' Dhûmaśikha, I am sent by Agniśikha to invite you and your retinue; come quickly, for tomorrow the ceremony of Rupaśikhâ's marriage is to take place.' Having said this, come back here with speed, and to-morrow marry my daughter Rûpaśikhâ." When the treacherous Râkshasa said this to Śṛingabhuja, he consented, and went and told the whole to Rûpaśikhâ. The good girl gave him some earth, some water, and some thorns and some fire, and her own fleet horse, and said to him, " Mount this horse and go to the temple, and quickly repeat that invitation to Dhûmaśikha, and then return on this horse at full gallop, and you must often turn your head and look round. And if you see Dhûmaśikha coming after you, you must throw the earth behind you in his way. If, in spite of that, Dhûmaśikha still pursues you, you must in the same way fling the water behind you in his path. If in spite of this he comes, you must in like manner throw these thorns behind you in his way; and if in spite of that he still pursues, throw this fire in his way. And if you do this, you will return here without the Daitya: so do not hesitate, go; you shall to-day behold the power of my magic." When she said this to him, Śṛingabhuja took the earth and the other things, and said, " I will do so," and mounting the horse went to the temple in the wood. There he saw that Śiva had a figure of Pârvatî

on his left, and of Gaṇeśa on his right, and after bowing before the lord of the universe he quickly addressed to Dhûmaśikha the form of invitation told him by Agniśikha, and fled from the place at full speed, urging on his horse. And he soon turned his head and looked round, and he beheld Dhûmaśikha coming after him, and he quickly threw the earth behind him in his way, and the earth so flung immediately produced a great mountain. When he saw that the Râkshasa had, though with difficulty, climbed over the mountain and was coming on, the prince in the same way threw the water behind him. That became a great river in the Râkshasa's path with rolling waves; the Râkhshasa with difficulty got across it, and was coming on, when the prince quickly strewed those thorns behind him. They produced a dense thorny wood in his path. When the Râkshasa emerged from it, the prince threw the fire behind him, which set on fire the path, the herbs and the trees. When Dhûmaśikha saw that the fire was hard to cross like Khândava,[1] he returned home tired and terrified. For on that occasion the Râkshasa was so bewildered by the magic of Rûpaśikhâ that he went and returned on his feet —he did not think of flying through the air.[2]

While I am dealing with the story of Rûpaśikhâ and her lover Śṛingabhuja, it seems worth while to mention a Scandinavian parallel to another incident in the same story.

One of the tests which the father of the Râkshasa set the young prince was to pile up in a heap some sesame seeds which he had already sown. Rûpaśikhâ got this done for him in the following way. She created innumerable ants, and by her magic power made them gather together the sesame seeds. When Sṛingabhuja saw that, he went and told the Râkshasa that the task had been accomplished.

Now in a Danish tale called "Svend's exploits," also found in Thorpe's *Yuletide Stories*, there is a very similar incident. Svend is in love with a princess whose father requires him to separate seven barrels of wheat and seven barrels of rye which had been mixed together in one heap. This was to be done in the course of one night. "Just as Svend was most sorrowful he heard a rustling in the heap of grain. The moon was shining in the granary, and by its light he saw that the wheat and rye were gently separating each into its own heap. Here were all the ants for whom he once crumbled his bread when he first set out on his wanderings, and which had promised that they would return his kindness when the time came. They had all now crept up into the granary, and each, taking a grain on his back, went from heap to heap. Some stood and loaded the others, while others received the grains. And thus they continued working all the night long, until in the morning the wheat lay in one heap, and the rye in another. When they had finished their task, the little ant-king placed himself on the top of the heap of wheat, and asked Svend in a small voice if he were content now."[3]

I may mention that I have seen a tale taken down from the lips of an Indian servant in which there was an incident much more nearly resembling the Danish version than that in the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*. In this latter the ants work because they are compelled, not out of gratitude, as in the tale to which I refer.

To the classical scholar these stories recall the tale of Psyche in the *Golden Ass* of Apuleius. Venus gave her some wheat, barley, millet, poppy, vetches, lentils, and beans, and told her to sort them. Psyche sat bewildered in front of the promiscuous heap, when a tiny ant ran busily about and summoned all the ants in the neighbourhood, crying out to them, "Take pity, ye active children of the all-producing earth. Take pity, and make haste to help the wife of Love, a pretty damsel, who is now in a perilous situation." Immediately the six-footed people "came running in whole waves, one upon "another, and with the greatest diligence separat- "ed the whole heap, grain by grain." The resemblance between the second set of incidents may be accidental, being based upon the real or supposed habits of the ant, but the first parallel is of a far more striking character. It is impossible to doubt that here we have various forms of the same old-world fable.

[1] A forest in Kurukshetra burnt by Agni, the god of fire, with the help of Arjuna and Krishna.

[2] Professor DeGubernatis, in his *Comparative Mythology*, vol. II. p. 13, states that it is not an uncommon incident in Russian stories for the hero and heroine to receive from a good magician or fairy the gift of a comb, of such a nature that, when thrown on the ground, it makes an impenetrable forest arise, which stops the pursuer's progress.

[3] This is substantially identical with an incident in the story of "the white snake," the seventeenth in Grimm's *Kinder-und Hausmärchen*. See also Professor De Gubernatis' *Comparative Mythology*, vol. II. p. 45, for the Tuscan version of the same incident.

AN INSCRIPTION OF GOVANA III. OF THE NIKUMBHAVAMŚA.

BY G. BÜHLER.

A facsimile and analysis of the inscription transcribed and translated below have been published in Messrs. Fleet and Burgess's *Pâli, Sanskṛit, and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, No. 283. To the details mentioned there it may be added that the characters are ancient Devanâgarî, closely agreeing in form with those used in the documents of the Yâdavas of Devagiri. The only noteworthy peculiarity occurs in the case of the initial *i*, which in our inscription consists of three dots joined by a horizontal line and a slanting one, and of a curved line below.

It must also be noted that lines 10-23 are slightly mutilated on the left-hand side, and have lost one or two letters each. Most of these lacunæ, as well as those in the middle of ll. 3, 17, and 22, can be easily filled in conjecturally.

As Mr. Fleet has already stated (*loc. cit.*), the inscription belongs to a chieftain of Khândeś, named Govana, an ancestor of the ruler of 1600 villages, Sonhadadeva, who, according to Dr. Bhâû Dâji's Pâṭṇâ inscription of Śaka saṁvat 1128,[1] made a grant of land and money to the college established for the study of the astronomer Bhâskarâchârya's works. It records the consecration of a temple of Śiva, which had been begun by Indrarâja, the father of Govana, and had been finished after his death, as well as the grant of a village, called Devasaṁgama, made by Govana on that occasion.

From the wording of v. 19, which states that Govana gave the village with the permission of his mother Śrîdevî, and from the fact that v. 11 contains a eulogy of that princess, it may be inferred that Govana was a minor at the time when the grant was made. Śrîdevî seems to have carried on the government of the province with the assistance of the Pradhâna Changadeva, to whose praise vv. 13-15 are devoted.

The genealogy of the family is carried back four generations further than in Dr. Bhâû Dâjî's inscription. As our inscription is dated Śaka 1075, or 1153-54 A.D., and as Indrarâja, Govana's father, and sixth ruler of the dynasty, must have died shortly after that time, the commencement of the reign of the first prince, Kṛishṇarâja I., probably falls in the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. The description of the seven chiefs is made up of the platitudes usually found in such *praśastis*, and contains hardly any historical facts. From the expression in v. 6, *svâmidevagurubhaktiḥ* "(*his*) devotion to his *master*, to the gods, and to his Gurus", which applies to Kṛishṇarâja II., and from the epithet *parivṛidhadṛidhabhaktiḥ*, "strongly devoted to his suzerain," which occurs (v. 8) in the description of Indrarâja, I, however, conclude that these two, at least, like their successors Sonhadadeva and Hemâdideva were feudatories, either of the Yâdavas of Devagiri, or of some other dynasty which at that time held the north-western Dekhan.

The pedigree of the Nikumbhavaṁśa stands, according to our and Dr. Bhâû Dâjî's inscriptions, as follows:—

Nikumbhavaṁśa.

1. Kṛishṇarâja I. (about 1000 A.D.)
2. Govana I.
3. Govindarâja.
4. Govana II.
5. Kṛishṇarâja II.
6. Indrarâja, md. Śrîdevî, of the Sagara race, regent after his death. [Śaka 1075, 1153-4 A.D.]
7. Govana III.

8. Sonhadadeva. 9. Hemâdideva [Śaka 1128, 1216-7 A.D.]

Transcription.

ओं नमः शिवाय ॥

आधारो धरणी सुधांशुतरणी ह्लादप्रकाशप्रदावाकाशस्त्ववकाशदोया जगतः पा-

कप्रदः पावकः। प्राणो वायुरया-1-

[1] *Jour. R. As. Soc., N. S.*, vol. I. p. 414, and Fleet and Burgess, *loc. cit.* No. 284. Line 1, read °दोथ जगतः.

युरंवु हविषामाप्यायको दायको यन्मूर्त्यष्टकभावितं जगदिदं पायात्स वः शंकरः ।। ✽ ।। [१]
अस्तु स्वस्ति समस्तभास्करमहावंशाय-2-

यत्राभवद्भूभृच्छ्रेष्ठनिकुंभनामनृपतिर्यस्यान्वये विश्रुतः ।
[मांधा]ता रागरो भगीरथमुखाः किं वर्ण्यमस्मात्परं यत्र त्रातुमिदं जगज्ज-3-

गदिनो रामोवतीर्णः स्वयं ।। [२] वंशे तत्र
निकुंभनामनृपतेः, श्रीकृष्णराजोभवद्विख्यातक्षितिपालमौक्तिकमणिश्रेण्यां श्रितः श्रेष्ठतां । जातस्तत्त-4-

नयोवनेरवनतो यो गोवनः कीर्त्यते तत्पुत्रो नृपदर्पसर्पगरुडो गोविंदराजोजनि ।। [३]
गोविंदादपि गोवनः पुनरभूद्भूपालचूडामणिः पुत्रस्तस्य निकुं-5-

भवंशतिलकः श्रीकृष्णराजोभवत् ।
यत्सत्कीर्तिसुधां विधूतशिरसः साकूणिताक्षा रसादद्यापीह पिबंति कर्णपुटकैर्दिक्षु क्षितौ क्ष्माभृतः [।।४।।]-6-

पूर्वं योवततार भारमवनेर्हर्तुं सुरारातिजं श्रीवासो वसुदेवदेवकसुताहर्म्ये सुरम्ये हरिः । भूयो गोवन-
भूपभव्यभवने भूत्वाथ जित्वा रि-7-

पून्कृत्वा पालकमिंद्रराजमवनेः स्वर्गं जगाम स्वयं ।। [५] उत्कीर्णचंद्र-
फलकस्वगुणप्रशस्तेः किं वर्ण्यतेत्र भुवि कृष्णनृपस्य तस्य । किं-8-

स्वामिदेवगुरुभक्तिरुदारकीर्तिरत्यंतसत्यमुत शौर्यमथार्यता वा ।।[६]।
कृष्ण ब्रूहि यम त्वया यदनिशं दत्तं द्विजेभ्यो धनं गृह्णीष्व त्वमि-9-

[दं] न देवकिमिति प्रत्तं कथं गृह्यते । क्रीडायामपि
यत्तु दत्तमहरन्नाहं न मद्वंशजा इत्यार्यत्वसुतोषितो दिवि [चकारा]स्मै स तुंगं पदं ।। ✽ [७।।]-10-
[अ]हितविहित[घा]तः कृष्णराजात्प्रजातः प्रचुरसुकृतभाजः कीर्तिमानिंद्रराजः । परिवृढदृढभक्तिः संगरे-
ऽचिंत्यशक्तिः सुज-11-

[न]कमलभानुर्दुष्टकक्षे कृशानुः ।।[८]। दोर्दर्पोद्धुरकं-
धरारि[सु]महासामंतसीमंतिनीनेत्रप्रच्युतवा[रि]पूरविलसद्वंसायते यद्यशः । नासीद-12-

[नोत] भविष्यति क्षितिपतिर्दृष्टः
श्रुतो वा क्वचित्त्यागे सत्यगुणे रणे सुचरणे यः श्रींद्रराजोपमः ।।[९]। शत्रुर्मित्रायते कल्पवृक्षायंते-13-
[च दु]र्जनाः । राज्ये यस्येंद्रराजस्य कलिः कृतयुगायते ।। [१०]। श्रीदेवी सगरान्वयातिद-
यिता यत्पट्टराज्ञी सती या राज्ञी वनिताजनस्य नि-14-

[धिना]मौदार्यदीक्षागुरुः । किं कीर्तिः किमु सुंदर-
त्वमथ किं सौभाग्यभाग्योदयः किं दानं प्रतिपन्नपालनगुणस्तस्यास्तु किं वर्ण्यते ।। [११]-15]

—— कृष्णसमो रणेर्जुनसमस्त्यागे
स नागार्जुनो देवव्राह्मणसाधुवृंदकुमुदाह्लादाय चंद्रोदयः । यत्सूनुर्ननु गोवनो रणपटुः-16-

Line 1, °रंवु.
Line 3, read सगरो.
Line 8, न्कृत्वा indistinct in the facsimile.
Line 9, read ब्रूहि; possibly यमं; read कृष्णं.
Line 10, the visarga of दं is visible.
Line 12, read °द्वंसायते; नासीद्.
Line 14, the °र्ज° in the beginning doubtful; last syllable राज्ञी doubtful.
Line 16, read °ब्राह्मण°.

YADAVA INSCRIPTION FROM PATNA --- SAKA 1075.

W.GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH, PECKHAM.

ORIGINAL INCHES.

[ख]ड्गस्तु यस्यासकृदृप्तारिद्विपकुंभपीठलुठनप्रोत्कंठकंठीरवः ॥ [१२]। यन्मंत्री नृपनीतिवित्त-
तलसल्लक्ष्मीलताकंदकः ------ - 17 -
- रा सुभासुररणे निर्व्याजशूरो द्विजः । विद्वान्सज्जनरंजनोतिचतुरः
श्रीचंगदेवाह्वयो येन स्वीयधियेंद्रराजचरणाक्रांताः कृताः - 18 -
[शत्र]वः ॥[१३]। राष्ट्रस्य पुष्टिः सुजनस्य तुष्टिर्द्धर्मस्य
वृद्धिः सकलार्थसिद्धिः । नंदंति संतः प्रसरंति लक्ष्म्यः श्रीचंगदेवे सति सत्प्रधाने ॥ [१४] वाचस्प - 19 -
[तिः] किमुशना नरवेषप[ट्टः] किंवा निधिर्नृपतिसद्मनि पद्मनामा । चिंतामणिर्नु सुकृतादवतीर्ण
इत्वं यं तर्कयंति सुजनाः प्रचुरप्रभावं ॥ [१५]। वर्षा - 20 -
[णां]पंचसप्तत्या सहस्रे स्यविके गते । १०७५।
शकभूपालकालस्य तथा श्रीमुखवत्सरे ॥ [१६]। अतिसुरसमसारासारसंसारतुंगक्षिति - 21 -
[¬ह]फलमाप्तुं पुण्यरूपं तदेदं । मदनदहनहर्म्यं
कारयाम[स तुं]गं [स] गुणगणनिधानश्रींद्रराजाभिधानः ॥ [१७] हे भूपा भुवि भाविनोंज - 22 -
[लि]पुटं बध्वेंद्रराज्ञो भृशं याचे किंचिदहं नृजीवितमरे कल्लोललोलं यतः।
राज्यं तन्नलिनीदलांबुतरलं तस्मात्स्वधर्मं ध्रुवं सत्यं न त्यज - 23 -
[त] स्वदत्तमपरैर्दत्तं च तत्पाल्यतां ॥ [१८]।
देवसंगमनामानं ग्रामं देवाय गोवनः । श्रीदेव्यनुमते प्रादात्प्रतिष्ठामकरोद्यदा ॥[१९]।

Translation.

Om. Adoration to Śiva!

1. May that Śaṁkara protect you, whose eight forms[2]—the supporting earth, sun and moon, the givers of joy and light, ether which produces space, fire that gives ripeness on earth, wind (*which in the body acts as*) vital air, water, (*the principle of*) life, and the giver (*and*) increaser of sacrificial oblations—have created this world.

2. Hail to the entire great Solar race, from which king Nikumbha, best of princes, sprang, in whose line Mândhâtâ was famous, as well as Sagara, Bhagîratha, and others. What greater theme can I choose for my song (*than these descendants of the Sun*), among whom the Lord of the world himself became incarnate as Râma, to save the world?

3. In that race of king Nikumbha the illustrious Kṛishṇarâja was born, who reached preëminence in the pearl-garland of famed kings. To him was born a son, who is celebrated (*under the name*) Govana, on account of his protecting (*avana*) the earth (*go*). His son was Govindarâja, a Garuḍa (*in rending*) that serpent, the pride of (*hostile*) kings.

4. From Govinda again sprang Govana, best of rulers. His son was the illustrious Kṛishṇarâja, the chief ornament of Nikumbha's race. In every region of the earth kings drink even to-day with their ears the nectar of his fame, nodding their heads and closing their eyes (*with ecstasy*) on account of its flavour.

5. Hari, who formerly descended, to remove the load of the earth, the son of the enemy of the gods, in the lovely palace of Vasudeva and of Devaka's daughter, a dwelling of Fortune, was born again in the beautiful mansion of king

Line 17, read °हृता°;—°वित्तविलस°.

Line 18, read °रंजनेति°.

Line 20, पट्ट: doubtful. In the facsimile प is distinct, and a sign like ट stands under the line; read इत्थं.

Line 21, read साधिके.

Line 23, read बद्धं°.

[2] For the eight *mûrtis* or forms of Śiva compare *Śâkuntala* I. 1. The epithet 'that gives ripeness', *pâkapradaḥ*, is intended to convey more than one meaning. It indicates, I think, that fire causes all the fruits of the earth to ripen, is the principle of digestion, and finally will consume the world. Regarding the form of Śiva named last see Böhtlingk, note on *Śâk.* I. 1.

Govana, conquered the foes, made Indrârâja protector of the earth, and returned to heaven.

6. Why shall I praise this king Kṛishṇa here on earth, as the eulogy of his virtues is engraved on the tablet of the moon-disc? (*Shall I speak of*) his devotion to his lord paramount, to the gods and his *gurus*, of his high fame, of his exceeding truthfulness, or of his bravery or his nobleness?

7. "O Yama, say to Kṛishṇa, 'Take thou this wealth (*for thyself*) which thou daily didst give to Brahmans!'[8] 'No, O lord'! 'Why?' 'How can I take what (*once*) has been given? Neither I nor my kinsmen (*ever*) took that which in jest even had been given.'" Exceedingly rejoicing at this honourable feeling, he assigned to him a high place in heaven.

8. From Krishṇarâja, endowed with great spiritual merit, was born famous Indrarâja, who slew his enemies, who was firmly devoted to his suzerain, who possessed unthinkable strength in battle, and who (*gladdened*) good men as the sun (*causes*) the lotuses (*to open*), and (*destroyed*) the wicked ones as the wild-fire (*burns*) a forest.

9. His fame resembles a reed that sportively sways in the streams of tears breaking from the eyes of the wives of very great chieftains, his foes, who, (*confident of*) the strength of their arms, carried their heads high. Nowhere has a king been seen or heard of, nor will one ever appear, who can be compared to illustrious Indrarâja for liberality, truthfulness, for (*bravery in*) battle, or virtuous conduct.

10. In Indrarâja's kingdom foes become friends, misers fulfil wishes like the Tree of Paradise; the Iron age resembles the Golden age.

11. Faithful Śrîdevî, sprung from Sagara's race, is his crowned consort, who, peerless among women, teaches (*the king's*) treasures a lesson in liberality. Shall I sing of her fame, or of her beauty, or of her great good fortune, or of her liberality, or of her virtue in keeping her promises?

12. Her son, forsooth, is Govana, equal to Kṛishṇa in . . ., equal to Arjuna in battle, a Nâgârjuna in liberality, whose prosperity gladdens the crowds of gods, Brahmans, and saints, just as the moon makes the night-lotuses rejoice, and whose sword, experienced in battle, (*resembles*) a lion who again and again eagerly desires to roll on the broad frontal globes of the elephants of his proud enemies.

13. His minister, a root of the creeper Fortune that delights in (*his*) wealth, the science of government . . . ., a true hero in very dreadful battles, a learned Brahman, exceedingly skilful in pleasing good men, is the illustrious Changadeva, who, by his wisdom, prostrated (*all*) enemies at Indrarâja's feet.

14. The kingdom prospers, good men are pleased, spiritual merit grows, all aims are attained, the saints rejoice, prosperity grows, while the illustrious Changadeva is the good minister.

15. Regarding him who possesses great power good men put these questions: "Is he Vâchaspati or Uśanas wearing the garb of man, or is he the treasure called Padma (*dwelling*) in the king's hall, or is he the philosopher's stone descended in consequence of (*his master's*) merit?

16. When one thousand years of the Śaka king had passed and seventy-five besides, and the year (*of the cycle of Jupiter was*) Śrîmukha,

17. Then that store of all virtues, the illustrious Indrarâja, ordered to be built this lofty temple of the Destroyer of Cupid, in order to gain spiritual merit, the exceedingly sweet reward for gifts of land, which is superior to the utterly worthless (*happiness of the*) world.

18. O ye kings who will rule on earth, I, Indrarâja, address to you, with folded hands, a fervent prayer:—"As the life of man is transient like a wave, as royalty is unstable like a water-drop on a lotus-leaf, therefore do not forsake your duty, firmly to keep faith, and protect what you, what others gave."

19. With the permission of Śrîdevî Govana gave to the god the village called Devasaṁgama, (*on the day*) when he celebrated the consecration (*of the temple*).

[8] I do not feel certain that I have rightly understood this verse. But it seems to me that it contains an imaginary conversation between Krishṇarâja and Yama, which is intended to place the *satya* of the former in a better light. When Krishṇa appears before Yama, the god, in order to try him, exhorts him to resume the grants made to Brahmans by appropriating the *punya* or spiritual merit, into which they had been converted. The king refuses to do this, as it is against his duty to take back gifts; and Yama, pleased by this *âryatva*, or honourable disposition, allots to him a high place in heaven.

SANSKṚIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from vol. VII. p. 308.)

No. LII.

The sixth set of the Nerûr copper-plates, spoken of at p. 161 above, is described by General Jacob as having "two leaves, almost eaten away; the middle one wanting. The few words decipherable convey no meaning."

The plates are very thin through corrosion, the second one being almost broken in half; and the end part of each plate has been entirely broken off and lost. The remnant of the first plate measures $6\frac{3}{4}''$ by $2\frac{5}{16}''$; and the remnant of the second plate, $7\frac{1}{2}''$ by $2\frac{1}{4}''$. The edges of the plates are not raised into rims. The ring connecting them is uncut; it is about $\frac{3}{16}''$ thick and $2\frac{3}{4}''$ in diameter. The seal on it, circular, and about $1''$ in diameter, has the representation of a boar, facing to the proper left, in relief on a countersunk surface. The context appears to me to run on from the first to the second plate, and so to indicate that there never was any middle plate at all. There are no traces of writing on the outer side of either plate.

The characters are neatly formed, of the same standard as those of the grant of Maṅgala, No. XL. of this Series. The distinguishing forms of *ta* and *na* are that the former is almost invariably written in this grant with a loop, and the latter without a loop. In *Polekêsi(śi)*, l. 8, and *kâlê*, l. 9, the vowel *ê* is attached to the *la* in rather an unusual way, and in a similar way to that in which it is attached to other consonants; it is usually made by a continuation of the upward stroke of the *la*, brought round in a loop to the left so as to join the *la* again at the point at which it starts from it, and it is hardly to be distinguished from the vowel *i* as attached to the same letter.

In the word *viṅśati*, l. 10, the orthography is peculiar, in the employment of the guttural nasal, *ṅ*, instead of the *Anusvâra*. With this instance, we have to compare,——*sagôtrâṇâṅ=Hâritî*, l. 1 of the Bâdami Cave-inscription, Vol. VI., p. 363;—*Jayasiṅha*, l. 3 of the Aihole stone-tablet, Vol. V., p. 67;—*vaṅśa*, ll. 14 and 22 of No. LIII. below;—*triṅśan*, l. 3 of No. XXI. of this Series, Vol. VI., p. 24;—*Siṅha*, l. 8 of No. XXV., Vol. VI., p. 30;—and *vaṅśa*, l. 3, *viṅśatimaṁ*, l. 18, and *tṛi(tri)ṅśâni*, l. 19, of a (?) Chalukya grant at *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. X., p. 348.

I find this to be another grant of the Western Chalukya king Pulikêśî II., who is here called Satyâśraya and Polekêśi-Vallabha. The genealogy commences in l. 4, the first name mentioned, somewhere in the broken-off parts, being probably that of Pulikêśî I.; there is no space for the mention of any name antecedent to his. His son, Kîrttivarmâ I., is here called Kîrttirâja. His son, Satyâśraya-Polekêśi-Vallabha, is the donor. In l. 3 he is called simply 'Vallabha'; for, in accordance with what was occasionally the custom in early inscriptions and became the almost invariable custom in later times, the name given there is that of the reigning monarch at the time of the grant, specified by name before the introduction of his genealogy. The name of the village bestowed, at the end of l. 8, is partly broken away; it might perhaps be completed by local inquiry and identification. The grant is not dated. Vâtâpi, or Bâdâmi, though far away from Nerûr, seems to be spoken of in the last line.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] Svasti || Śr[î] [||*] Jayati vimaḷa-daṁshṭrâ-râjitaṁ lôka-bharttuḥ || praśamita-ripu-[1]. . . . .-[su]-

[2] r-ârêḥ ||[2] avani-taḷa-vighâ(?)t-âbhinna-Pâtâla-mûlam || sva-bhuja-[3]. . . . .-

[3] d=ûrddhvam=ûrvvi(rvvî)n=dadhânaṁ || Tad=anu jayati nityaṁ Vallabhasy=âpi bâhu[r]=[4] . . . .-

[4] harshsha-vichchhêda-hêtuḥ || dvija-vara-kṛita-śântiḥ sarvva-lôkasya pâḷaḥ[5] || Anê[6]. . . . .-

[1] Seven letters are broken away here; the last must be *su*.

[2] In the original, this mark of punctuation is wrongly placed between the *rê* and the *ḥ*.

[3] Five letters are broken away here.

[4] Eight letters are broken away here.

[5] This verse is one of only three *pâdas*.

[6] About nine letters are broken away here. The reading probably was *Anêka-râja-parâjay-ôpârjjita*.

[5] kîrttînâṁ dêva-dvija-[guru]-[7]. . . . .[Hâ]ritî-putrâṇâṁ Mânavya-sa[gôtrâṇâṁ][8]. . . . .

Second plate.

[6] [9]. . . . . shâṁ bahu-[s]u[varṇ]ṇ[a][10]. . . . . .dakshiṇ-ôpêta-gu(?)[11]. . . . .-

[7] Ga[ṁ]g-âvabhṛitha-snân-ôdaka-pavitrîkṛi[ta-śa]rîraḥ [||*] Tasya putraḥ Śrî-Kîrtti-râjaḥ [||*] [Tasy=âtmajaḥ Śrî-Sa[12]]-

[8] tyâśrayaḥ Polekêsi(śi)-Vallabha-mahârâjaḥ Kuvaḷâ(?)la(?)hasu[13]. . . . .

[9] mahâ-dânaṁ viprêbhyaḥ dattavân || Tadâ kâlê idam=api śâsanaṁ || Varchcha(?)-sagôtra-[14] . . . .

[10] r-âchâryyasya pañcha-viṁśa[15]ti-nivarttanâṁ(naṁ) râja-mânêna kshêtraṁ dattaṁ [||*] Tatra pa[16]. . . . .

[11] [17] . . . . . . Vâ(?)tâ(?)pî-grâmê[18]. . . . . mahâ-patha-[19]. . . , ...

Translation.

Hail! (*May there be*) good fortune! Victorious is [the form, which was that of a boar,] of the lord of the world, who allayed. . . . . the hostile . . . . enemies of the gods,—which was adorned by spotless tusks; which had the unbroken foundations of hell . . . . the surface of the earth; which . . . . by its own arms; and which lifted up the world on high!

After that, victorious for ever is also the arm of Vallabha,—which is the cause of the interruption of the joy[20] . . . . , and which effects the tranquillity of the best of the twice-born, and which is the protector of all mankind!

[In the lineage of the Chalukyas],—who are possessed of fame [acquired by defeating] many [kings]; [who meditate on the feet of] the gods and the twice-born and spiritual preceptors; who are the descendants of Hâritî; who are of the lineage of Mânavya; [who sacrifice]. . . . . ; and who . . . . which cost much gold . . . . endowed with donations . . . . ,—(*there was*). . . . ., whose body was purified by the water of the (*river*) Gaṅgâ which was used for his purificatory bathing. His son was Śrî-Kîrttirâja.

His son, Śrî-Satyâśraya, the Great King Polekêśi-Vallabha, gave to the Brâhmaṇs a great gift, [the village named] (?)Kuvaḷâlahasu . . . . At that same time, also, this charter (*was given*).

A field, (*of the measure of*) twenty-five *nivartanas* by the royal measure, was given to. . . . . . râchârya of the (?) Varcha *gôtra*. There . . . . at the village of (?) Vâtâpî . . . . the high-road. . . . .

No. LIII.

General Jacob's paper on the Nerûr plates is supplemented, at *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. III., Part II., p. 211, by a transcription, translation, and hand-copy, of a copper-plate grant from Kôchrê or Kôchrêṁ. This place is somewhere in the Veṅgurḷâ Pêṭâ of the Ratnâgiri District; but I cannot find it on the map. The ancient spelling of the name was 'Kochchuraka', as shown by the grant itself. Nerûr is in Long. 73° 42′ E., and Lat. 16° 1′ N. The ancient name is given in just the same form in another of the grants to be published hereafter; there is nothing to indicate whether the vowel of the first syllable is long or short, but it has the appearance and sound of a Drâviḍian word, with the short vowel *e*.

The plates, which have been obtained through the Political Superintendent of Sâwantwâḍi

[7] About nine letters are broken away here. There can be no doubt that the last was *hâ*, and that the first two were *guru*; in fact, the tops of the *g* and *r* are visible. The remaining syllables were probably *pâd-ânudhyâtânâṁ*.

[8] About nine letters are broken away here. There can be no doubt that the first three were *gôtrâṇâṁ*, and part of the *g* is visible.

[9] Four or five letters are broken away here. The last two were probably *yaju* of *yajushâṁ*.

[10] Three or four letters are broken away here.

[11] About twelve letters are broken away here.

[12] About six letters are broken away. There can be no doubt that they were as proposed by me, or to the same effect.

[13] About six letters are broken away here. Part of the first is visible, and the consonant must be *ch*, *ḍ*, *d*, *p*, *ph*, *m*, *sh*, or *h*. The remaining syllables were possibly *nâmadhêya-grâmaṁ*.

[14] Six or seven letters are broken away here.

[15] See para. 4 of the introductory remarks.

[16] One letter is illegible here, and about six others are broken away.

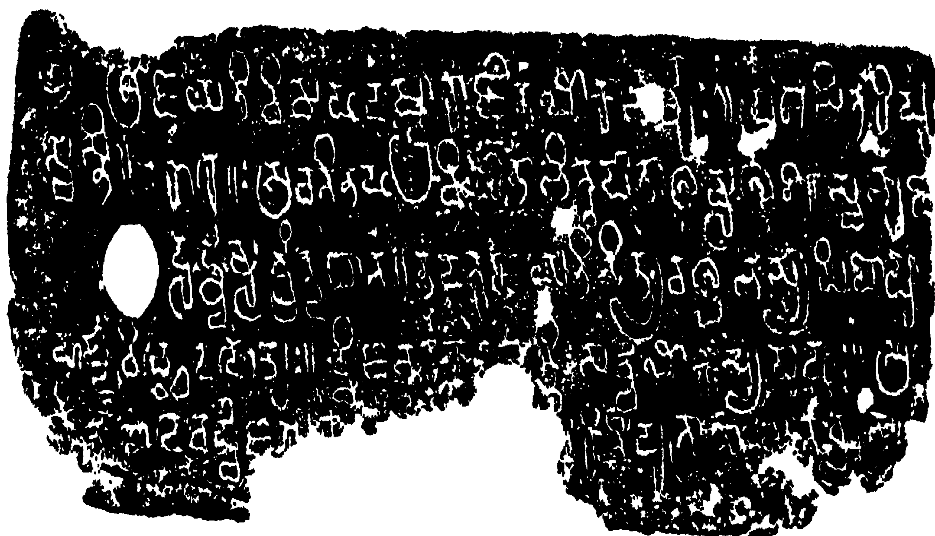
[17] One letter is broken away here, and one is illegible.

[18] About twenty letters are broken away here.

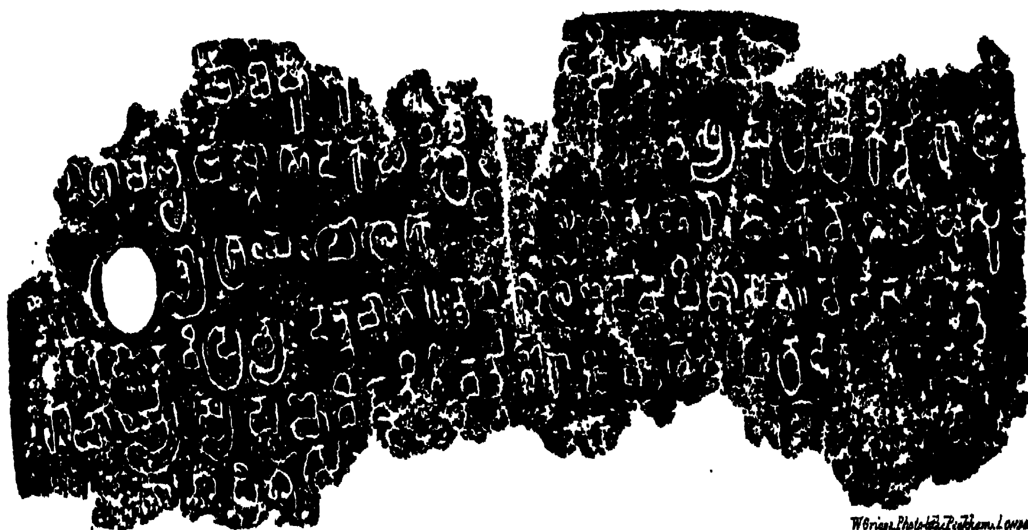
[19] About six letters are broken away here.

[20] There is evidently a punning allusion here to the conquest of Harsha or Harshavardhana.

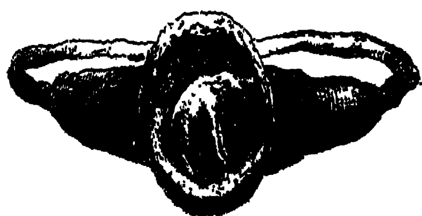
WESTERN CHALUKYA GRANT OF PULIKESI II.



II.



W Griggs Photo-lith. Peckham, London.



for me to reëdit the inscription from them, belong to Wâsudêva Râmkrishṇa Teṅgsê of Kôchrê. They are three in number, each about 7⅝″ long by 3½″ broad. The edges of the plates are not raised into rims. The ring connecting them is uncut; it is about ⅓″ thick, and 3″ in diameter. The seal on it is circular, about 1¼″ in diameter; it has, raised in relief on a countersunk surface,—at the top, the sun and moon; in the middle, the words *Śrî-Chandrâditya;* and at the bottom, a lotus.

Except that the letter *tha* is not so clearly formed with a loop on the bottom stroke, and except in the form of the *ṇa*, the characters are the same as those of No. XLI. of this Series at vol. VII. p. 163. They are early Western Chalukya characters, but somewhat influenced by the northern forms; this is observable in,—1, the vowel *ĕ*, which,—whether by itself, or as part of *ai* or *ô*,—is usually written above the line;—2, the vowel *ai*, which is expressed by two strokes above the line;—3, the triangular shape of the *va*;—and 4, the form of the *ṇa*, which is exactly the same as, for instance, in the Valabhî grant of Dhruvasêna II., at Vol. VI., p. 12. Except in the form of the *ṇa*, the characters are also the same as those of another (?) Chalukya copper-plate grant from the Koṅkaṇ, at *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. X., p. 348. Contrary to the practice of the preceding grant, No. LII., and of No. XL.,—the *ta* is written without, and the *na* with, a loop.

It is a Western Chalukya grant. The genealogy commences with Pulakêśi-Vallabha, or Pulikêśî I., and reaches down to Chandrâditya, the son of Satyâśraya, or Pulikêśî II., and the elder brother of Vikramâditya I. In No. XLI. of this Series, this king's name reads at first sight as 'Indrâditya'; but I gave reasons there for correcting it into 'Chandrâditya', and the reading is undoubtedly 'Chandrâditya' in the present grant, both in l. 15, and on the seal.

As in the case of No. XLI., the grant is made by Vijayamahâdêvî, or Vijayabhaṭṭârikâ, the queen-consort of Chandrâditya. No date is given, beyond the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of Vaiśâkha.

In my remarks on No. XLI., I hazarded the conjecture, equally applicable here, that the wording of the grant indicated that Vijayabhaṭṭârikâ continued to reign after her husband's decease,—probably as regent during the childhood of a son, whose subsequent death led to the accession of Vikramâditya I. I did not know then of the seal of the present grant, which fully justifies my conjecture. If Chandrâditya had been still alive at the time of these two grants, he would hardly have been described merely as the elder brother of Vikramâditya I. And, on the other hand, if Vikramâditya I. was on the throne at the time of these two grants, then his name, and not that of Chandrâditya, would certainly have been engraved on the seal of the present grant.

The name of Vijayamahâdêvî is followed, in l. 18, by rather a curious word, for which I cannot offer any very satisfactory explanation. It is evidently a Drâviḍian word, and may be perhaps some title, or the household-name, of Vijayamahâdêvî. I can find no word in the Dictionaries approaching to *pôdhi* or *pôṭhi*. But, as regards the first two syllables, we have in Canarese, *boddi*, 'the name of a certain shrub'; and *boḍḍi*, 'a harlot', which occurs, in the form *poḍḍi*, in the names 'Gôyindapoḍḍi', and 'Bâdipoḍḍi' or 'Bâḷipoḍḍi', in the *First Archæological Report*, Pl. XLIII., No. 25, ll. 4-5. And I have an Old Canarese inscription, from a pillar in the porch of the temple of the god Mahâkûṭêśvara at Bâdâmi, which records a grant by a *sûḷe*, or 'harlot', named Vinâpŏṭi, who was the daughter of Kuchipŏṭi and the granddaughter of Rĕvamañchaḷ, and was the *prâṇa-vallabhe*, or 'heart's darling', of the Western Chalukya king Vijayâditya-Satyâśraya. But Vijayamahâdêvî is called *mahishî*, 'the queen-consort, the first or properly consecrated wife of the king', in both of her grants; and it is hardly possible that a queen-consort should be selected from the harlot class.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] Svasti Śrîmatâṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstûyamâna-Mânavya-
[2] sagôtrâṇâṁ Hârîtî-putrâṇâṁ sapta-lôka-mâtri(tṛi)bhis=sapta-

[3] mâtri(tri)bhir=abhivarddhitânâṁ Kârttikêya-parirakshaṇa-prâpta-kalyâ-
[4] ṇa-paramparâṇâṁ bhagavan-Nârâyaṇa-prasâda-samâsâ-
[5] dita-varâha-lâñchhan-êkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśîkṛit-âśêsha-mahîbhṛitâṁ
[6] Chalukyânâṁ kulam=alaṅkarishṇôr=aśvamêdh-âvabhṛitha-snâna-pavitrî-
[7] k[ṛ]i(kṛi)ta-gâtrasya Śrî-Pulakêśi-Vallabha-mahâ[râ]ja-[21]

Second plate; first side.

[8] sya prapautraḥ parâkram-âkrânta-Vanavâsy-âdi-para-nṛii(nṛi)pati-maṇḍa-
[9] la-praṇibaddha-viśuddha-kîrtti-Śrî-Kîrttivarmma-pri(pṛi)thivivallabha-mahâ-
[10] râjasya pautras=samara-saṁsakta-sakal-ôttarâpath-êśvara-Śrî-Harshsha-
[11] varddhana-parâjay-ôpalabdha-paramêśvar-âpara-nâmadhê-
[12] yasya Satyâśraya-śrî-pri(pṛi)thivîvallabha-mahârâj-âdhirâja-
[13] paramêśvarasya priya-tanaya(yô) raṇa-śirasi ripu-narêndrân=[d]i-

Second ptate; second side.

[14] śi diśi jitvâ sva-vaṅśa-[22]jâṁ lakshmîṁ prâpya cha paramêśvaratâm=a-
[15] nivârita-Vikramâdityas=tasya jyêshṭhô bhrâtâ Śrî-Chandrâditya-
[16] pri(pṛi)thivivallabha-mahârâj-âdhirâjas=tasya pra(pri)ya-mahi-
[17] shî Kali-kâla-pratipaksha-bhûtâ Śrî-Vijayamaha(hâ)dê-
[18] vî boddi(? ḍḍi)pôdhî(? ṭhî) sarvvân=âjñâpâyati [| *] . Viditam=astu vô Vaiśâkha-
[19] śukla-dvâdaśyâṁ sôpavâsa â(? a)sya Vatsa-ssa(sa)gôtrâya Kêkha-
[20] [23]. . . . va(?)gôla-svâminê Kochchuraka-grâmê Vakulaka-

Third plate.

[21] chha(chchha)-kshêtra-nâma-khajjana-saṁhitaṁ udaka-pûrvvan=dattam[24] apara-pû-
[22] rvvênô(rvvataḥ) sêtunâ nivâryyatê [|| *] Yô=smad-vaṅśâ-jô=nyô v=ânupâla-
[23] yati sa puṇya-bhâg=bhavati yaś=ch=âpahartâ sa pañcha-mahâpâ-
[24] taka-sa(saṁ)yuktô bhavati [|| *] Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê
[25] môdati bhûmi-da(daḥ) âchchhêttâ ch=ânumantâ cha tany=êva naraka(kê) va-
[26] sê[t*] | (||) Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâ(ttâṁ) vâ yô harêta vasundharâṁ shashṭi-varsha-
[27] sahasrâṇi vishṭhâyâṁ jâyatê krî(kri)mi(miḥ) || Paṁgôlihikhaṇḍikâdrô(?)sa(?) [|| *]

Translation.

Hail! The great-grandson of the Great King Śrî-Pulakêśi-Vallabha, whose body was purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices, and who adorned the family of the Chalukyas, who are glorious, and who are of the lineage of Mânavya which is praised over the whole world, and who are the descendants of Hâritî, and who have been preserved (&c., as in No. XLI.);—the grandson of the Great King Śrî-Kîrttivarmâ, the favourite of the world, whose pure fame (&c., as in No. XLI.);—the dear son of the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme lord, Satyâśraya, who was possessed of the second name of 'Supreme Lord' (&c., as in No. XLI.);—(*was*) Vikramâditya, the unrepulsed, who, having conquered the hostile kings in country after country in the van of war, and having acquired the (*regal*) fortunes of his family, (*attained*)[25] the position of a supreme lord.

His elder brother (*was*) Śrî-Chandrâditya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king.

His dear queen, Śrî-Vijayamahâdêvî, ...[26], who was opposed to (*the vices of*) the Kali age, commands all

[21] These four letters are very faint, the *râ* being almost entirely effaced; and they are spaced out so wide as to occupy nearly a third of the whole line in the original.

[22] See para. 4 of the introductory remarks to No. LII.

[23] One letter is barely discernible here, and is altogether uncertain.

[24] The final *m* is very faint. It must have been much more distinct when the plates were examined by General Jacob's Paṇḍit; for it is shown in the hand-copy annexed to his paper.

[25] In the original text there is no verb to complete this sentence and to govern *paramêśvaratâm*. We have to supply *prâpa*, from *prâpya*.

[26] *Boddi* (? *ḍḍi*)*pôdhî* (? *ṭhî*), l. 18; meaning unknown. See the introductory remarks. General Jacob's Paṇḍit offers no explanation of this word.

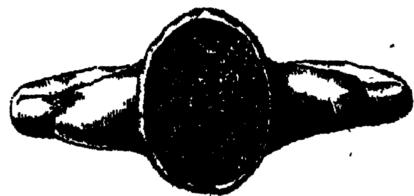
I.

IIa.

W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH. PECKHAM.

IIb.

III.



people:—"Be it known to you! On the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of (*the month*) Vaiśâkha, at the time of a fast . . . .[27], the aggregate of *khajjanas*[28] named Vakulakachchha-kshêtra[29], at the village of Kochchuraka, has been given, with libations of water, to (?) Kêkha- . . . vagôlasvâmî of the Vatsa *gôtra*. On the west and the east it is protected by an embankment. He, who preserves this, whether of Our lineage, or another, enjoys (*the reward of*) religious merit; he, who confiscates it, incurs the guilt of the five great sins."

The giver of land dwells happily in heaven for the duration of sixty thousand years; the confiscator (*of a grant of land*), or one who connives (*at such confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! He is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another! . . . .[30]

MISCELLANEA.

SOME REMARKS ON DR. POPE'S "NOTES ON THE SOUTH-INDIAN OR DRÂVIḌIAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES." (*Ind. Ant.* vol. V. pp. 157, 158.)

BY THE REV. F. KITTEL.

Dr. Caldwell in p. 452 (conf. Preface, p. vii.) of the second edition of his *Grammar* (of A.D. 1875) states as the result of his valuable researches "that the Dravidian idioms exhibit traces of an ancient, deep-seated connection with Præ-Sanscrit, the assumed archaic mother-tongue of the Indo-European family,—whilst at the same time the traces they exhibit of relationship to the languages of the Scythian group, especially the Ugrian tongues, are, on the whole, closer, more distinctive, and more essential";—whereas Dr. Pope's contention, in his "Notes" (p. 158), is "that the doctrine that the place of the Drâviḍian dialects is rather with the Âryan than with the Turânian family of languages is still capable of defence." My intention is not to write in favour of either of the opinions, but to recommend the use of additional and at the same time plain and convincing arguments. Let me add that a quite astonishing number of Draviḍa roots (or stęms) and nouns has been incorporated into Sanskṛit—a circumstance which, to my knowledge, only too little notice has hitherto been taken of. Such roots generally terminate in a *cerebral*.

Of the fourteen words adduced by Dr. Pope to point out the relationship of the so-called Draviḍa languages to those of the Ârya group, nine have already been used by Dr. Caldwell for the very same purpose. In his *Grammar* Dr. Caldwell compares pâḍ with Sanskṛit *paṭh* (p. 472); paḷḷi with Sk. *palli* (p. 459) and *πόλις* (p. 485); pĕṇ with *fēmĭna* (p. 486); pagai with Sk. *bhaj, bhâga* (p. 459; conf. 473, 494); pôgu with *βαω* and *vădo* (p. 487); pala with Sk. *pulu, puru* (p. 472), *phal* (p. 494), and *pars, portĭo, plūs, πολύ*, Gothic and Old German *fîlu* (p. 484; p. 485 also piri with Sk. *pḥal, πόρω, portĭo, pars*, and p. 486 also adjective pĕru with Sk. *pulu, puru; barh, varh*); pû with Sk. *phulla* (p. 474); pŏṟu (the *porru* of Dr. Pope) with Sk. *bhṛi, φέρω, fĕro*, Gothic *bairam, bár, bêram*, Old High German *bêran, péran*, Old English *bearn*, 'a child' (pp. 473, 486); and pĕṟu (Dr. Pope's *perru*) with *părĭo, frux* (p. 486). Nos. 3, 5, 6, and 12 in Dr. Pope's list he has associated also with Skythian and partly Semitic terms, so that for this reason they are somewhat out of place in the "Notes."

Dr. Pope's words that I have not observed in the lists from Dr. Caldwell's *Grammar* are five in number, viz. pullu (or *pul*), pul, pêthai (or *pédai*), paḷḷam, and pulai.

Is it a fact that the nine words of Dr. Caldwell, and others introduced by him with the same view, are ultimately related to the terms of the Indo-European family, with which he has compared them? He rightly cautions his readers against such a supposition (p. 509), and himself argues cautiously. It is worth while to examine the said nine words and the rest in Dr. Pope's list, and to see whether their relation to the Indo-European languages is real or not, or at least doubtful.

1. Pâḍ, 'to sing', is not connected with Sanskṛit *vad*, but, as Dr. Caldwell has stated, with Sk. *paṭh*, 'to recite' (in a singing way). *Paṭh* does not appear to be Vedic; it seems to be another form of Sanskṛit *paṭ, bhaṭ*, 'to speak (*bhâshâ*). The three roots are apparently borrowed from Draviḍa, wherein, *e.g.*, *paḍ* (*pâḍ*), *pag, pay, paṇ, pal, bag, vaḷ, val*, mean 'to sound, to speak, to sing.' I may remark that the change of constants in this

[27] *Âsya*, or *asya*, l. 19; meaning not apparent.

[28] General Jacob's Paṇḍit translates *khajjana* by 'salt-marsh.' The only approach I can find to it is, in the *Compendium* of Molesworth's *Marâṭhî-English Dictionary*, *khâjaṇ*, 'culturable land, lying along the coast or along inlets, and liable to be overflowed by the tide.'

[29] *Sc.* 'the field of the marshy ground where there are *akula*-trees.

[30] The final nine letters are quite unintelligible. Perhaps they contain the name of the engraver, or the promulgator, of the grant.

Dravida line offers no difficulty whatever. Dravida *od*, 'to read, to recite,' as to form could be derived from Sanskrit *vad* or *vach*, but there is no necessity for doing so.

2. Palli, the *palli* of Sk. dictionaries, is a Dravida term of √*pad*, *pay*, *par*, *pal*, 'to lie down', 'to settle', 'to go down' (conf. No. 13). *Palli*, i.e. *palli*, means 'a house; a settlement or village.' From the same root pad, amongst others, Sk. *patta*, *hatta*, *hatti*, *pattana*, are derived. *Pattana* has also the form of *pattana*, but it would not be advisable on account of this curiosity to identify Sk. *pat* in the meaning of 'to descend" with Dravida *pad*, as their meaning does not quite coincide. For my own part I suppose that *villa* or *vella* belongs to Sk. √*vri*, 'to surround, to enclose.'

3. Pĕn. This belongs to √*pid*, 'to come into close contact; to seize.' A secondary root is *pĕn*, *pŏn*, *pŏl*, 'to unite.' The female elephant is *pidi*. *Pĕdĕ*, *pĕtta*, *pĕn*, *pŏn*, *pĕnti*, *pĕnda*, *pĕndu*, *pedu*, *pedĕ*, *pĕyya*, 'female'; *pĕndli*, *pĕlli* (i.e. *pĕdli*), 'a match or marriage.' Regarding the meaning conf. Sk. *pâṇigrahaṇa*, 'marriage'; *pâṇigrâha*, 'a husband.' The beginning of a popular song of the Badagas on the Nîlagiri is: "Toṭadamma of twelve years, timely married, and quickly seized (√*piḍ*) the hand" (of the great king Liṅga). If this √*pid* cannot be shown to be an original household word of the Âryas, either *pĕn* has been borrowed by them, or 'hen', 'bean', belong to a different root. For the present I recognize *piḍ* only in the obscure Sk. roots *pis*, *piñj*, 'to seize' (*ádána*), which are regular modifications of it. *Pĕn*, 'to unite', occurs as *pen* (*ślesha*) in Sk. dictionaries. *Fēmina* has been connected with Sk. *bhû* (*bhâvaya*).[1] I think I am not mistaken in doubting even the radical nature of the initial in *pĕn*.

4. Pagai, hagĕ, or pagĕ, 'variance', 'discord', 'enmity'; 'an opponent', belongs to √*pag*, 'to be severed by an intervening space'; 'to separate or divide'; the root appears also as *pañg*, *paḍ*, *paḷ*, *pas*, *pan*, *paṛ*, *bag*, *vag*, and *vañg*. Its initial letter is not exactly radical. Sk. *paṭ*, 'to divide,' to split, to break'; *vaṭ*, *vaṇṭ*, *vaṇḍ*, 'to divide'; *sphaṭ*, *sphaṇṭ*, 'to burst, to break,'; *phal*, 'to burst'; *hal*, 'to divide, to dig, to plough', are more than probably borrowed from Dravida *pag* (conf. No. 6). Vedic Sk. *bhaj*, 'to divide;' *bhañj*, (*bhañg*), 'to split', though related as to sound, may or may not be radically connected with it; with *bhañj*, Lat. *frango*, Goth. *brikan*, &c., have been compared. Whether A.S. *feogean*, *fian*, 'to hate'; *fâh*, 'a foe'; Gothic *fiathva*, 'feud'; German *fêhde*, are connected with *pag*, is more than doubtful. Prof. Fr. Bopp, for the sake of comparison, thought of a Sk. root with final *îy*, viz. of Vedic √*pîy*, 'convitiari', 'to abuse', 'to scoff.' Vedic *piyâru*, *pîyaka*, *pîyatnu*, *pîyu*, mean 'a scoffer.' *Pîy* curiously reminds one of Dravida *pey*, 'a demon'; conf. Sk. *phi*, 'a rascal.' Prof. Benfey confers *pĕjŏr* (referred by Prof. Bopp to *pîy*) with *pâpa*. It seems unnecessary to remark that 'to hate' does not coincide with √*pag* (*hag*), but with Sk. √*śad*.

5. Pog, 'to go away', or 'to go.' *βαίνω* and *věnio* are generally compared with Sk. √*gam* or *gâ*. The archaic form of *pog* or *hog* is *pog* (*hoy*), which presupposes a form *poḍ* or *hoḍ*. This form, viz. *hoḍ*, 'to go', occurs in Sk. dictionaries, into which it has been transplanted from Dravida.

6. Pala, 'several, many.' As the root of this the *pag* of No. 4 may be taken; or one may think of the Dravida *paḷ* (*pŏḍ*), *paḷ*, *pag*, *pay*, *pal*, *paṇ*, *baṇ*, *val*, 'to increase', *bal*, *baḷ*, 'to grow, to thrive'; *par*, 'to grow extensive, to spread.' With regard to form and meaning there exists a noticeable connection between Nos. 4 and 6; conf. also No. 7, Sk. *phal*, 'to burst; to expand, to bloom' (p.p. *phulla*); *sphaṭ*, *sphaṇṭ*, 'to burst; to open, to expand' (p.p. *sphuṭita*); further compare Sk. *sphar*, 'to spring up, to swell, to spread' (p.p. *sphurita*)' Conf. Sk. *paṭala*, 'a heap, a multitude'; *pallava*, 'extension, a sprout, a shoot.' I cannot but believe that the three Sk. roots adduced under this head are of Dravida origin; but fail to see that Dravida *pal* bears a direct affinity to πολύ, A.S. *fela*, German *vôel*, *vôèl* (*plûs* = *prâyas*; *pars* = *prithak*). These are related to Sk. roots *pṛi*, *pṛî*, and *pûr*, 'to be full or filled', which complex of bases might rather be connected with the Dravida themes *pul*, *pŏl*, 'to increase' (see No. 7); but the root of these is *puḍ*.

7. Pû, pûvu or puvvu, 'a bloom or blossom.' Shall it at once be said that *pû* and φλόος, *flôs*, 'a blossom', belong to the same root? I think we have at least to seek for a medium. The ancient Dravida √*puḍ* or *pŏḍ* that concerns us here, and that bears also, *e.g.*, the forms *puv*, *puḷ*, *pug*, *pud*, *put*, *pul*, *pun*, *puṛ*, *pŏḷ*, *pŏl*, *pŏg*, *pŏs*, *pŏl*, *pŏn*, *pŏṛ*, *pû*; *poḍ*, *pol*, *pog*, *pot*, *pod*, *por*, *pos*, has among others the following meanings :—'to burst, to open, to expand, to come or break forth, to rise, to increase, to swell; to flash, to glitter, to burn.' Sk. *sphuṭ*, *sphuṇṭ*, *sphuṇḍ*, 'to burst, to open, to expand; to become manifest, to appear'; *sphur*, 'to break forth, to swell; to glitter'; *sphul*, 'to collect; to appear'; *puṭ*, *puṇṭ*, 'to shine', according to my opinion are Sanskritized forms of *puḍ*. These so-called Sk. themes in a slightly different form have appeared already under Nos.

[1] Mere assonances are sometimes of a striking nature, for which I adduce another instance with regard to *pĕn*, viz. a tadbhava of Sk. *patnî*, 'a wife', is panni, and this certainly reminds the ear of *pĕn*, or *pĕnnu*, 'a female.'

4 and 6. *Phulla*, 'blown; an expanded flower' (=*phalya*), is taken as the past participle of *phal*. Another spurious Sk. root that is to be mentioned here is *pul*, 'to be or become great or large'; compare also the similar *pûl*, 'to accumulate'; and *pola*, a 'heap'; *pulina*, 'an alluvial formation'; &c., &c. *Phull*, 'to blossom,' also an obscure root, is still to be adduced.

As √*puḍ* means 'to expand, to increase', &c., and 'to shine', the question arises, to which of the meanings *pû* is to be referred. I leave the question undecided. Here follow a few of the many derivations from puḍ:—*pu*, 'to bloom'; *pûval*, 'blooming', or 'reddish colour'; *pul*, 'grass' or 'a tiger'; *pun*, *pŏn*, 'any metal', or 'gold'; *pulari*, 'the dawn'; *pullĕ*, 'yellowish colour', or 'a doe'; *pugar*, *pŏgar*, 'a tawny colour', or 'lustre'; *pugaḻ*, *pŏgaḻ*, 'to extol'; *pudal*, 'grass'; *pudu*, 'conspicuous, remarkable, new'; *pula*, *pŏla*, 'gold' (conf. spurious Sk. *puraṭa*, *puruda*, 'gold'), 'beauty', or 'a cornfield'; *pŏli* (also *pol*), 'to shine'; *pŏli*, 'bloom', or 'freshness'; *pŏḷ*, *pŏḷ*, 'to shine'; *pŏsa* = *pudu*; *popu*, 'grass.' Sk. *pushpa* (which occurs in the *Atharva*, *Vâjasaneya*, and *Taittirîya Samhitâ*), 'blossoming' (*vikâsa*); 'a flower; the menses; a topaz', etc., used to be written *puṟpa* in Draviḍa (in Tamiḻ *puḻpa*); both forms can easily be derived from *puḻvu*, *i.e. puvvu*, 'a flower.' Of course *flôs*, &c. are rightly compared with *phulla*, &c.; but how is it that old Sanskrit, at least to my present knowledge, offers no indisputably genuine root wherewith *flôs* and its sisters are plainly connected, whereas Draviḍa is so rich in pertinent terms? Is the beautiful 'flower' primarily a Sûdra word?

Under such circumstances it may not be rash if I offer the conjecture that Sk. *push*, 'to thrive' (from which *pushpa* is generally derived); *pushkala*, 'much'; *pusha*, *pûshan*, 'the sun,' may belong to Drav. *puḍ*; Drav. *poḷ* means 'sun, time.' As very interesting, I adduce still Drav. *pŏmpuḷi*, a reduplicated form of *puḷ*, 'to extend, to rise', as it exactly coincides in meaning with the simple form *pula* in Sk., both being rendered by 'extension, greatness'; 'erection of the hairs of the body.' Sk. *spuliṅga* or *phuliṅga*, 'a spark of fire', is also here in its proper place.

8. Pul (*pullu*), 'grass; straw.' For this word see No. 7.

9. Pul, 'smallness, a trifle, a defect' (particularly also in gems), may be the *pul*, 'grass', of Nos. 7 and 8, used, like Sk. *tṛiṇa*, to show the insignificance of something or somebody. Conf. Sk. *pulaka*, 'a defect in a gem'; and Sk. *pulâka*, 'abridgment, taking away' (conf. No. 13). If one assumes a probably radical connection between *flôs*, &c. and *pul*, he does not appear to be entitled at the same time to compare *villis*, φαῦλος with the metaphorical (?) signification of *pul*. Regarding this *pul* I have to remark that it most probably is a form of Drav. *puṭ* (*pŏḍ*, *pŏṟ*), 'to be small', that with exactly the same meaning has been inserted in Sk. dictionaries.

10. Pedai, pedĕ, 'a timid, simple, poor, or ignorant person; an hermaphrodite.' The root of this appears to be *piḍ*, *piṟ*, *pĕy*, *pĕl*, *pĕḷ*, *bĕg*, *bĕch*, *bĕḍ*, *bĕd*, *bĕm*, *bĕṟ*, *bĕl*, *bĕḷ*, *vid*, *viṟ*, *vĕḍ*, *vĕṟ*, *vĕl*, 'to tremble, to be agitated, to fear, to be amazed, bewildered, or confused.' *Pedu*, 'confusion, bewilderment'; *pem*, 'fear'; *bela*, 'simple, ignorant.' The spurious Sk. *piñja*, 'agitated, disturbed' (*vyâkula*); *bhesh*, *bhresh*, *bhlesh*, 'to fear'; *bhela*, 'timid, ignorant'; *bhîru*, *bhîlu*, 'timid,' probably have been taken from Draviḍa, in spite of Vedic Sk. *bhî*, 'to fear' (conf. A.S. *bifian*, &c. &c.). That *fătŭus*, 'silly, foolish', is related to this √*piḍ*, &c. is more than doubtful to me.

11. Pŏṟ, 'to sustain, to tolerate; to carry.' The original meaning of this verb seems to be somewhat dubious; in Kannaḍa about seven hundred years ago it was explained by *śirodhâraṇa*, 'to hold, sustain, or bear on the head.' In Tĕlugu and Tuḷu the verb does not seem to be used in this form. In Tuḷu *pudĕ* (conf., e.g., *beṟĕ* of other dialects with Tuḷu *betĕ*), 'a pack or burden', is in use; this and Tĕlugu *poṭla* (conf., e.g., *puttu* or *putta* of other dialects with Tĕlugu *puṭṭa*), *pŏtakĕ*, *pŏta*, *pŏttarĕ*, 'a packet or bundle', may belong to *pŏṟ*. Its *ṟ* bears a rather indistinct and changeable character, which is also observed in the Kannaḍa past participle, this being *pŏttu*. Chiefly on account of such an *ṟ* and the uncertainty as to its original meaning, I refrain from strictly comparing it with *bhar*, φέρ and *fer*. At the same time I have to hint at a doubt that in this instance I entertain about the radical nature of the initial *p*. Conf. also *peṟ* 2 under No. 12.

12. Pĕṟ, pĕd, bĕs, 'to bring forth.' Its final *ṟ* exhibits the same nature as that of *pŏṟ*. The intransitive is *piṟ*, 'to be born.' Besides the forms of the root already given, there exist, *e.g.*, the following:—*pid*, *pĕd*, *vĕḍ*, *pĕy*, *vĕy*, *puṟ*, *pŏḷ*, *pŏṟ*, all of which are connected with 'forth, over, out' (conf. No. 7). The obscure Sk. *pras*, 'to bring forth', has been formed from this complex root. Dr. Caldwell compares Sk. *pra*, 'before; forward; away; excessive', with *pĕṟ*; but as *pĕṟ* does belong to the themes of No. 7 his comparison cannot well be right; and I for my part see no radical connection between *bear*, *beir*, *bairn*, *părio*, and *pĕr*. In Tamiḻ, Malĕyâḷa, and Kannaḍa *pĕṟ* means also 'to obtain, to get, to gain'; I consider this to be a form connected with Drav. *paḍ*, *paṭ*, *pay*, *paṟ*, the meaning and use of which

are the same; it is not impossible that also the *por̤* of No. 11 is a modification of this *pĕr̤*, &c.; conf. No. 3.

13. P a l̤ l̤ a, 'low land, a hole, a ditch, a nullah:' The root of this is p a ḍ, 'to go down, to sink', and its original form is *pal̤l̤a* (conf. *pal̤l̤i*, No. 2; and *pil̤l̤i*, No. 3). Conf. Sk. *pallala, palvala*, 'a small pond', which, though reminding one of Latin *pălus*, 'a pool', may have been borrowed from *pal̤l̤a*.

P ŏ l̤ l̤ u (*hŏl̤l̤u*), *pŏṭṭu*, *poṭĕ*, *poṭrĕ*, *pol̤*, *por*, *pul̤al*, 'a hole, what is hollow', belong to a different root. *Pŏṭṭu*, *pŏl̤l̤u*, *pŏllu*, 'empty grain, husk', may be compared with Sk. *pulâka*, *pûlya*, 'empty grain', and also Sk. *puṭa*, *puṭaka*, 'a concavity, a hollow', are to be taken notice of here. English 'hollow, hole', probably is related to Sk. √ *śvi*, 'to swell'; conf. *śûnya*, 'a vacuum.'[2]

14. P u l a i, p u l ĕ, p ŏ l ĕ. In looking at No. 7 it will be observed that theme *pul*, &c., to which these words belong, does not convey the meaning of 'lowness' or 'defilement', but of 'brightness' and 'freshness.' The instances adduced there are clear; *pŭlati*, *pŭlti*, 'the fair she, a woman', is another one. Nevertheless, *pulĕ* or *pŏlĕ* signifies 'a low condition or manner, defilement'; and its masculine form p u l ĕ y a or p ŏ l ĕ y a denotes a vile man, an outcast, and its feminine *pŏlati* commonly a woman of the outcasts; in the same manner *pŏla* is 'beauty, gold', and 'evil.' Some may endeavour to remove this seeming incongruity all at once by having recourse to *pul* in its metaphorical sense (No. 9). Others might refer to *pula* (*pulavu*, *pulâl*, *pulâ*, Tamil̤) and *pŏlasu* (Tĕlugu), 'flesh' (conf. spurious Sk. *pala*, *palala*, 'flesh'), and explain *pŏlĕya* by 'a flesh-he, an eater of flesh', and thus for his well-known flesh-eating habits make an outcast of him; but as *pŏlĕya* (*pulĕya*) is a term common to all the Draviḍa tribes known to me, whereas *pulĕ* (*pŏlasu*), 'flesh' is not; on account of this circumstance I cannot agree to such an opinion. *Pulĕ* has apparently got the meaning of flesh simply from the colour of this (conf. *pushpa*, 'the menses', &c.), and flesh was not originally something unclean either with the Âryas or Anâryas; and also many Śûdras eat flesh. If where *pulĕ*, 'flesh', is used, we could explain *pulĕya* to denote an eater of raw flesh,[3] they, in their case and place, of course would not be wrong in calling him an outcast.

However the meaning 'lowness', vileness', &c., appears radically to belong to theme *pul* or *pŏl*, a curious and most interesting theme indeed, as it further means also 'to die' and 'to join' (conf. Nos. 3, 7, and 9). These different meanings at least partly rest on the change in the final letter of the root. In the instance that concerns us here, we have Drav. *puk*, *puch*, 'to decay, to rot'; *pûk*, 'to become mouldy'; *pûch*, *pûñch*, 'to become nauseous, or mouldy'; *pûch* or *pûs*, 'to fart, to stink'; *pustû*, 'foul, stinking'; *bûgara*, *bûju*, *bûsi*, 'mould, dirt.' All these themes seem to presuppose a root *puṭ* or *puḍ*, 'to decay', etc., that up to this day I have not yet met with; but √*puḍ*, or *pŏḍ* (the *puṭ* of Sk. dictionaries), 'to be powdered; to be destroyed', may be connected. At all events Sk. *pûy*, 'to become putrid, to stink'; *pûti*, 'stink'; *pus*, 'matter' (conf. A.S. *fûl*; Goth. *fûls*, &c.), that occur in the *Atharvaveda* and *Brâhmaṇas*, come before the mind; are these terms Draviḍa, or Arya? Or is there here also simply a case of accident? If *puk*, &c. and *pûy* are essentially related to one another, *pûy*, like *pûk*, &c., is a derivative.

At present I conjecture that *pulĕ*, *pŏlĕ*, *pŏlasu*, when conveying the meaning of 'defilement', are radically connected with theme *puk*, &c., but that *pŏlĕya* (also *pŏlĕyava*, *pŏlĕva*, *pŏllaha*) on account of some unknown *historical* events, has got the meaning of 'an outcast'—*pŏlĕ*, 'defilement', being maliciously used for the purpose. P u l a h a and P u l a s t y a are mentioned as great Ṛishis in the *Mânavadharmaśâstra*. In these two names the meaning of *pul*, 'to shine' (or 'to be great'), appears to be preserved. The P u l ĕ y a, however, as the P u l k a s a, or P a u l k a s a in the White *Yajurveda*, appears as a person of low position, but is still different from the C h â ṇ ḍ â l a. The P u l k a s a, P u ṛ k a s a (Pushkasa or Pukkasa) of the *dharmaśâstras* is a mixed caste, but not yet identified with the C h â ṇ ḍ â l a. According to the *Aitareya Brâhmaṇa*, the P u l i n d a s, together with the Andhras, or Telugus, form a barbarian tribe descended from V i ś v â m i t r a.[4] The *Amarakosha* identifies C h a ṇ ḍ â l a, P u k k a s a, and P l a v a, which three terms the oldest Kannaḍa commentary on that work explains by P ŏ l ĕ y a. That P ŏ l ĕ y a (*Pŏlĕva*) and P l a v a (*Plavaka* with Halâyudha) are the same words I hardly need to say. The P a l l a v a (of the *Trikâṇḍaśesha* and Hemachandra) and

[2] *Vallum* in Dr. Pope's list I consider to be a slip of the pen for *villus* or *vallis*, 'a valley', poetically 'a hollow.' *Tuda*, that appears thrice with the lingual instead of the dental *d* with Dr. Pope (pp. 157, 158), is a puzzle to me (conf. Dr. Caldwell's *Grammar*, Introd. p. 37).

[3] Raw flesh is *ĕrchi* in Kŏḍagu; conf. Tamil *iṛaichchi* (conf. *ṭu*), Malayâḷa *iṛachchi*, Tĕlugu *ĕrachi*, *ĕrĕ*, *ĕṛĕ*, 'flesh'; *ĕrâ*, in Kannaḍa, Tam., Malay., and Tĕl., 'a bait; a worm.' *Ĕrĕ* (or *ĕṛĕ*), in Tĕlugu also 'redness'; in Kannaḍa also 'black (or brown) soil.'

[4] Compare further the names of Pulina, Puloma (*Mahâbhârata*), Pulimant (*Purâṇas*), and Pulusha (*Śatapatha Br.*), all of which seem to bear, in their first part, the term of Draviḍa *pul*. Eight years ago Dr. H. Gundert, in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, pointed out that there might be a connection between Pulĕya and Sk. Pulinda, Pulkasa, and Puloman. Prof. Benfey, who in his *Sanscrit-English Dictionary* (1866) gives all the above proper names with the exception of Pulimant and Pulusha, has tried to explain only Pulastya, viz. by "*puras + tya*."

the *Pallavaka* (of Halâyudha), 'a libertine, a gallant,' I do not hesitate also to connect with *Pŏlĕya;* and who knows whether the ancient Pallava dynasty was not a dynasty of certain Pŏlĕyas when still a powerful tribe? Rottler's *Tamiḻ Dictionary* has "*Pullar* (the plural of *Pulla*), a low tribe: probable aborigines of the Peninsula of India; *Pulliyar* (the pl. of *Pulliya*), a tribe of low people."

The first part of Dr. Pope's rule, "Initial P of the Tamiḻ and Telugu is often H in Kanarese", is a well-known fact. But in what Canarese? Canarese has its own established H period, in which it often uses *h* instead of *p*, a circumstance to which I have already alluded in the preface to Nâgavarma's *Prosody* (p. xxv. note 1), and which appears already pretty clearly in the writings of the 14th Christian century. In the Merkara plates of A.D. 466,[5] where, in plain Canarese prose, the boundaries of the land grant are stated, no Canarese words with *h* occur; but we have there the terms of *pûndḍu, paḷi, piri, panti,* and *pĕr*, in which nowadays either *p* or *h* is employed. It will be very interesting indeed if Dr. Pope can *prove* the second portion of his rule.

Dr. Caldwell, in the Preface to his *Grammar* (p. vii.) says: "One desideratum at present seems to be a Comparative Vocabulary of the Dravidian Languages, distinguishing the roots found, say, in the four most distinctive languages—Tamil, Telugu, Canarese and Malayâḷam—from those found only in three, only in two, or only in one. An excellent illustration of what may be done in this direction has been furnished by Dr. Gundert whose truly scientific 'Dictionary of Malayâḷam' has given a fresh stimulus to Dravidian philology." I believe that such a desideratum cannot be satisfactorily accomplished before in each of "the four most distinctive languages" an Etymological Dictionary has been prepared.[6] The writer has been requested to compile a Kannaḍa one; for Tamiḻ and Tĕlugu also similar works must soon be commenced.

With Dr. Gundert's *Dictionary* I find one fault, and this only a formal one, namely, that it (probably against the author's own wishes) is on the old plan of mingling Draviḍa, Saṁskṛita, Tadbhava, and foreign words, which of course in some measure is desirable for beginners, but is likely to lead them to a merely mechanical study, and to hide the truth from them with regard to the language they may happen to learn. To more advanced students such a mingling is, to say the least, unpleasant. There ought to be two parts, one for the pure Draviḍa, and the other for the (by the by almost unlimited) Saṁskṛita, Tadbhava, &c. In Kannaḍa and Tĕlugu the ancient form of words also as to letters should be carefully attended to and restored.

Esslingen (*Württemberg*), 13*th November* 1878.

INDIAN AND AFRICAN NATIVE FORGES, &c.

With respect to the native processes of fusing and smelting iron ore, as detailed at page 196 of the *Indian Antiquary, supra*, there is a very remarkable similarity to the modes found practised in Central Africa by Mr. Stanley. In his work, *Through the Dark Continent*, vol. II. p. 141, he writes:—"At Wane-Kirumbu, in Uregga, on the Lualaba, we found a large native forge and smithy, where there were about a dozen smiths busily at work. The iron ore is very pure. Here were the broad-bladed spears of Southern Uregga, and the equally broad knives of all sizes. The bellows for the smelting furnace are four in number, double-handled, and manned by four men, who by a quick up-and-down motion supply a powerful blast, the noise of which is heard half a mile from the scene. The furnace consists of tamped clay raised into a mound about four feet high. A hollow is then excavated in it two feet in diameter and two feet deep. From the middle of the slope four apertures are excavated into the base of the furnace, into which are fitted funnel-shaped earthenware pipes to convey the blast to the fire. At the base of the mound a wide aperture is excavated penetrating below the furnace. The hearth receives the dross and slag." This might very well stand for a description of a Hindu forge, and is a curious instance of two primitive races employing the same modes.

It may be added that the use of old European sword-blades, as described in the same article in the *Antiquary*, is not limited to India: for Captain Burton in his recent work, *The Gold Mines of Midian*, mentions, at page 150, that among the Huway-tât at Wady Aymunah, on the Red Sea, "even the boys are armed with swords, often longer than themselves, and on a good old blade I read the legend 'Pro Deo et Patria.'" Also with regard to ancient arrow-heads, Sir W. Ouseley, in his *Travels in Persia*, &c., vol. II., gives a plate of a number of arrow-heads, chiefly dug up near Persepolis, which exactly correspond in shape with the more ordinary South Indian forms.

W.

[5] *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. pp. 360 *seq.*

[6] Compare Dr. Burnell's Note 1 in p. viii. of the Introduction to his *South-Indian Palæography.*

SPECIMEN OF A DISCURSIVE GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN TERMS.[1]

BY H. Y. AND A. C. B.

AMUCK, To run, v.

There is no doubt, we believe, that, to us at least, this expression came from the Malay countries, where both the phrase and the practice are still familiar. The word is by Crawfurd ascribed to the Javanese, and this is his explanation:—

"*Amuk* (J.). An *a-muck;* to run *a-muck;* to tilt; to run furiously and desperately at any one; to make a furious onset or charge in combat." (*Malay Dict.*)

Marsden says that the word rarely occurs in any other than the verbal form *meng-amuk*, 'to make a furious attack.' (*Mem. of a Malayan Family*, p. 66.)

A curious monograph on the phenomenon, as prevalent among the Malays, was contributed by Dr. Oxley to the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*.

There is reason, however, to ascribe an Indian origin both to the practice and to the term which describes it.

Thus, as regards the practice, Tod (though not using the expression in question) records some notable instances in Râjpût history. In one of these (1634) the eldest son of the Râja of Mârvâḍ ran 'a-muck' at the Court of Shâh Jahân, failing in his blow at the Emperor, but killing five courtiers of eminence before he fell himself. Again, in the last century, Bijai Singh, also of Mârvâḍ, bore strong resentment against the Talpûra prince of Haidarâbâd, Bijar Khân, who had sent to demand from the Râjpût tribute and a bride. A Bhatti and a Chondâvat offered their services for vengeance, and set out for Sind as envoys. Whilst Bijar Khân read their credentials, muttering, "No mention of the bride!" the Chondâvat buried a dagger in his heart, exclaiming, "This for the bride!" "And this for the tribute!" cried the other envoy, repeating the blow. The pair then plied their daggers right and left, and twenty-six persons were slain before the envoys were hacked in pieces. (Tod, vol. II. pp. 45 and 315.)

A strange custom once usual in Malabar may be also mentioned here. After twelve years a great assembly was held at Tirunâvâyi, when the Zamorin sat surrounded by his dependants, who were fully armed. Any one might then attack him, and often the Zamorin was killed in this way, and his assailant got the throne. In 1600, thirty such were killed.

The Muhammadan Mâpiḷḷas of Malabar continued the practice of fanatical murders down to recent times and to such an extent, that it was necessary to pass special laws to repress it. The murder of Mr. Conolly (Collector of Malabar) is a well-known instance.

In the Malayâḷam language *amarkan* (from *amar*, 'fight, war') signifies a warrior, and some of the extracts given below will show both forms and applications of this word so near to its Malay use that we can hardly doubt the latter to have been derived from India. De Gubernatis suggests that the word is derived from the Sanskṛit *amokshya*, 'that cannot be loosed,' and in confirmation of this it will be seen that, in several of our quotations, the idea of being bound by a vow underlies the conduct to which the term was applied both in Malabar and in the Archipelago. But *amokshya* is a word unknown to Malayâḷam, in such a sense at least. We have seen *a-muck* derived from the Arabic *ahmaq*, 'mad;' but this is etymology of the kind which scorns history. The phrase has been thoroughly naturalized in England since the days of Dryden and Pope.

Circa 1440, Nicolo Conti, speaking of the islands of the Indian Archipelago, under the name of the Two Javas, does not use the term, but describes a peculiar form of the practice:—"Homicide is here a jest, and goes without punishment. Debtors are made over to their creditors as slaves; and some of these, preferring death to slavery, will with drawn swords rush on, stabbing all whom they fall in with of less strength than themselves, until they meet death at the hand of some one more than a match for them. This man the creditors then sue in court for the dead man's debt." (p. 45.)

Circa 1516:—"There are some of them (the Javanese) who if they fall ill of any severe illness vow to God that if they remain in health they will of their own accord seek another more honourable death for his service, and as soon as they get well they take a dagger in their hands, and go out into the streets, and kill as many persons as they meet, both men, women, and children, in such wise that they go like mad dogs, killing until they are killed. These are called *Amuco*. And as soon as they see them begin this work, they cry out saying *Amuco, Amuco*, in order that people may take care of themselves, and they kill them with dagger and spear thrusts." (Stanley's *Barbosa*, p. 194.)

This passage seems to show that the word must have been in common use in the Malay countries before the arrival of the Portuguese in 1511.

1586:—"Their forces (at Cochin) consist in a kind of soldiers whom they call *amocchi*, who are under obligation to die at their king's pleasure, and all soldiers who in a war lose their king or

[1] In preparation for publication by John Murray, London.

their general lie under this obligation. And of such the King makes use in urgent cases, sending them to die fighting."—Letter of F. Sassetti to Francesco I., Grand Duke of Tuscany, in De Gubernatis, *Viaggiatori Italiani*, p. 154.

1566:—"The king of *Cochin* . . . . . . hath a great number of gentlemen which he calleth *Amocchi*, and some are called *Nairi:* these two sorts of men esteeme not their lives any thing, so that it may be for the honour of their king."—Master Cæsar Frederike in Purchas, vol. II. p. 1708.

De Barros, speaking of the capture of the isle of Beth by Nuno da Cunha (1531), says: "But the natives of Guzarat stood in such fear of Sultan Badur that they would not consent to the terms. And so, like people determined on death, all that night they shaved their heads (this is a superstitious practice of those who despise life, people whom they call in India *Amaucos*), and betook themselves to their mosque, and there devoted their persons to death . . . . and as an earnest of this vow, and an example of this resolution, the Captain ordered a great fire to be made, and cast into it his wife, and a little son that he had, and all his household and his goods, in fear lest anything of his should fall into our possession." Others did the like, and then they fell upon the Portuguese.—*Dec.* IV. liv. IV. cap. xiii.

1602:—De Couto, speaking of the Javanese:—"They are chivalrous men, and of such determination that for whatever offence may be offered them they make themselves *amoucos* in order to get satisfaction thereof. And were a spear run into the stomach of such an one he would still press forward without fear till he got at his foe."—*Dec.* IV. liv. III. cap. i.

In another passage (*ib.* liv. VII. cap. xiv.) he speaks of the *amoucos* of Malabar, just as P. della Valle does in the quotation below. In *Dec.* VI. (liv. VIII. cap. viii.) he describes how, on the death of the king of Pimenta, in action with the Portuguese, nearly four thousand Nayrs made themselves *amoucos* with the usual ceremonies, shaving their beards on one side, and swearing by their pagods to avenge the king's death.

1624:—"Though two kings may be at war, either army takes great heed not to kill the king of the opposite faction, nor yet to strike his umbrella, wherever it may go . . . . . for the whole kingdom of the slain or wounded king would be bound to avenge him with the complete destruction of the enemy, or all, if needful, to perish in the attempt. The greater the king's dignity among these people, the longer period lasts this obligation to furious revenge . . . . this period or method of revenge is termed *Amoco*, and so they say that the *Amoco* of the Samori lasts one day; the *Amoco* of the king of Cochin lasts a lifetime; and so of others."—P. della Valle, vol. II. p. 745.

1672:—Padre Vincenzo Maria says of the Malabar Christians: "Every community, every church has its own *Amouchi*, which are people who take an oath to protect with their own lives the persons and places put under their safeguard, from all and every harm." (p. 145.)

And again of the Malabar people in general: "If the prince is slain, the *Amouchi*, who are numerous, would avenge him desperately. These are soldiers who swear to defend the king's life with their own. If he be injured, they put on festive raiment, take leave of their parents, and with fire and sword in hand invade the hostile territory, burning every habitation, and slaying man, woman and child, sparing none until they themselves fall." (pp. 237-8.)

"Derrière ces palissades s'estoit caché un coquin de Bantamois qui estoit revenu de la Mecque et jouoit *à Moqua*... il court par les rues et tue tous ceux qu'il rencontre" . . . . .—Tavernier, *V. des Indes*, liv. iii. ch. 24.)

1698:—"And (the Mohammedans) are hardly restrained from running *a muck* (which is to kill whoever they meet, till they be slain themselves), especially if they have been at *Hodge*, a Pilgrimage to Mecca."—Fryer, p. 91.

1687:—Dryden assailing Burnet:—

"Prompt to assault, and careless of defence,
Invulnerable in his impudence,
He dares the world, and, eager of a name,
He thrusts about and justles into fame.
Frontless, and satire-proof, he scours the streets,
And *runs an Indian muck* at all he meets."

The Hind and the Panther, l. 2477.

1727:—"I answered him that I could no longer bear their Insults, and, if I had not permission in three Days, I would run a *Muck* (which is a mad Custom among the *Mallayas* when they become desperate)."—A. Hamilton, vol. II. p. 231.

1737:—

"Satire's my weapon, but I am too discreet
To *run a muck*, and tilt at all I meet."

Pope, *Im. of Horace*, bk. II. Sat. i. 69.

Circa 1750-60:—"Running what they call *a-muck*, furiously killing every one they meet . . . . . But by all accounts this practice is much rarer in India than it formerly was."—Grove, vol. I. p. 123.

1792:—"When Comte d'Estaing took Bencoolen in 1760," Forrest says: . . . . "the Count, afraid of an insurrection among the Buggesses . . . . . invited several to the fort, and when these had entered the

wicket was shut upon them; in attempting to disarm them, they *mangamoed*,[1] that is, ran *a muck*; they drew their cresses, killed one or two Frenchmen, wounded others, and at last suffered themselves, for supporting this point of honour."—*Voyage to Mergui*, p. 77.

"These acts of indiscriminate murder are called by us *mucks*, because the perpetrators of them during their frenzy continually cry out *amok, amok*, which signifies *kill, kill*."—Stavorinus, *Voyages*, transl. by Wilcocke, vol. I. p. 291.

P. Paolino (*Voyage*, p. 407) says that the 'Amouchi' took opium dissolved in lemon-juice or other acid solvent.

1873:—"They (the English) . . . . . . crave governors who, not having bound themselves before-hand to '*run amuck*,' may give the land some chance of repose."—*Blackwood's Magazine*, June 1873, p. 759.

1875:—"On being struck, the Malay at once stabbed Arshad with a *kriss*; the blood of the people who had witnessed the deed was aroused, they ran *amok*, attacked Mr. Birch, who was bathing in a floating bath close to the shore, stabbed and killed him."—*Letter from Sir W. D. Jervois to the Earl of Carnarvon*, Nov. 16, 1875.

1876:—"Twice over, while we were wending our weary way up the steep hill in Galata, it was our luck to see a Turk '*run a-muck*' . . . . Nine times out of ten this frenzy is feigned, but not always, as for instance in the case where a priest took to running *a-muck* on an Austrian Lloyds' boat on the Black Sea, and, after killing one or two passengers and wounding others, was only stopped by repeated shots from the captain's pistol" . . . . . .—Barkley, *Five Years in Bulgaria*, pp. 240-241.

1877. (Here follows a passage from the *Times* of February 1877 describing running a muck in London, also an extract from the *Overland Times of India* describing a similar scene at Meerut, dated August 31st, 1877.)

(*To be continued.*)

A BIG GUN.

The great gun at Lahor, called *Zamzamah* or the *Bhangianwati top*, was cast A.D. 1761 by Shâh Wali Khân, Vazir of Ahmad Shâh Diviâni. After the departure of Ahmad Shâh the gun was left in the possession of the Sikh sardârs of the Bhangi *misl* (whence its name, *Bhangianwati top*). It came to be regarded as a talisman of supremacy among the Sikhs. Eventually Ranjit Sing possessed himself of it, and it was used by him at the siege of Multân in A.D. 1818. From that date it used to stand at the Delhi Gate of Lahor, until removed in 1860. The gun now stands near the Central Museum, facing the Sadr Bâzâr, in which position it was placed on the occasion of the Duke of Edinburgh's visit to Lahor, in February 1870. The inscription on the gun is as follows:—

By order of the Emperor (Ahmad Shâh) Dur-i-Duran
Shâh Wali Khân, the Wazir, made this gun, named
Zamzamah, the taker of strongholds.
The work of Shâh Nazir.

In the reign of the Emperor possessing dignity like Feridun,
Dispenser of Justice robed in Equity—
(In the reign of) his present Majesty Ahmad Shâh Dur-i-Duran.
A Prince occupying a throne mighty as Jamshid's—
There was issued unto the Chief Vazir,
From the threshold of His Highness,
An order to have cast, with every possible skill
A gun terrible as a dragon and huge as a mountain.
[Yea, the order was given] to his heaven-enthroned Majesty's devoted servant,
Shâh Wali Khân Vazir.

So in order to effect this great achievement
The Master-workman called up his endeavours,
Till with consummate toil was cast
This wondrous gun Zamzamah,
A destroyer even of the strongholds of heaven,
Under the auspices of His Majesty.

I inquired of Reason for the date of this gun;
Reason angrily replied,
"If thou wilt give thy life in payment,
I will repeat to thee the date."
I did so, and he replied,—"What a gun is this?
The form of a fire-raining dragon."

The last lines give the chronogram of the date of the gun—1174 A. H. or 1761 A.D. The letters in the words have a numerical value according to the "Abjad" system.—Correspondent of *Statesman*.

Gaṇeśa Venkateśa Joshi, of Nâsik, appeals to our contributors, especially in southern India, for materials for the history of Hinduism. "If access could be secured to the archives at Śringiri (on the Tungâbhadra)," he is informed, "ample information might be obtained on the subject."

[1] See passage from Marsden above.

THE HAMMÎRA MAHÂKÂVYA OF NAYACHANDRA SÛRI.

BY NILKAṆṬHA JANÂRDAN KIRTANE.

Dr. Bühler, in his Introduction to the *Vikramânka Charitra* (p. 2), mentions the *Hammîramardana* or "The destruction of Hammîra," as an historical Sanskṛit poem that was extant some ninety years ago in the Jain library at Jêsalmîr. I have recently obtained a work, written in the Jain character, styled *The Hammîra Mahâkâvya*, which, notwithstanding the difference of the title, I presume is a copy of the same work as that which was once in the Jêsalmîr Sarasvatî Bhâṇḍâr, since it ends with the death of Hammîra and a lamentation over the event. Colonel Tod, indeed, mentions in his *Râjasthân* a *Hammîra Kâvya* and a *Hammîra Râsâ*, both composed, he says, by Śâraṅgadhara, whom he makes the bard of Hammîra Chohân of Raṇathambhôr. We have the authority of Śârangadhara himself for stating that he was not contemporary with Hammîra Çhohân of Raṇathambhôr, and that his grandfather, Raghunâtha, was that prince's Guru or spiritual teacher. Śâraṅgadhara in his *Paddhati*, and Gadâdhara in his *Rasika Jîvan*, under the head of "anonymous," quote some verses relating to Hammîra that have no place in the present *Kâvya*. Appayyâ Dîkshita, also, in his *Kuvalayânanda*, cites a verse as an instance of the *Akramâtiśayokti Alaṁkâra* of which the subject is Hammîra, and which is not to be found in the work of our author. This shows that there must be some other poem in Sanskṛit bearing the name of *Hammîra Kâvya*; but it may be doubted whether it has any reference to the history of the hero of our poem. Colonel Tod does not inform us in what language the *Hammîra Kâvya* and the *Hammîra Râsâ* were written, though he says he possessed both, and mostly translated with the assistance of his Jain Guru. He does not attempt anything like a connected narrative of Hammîra. Indeed, what he says incidentally of Hammîra does not at all relate to any one individual of that name, but is a jumble of anecdotes relating to several distinct personages bearing the same name.

I obtained the *Hammîra Mahâkâvya* through Mr. Govinda Śâstri Nirantar of Nâsik, who got it from a friend of his.

The colophon reads—"The present copy was made for the purpose of reading by Nayahaṁsa, a pupil of Jayasiṁha Sûri, at Firuzpur, in the month of Śrâvaṇa of the Saṁvat year 1542" (A.C. 1496). Possibly this was made from the poet's original copy, and, as such, possesses an interest of its own.

Nayachandra Sûri's work, as a poetical composition, has considerable merits, and deserves publication as a specimen of the historical poems so rarely met with in the range of Sanskṛit literature. Though the author did not live, like Bâṇa and Bilhaṇa, in the reign of the hero whose history he celebrates, yet his work is not of less historical importance than theirs. The information that the poems of Bâṇa and Bilhaṇa contain has been made accessible to English readers through the labours of two eminent European Sanskṛitists. The present attempt to place the English reader in possession of the historical information contained in the *Hammîra Kâvya* will, I presume, be acceptable to those who are interested in the advancement of our knowledge of Indian history.

Following the custom of other writers in Sanskṛit, who have attempted historical compositions, our author devotes the greater part of one entire chapter, the fourteenth and last, to an account of his lineage, and the reasons that led to the production of his work. Part of this will bear reproduction here in an English dress:—

"Hail, Krishṇa Gachha, who gladdened the whole earth, the beauty of whose person was like that of a blooming bunch of the *Navajâti* flower, and whose praises were celebrated by crowds of learned men, who might well be compared to so many black humming-bees;—he whose feet were ever borne on the crowns of the followers of the Jain religion!

"In the circle of the Sûris, whose actions are the homes of wonders, in time, Jayasiṁha Sûri was born, who was the crowning ornament of the wise; who easily vanquished in disputation Śâraṅga, who was the leading poet among those who were able to write poetical compositions in six languages, and who was honest among the most honest; who wrote three works,—(1) *Nyâya Sâraṭîkâ*, (2) A New Grammar, (3) a poem on Kumâra Nṛipati,—and who hence

became known as the chief of those who knew the three sciences of logic, grammar, and poesy.

"To the lotus-like Gâdi of Jayasiṁha, Nayachandra is like the life-giving sun; who is the essence of the knowledge of the sciences, who is the exciting moon to the sea of the races of the poets. This poet, his spirits raised to the height of the subject by a revelation imparted to him in a dream by the king Hammîra himself, has composed this poem,[1] which is gratifying to the assembly of the kings, and in which the heroic (*rasa*) is developed.

"The author in lineal descent is the grandson of Jayasiṁha Sûri, the great poet, but in that of poesy his son.

"Let not good readers take into much account the faults of expression that I may have fallen into. How can I, who am of mean capacity, escape stepping into that path which even poets like Kâlidâsa[2] were not able to avoid? But a poem that is replete with good matter loses none of its value for a few commonplaces of expression."

The poem begins, as is usual with Sanskrit authors, with invocations addressed to several deities, and the author has been at the pains of making the invocations seem applicable to both the Hindu gods and some of the Tîrthaṅkaras of the Jainas. This procedure calls for remark. Nayachandra Sûri, as his name implies, is a Jain by persuasion, and his seeming to invoke blessings at the hands of the most prominent members of the orthodox Hindu pantheon is to be explained either by the freedom of thought so characteristic of the age in which the author lived, when the narrow and bigoted intolerance even of the Muslîm had begun to appreciate the beauties of the allegorical language of the Hindu popular religion, or by the strong desire of writing *dvayartha* ('having two meanings') verses, with which the author seems possessed.[3]

The hero of the poem is Hammîra Chohân of Raṇasthaṁbhapura (Raṇathaṁbhor), a name celebrated in Hindi song. Hammîra is one of those later heroes of India who measured their swords with the Muhammadan conquerors and fell in the defence of their independence. Even the history of the conquered is not without interest. The man who fights against hope,—fights because he thinks it his duty to do so,—who scorns to bow his neck before the oppressor, because he thinks such a course opposed to the ways of his ancient house, deserves our sympathy and our admiration. Hammîra is such a character. The poet places him on a par with Mândhâtâ, Yudhishṭhira, and Râma. This is poetical exaggeration, but we have no mean measure of praise in the following verses; and the grounds of eminence mentioned are some of the proudest that a Rajput can cherish, and a rigid maintenance of which singles out the race of the Sisodyâs of Udayapur and the Hârâs of Koṭâ and Bundi as the noblest among the chivalry of Râjasthân:—

"सत्वैकवृत्तेः किल यस्य राज्यश्रियो विलासा अपि जीवितं च।
शकाय पुत्री शरणागतांश्चाऽप्रयच्छतः किं तृणमप्यऽभूवन्॥"

Born in the noble house of the Chohâns, to whom, as Tod observes, "the palm of bravery amongst the Râjput races must be assigned," Hammîra tried to uphold the independence of his race and to make its usages respected, and was for a time preëminently successful in his wars against his enemies. Some of these were undertaken to protect those who had sought refuge with him (*śaraṇâ*), and so far were disinterested. Indeed, he fell in a war undertaken

[1] Our poet also says that he was incited to the composition of this poem by a rash assertion, which some courtiers of king Tomara Virama had the presumption to make in the presence of our poet, that there existed *no one now* who could compose a poem that would come up to the excellence of the works of old Sanskrit poets. King Tomara Virama, whoever he was, appears to have lived seventy years before Akbar.

[2] Perhaps our author had in view the following lines of *Dhanan-Jaya*:—

अपशब्दशतं माघे भारवौ तु शतत्रयम्
कालिदासे न गण्यंते कविरेको धनंजयः

[3] Probably everybody has heard of the *Râghava Pâṇḍavîya Kâvya*, every line of which can be so construed as to apply to either Râma or the Pâṇḍavas, at the option of the reader. I have recently been shown a *Kâvya* called the *Sapta Sandhâna Mahâkâvya*, by Megha Vijaya Gani, a learned Jain of recent times, every verse of which can be made to apply alike to Râma, Krishṇa, and Jinendra.

In the present *Kâvya* the first *śloka* of the Nândi is addressed to the Paranjyotis—'the divine flame,'—a manifestation of the divine being in whom both Hindus and Jainas, especially the Kevali Jainas, believe. The second *śloka* is addressed to Nâbhibhû, which may mean the Bramhâ of the Hindus, or the son of Nâbhi (Rishabha Deva), the first Tîrthaṅkara of the Jainas. The third is addressed to Śri Pârśva, whom the Hindus may take for Vishṇu, the Jainas for Śrî Pârśvanâtha, the 23rd Tîrthaṅkara. The 4th *śloka* is addressed to Śaṅkara Vîravibhu, which may mean either Mahâdeva or Mahâvîra, the 24th Jain Tîrthaṅkara. The fifth verse is addressed to Bhâsvân Saśânti, who may either stand for the Sun, or Śânti, the 16th Jain Tîrthaṅkara. The sixth is addressed to Samudra Janman, which may be either the Moon, or Neminâth, son of Samudra, the 22nd Jain Tîrthaṅkara.

to protect a Mongol nobleman who had fled to him from the tyranny of 'Alâu'd-dîn. "In the third year of the reign of 'Alâu'd-dîn, a nobleman whom he had disgraced took refuge with Hammîra, the Chohân prince of Raṇathaṁbhôr, one of the strongest forts in India. 'Alâu'd-dîn demanded the delinquent of the Hindu monarch, who nobly replied that the sun would sooner rise in the west, and Sumeru be levelled with the earth, than he would break his plighted faith to the unfortunate refugee. The siege of Raṇathaṁbhôr was immediately commenced, and the fort was at length captured, but the heroic Hammîra fell in its defence; and the females of his family, determining not to survive him, perished on the funeral pile." This history of Hammîra supplies some information which the sentimental and enthusiastic annalist of Râjasthân would have gladly interwoven into the pages of his work, and which sheds fresh light on the eventful period in which the hero lived.

The *Hammîra Mahâkâvya* is divided into fourteen cantos, of which the first four are concerned with the hero's ancestors,—the Chohâns, many of whom were paramount lords of India. 'The empire belongs to the Chohân' is an admitted Indian historical fiction, and the mere mention of the names of the old kings, many of whom were the lords paramount of India, accompanied as it is with much poetical nonsense, carries our knowledge of them a step further than the researches of Colonels Wilford and Tod.

The narrative is, all through, very uneven. The genealogy of the Chohâns, as given in the first three chapters, though with some more names than are to be found in Tod's list, cannot be regarded as satisfactory. The author really knew nothing about the more ancient kings of the race; the names are simply brought in to give him opportunities of displaying his power for poetical conceits, and thus the accounts of the princes about whom he had no historical information are filled with fanciful conceptions, in which some of the natural phenomena are explained with admirable contempt of the teachings of the "proud philosophy" of Nature.

From Pṛithvirâja Chohân to the death of Hammîra the narrative is fairly historic; but the author now and then, even here, relapses into rhapsody which amounts to a confession of his ignorance of the historical facts of the reign in hand.

Cantos V.–VII. of the poem are taken up, according to the rules of Sanskṛit epic poetry, with descriptions of the seasons, and the sports and festivities in which Hammîra engaged. These cantos, as not possessing any historical value, may be ignored in this précis of the poem. I pass over a long lecture also on *Nîtiśâstra* which Jâitrasingh, the father of Hammîra, is made to deliver to Hammîra. Chand gives a similar dissertation on grammar in his *Pṛithvirâja Râsau.*

With these introductory remarks, I come to the *Pûrvaja Varaṇanaṁ*, i. e., the account of the ancestry of Hammîra; and, in order to give some faint idea of the author's style of writing, I shall, in the following, attempt some sort of translation of the first few reigns. The style throughout is so ornate, inflated, and redundant, and the tendency of the author to punning is so persistent, that a longer translation is as difficult as the task would be tedious:—

"Once upon a time, Brahmâ wandered in search of a holy place where to hold a sacrifice. The lotus which he held in his hand fell on the ground, as if unable to bear the superior beauty of the lotus-like palm of the god. The god from this circumstance regarded the spot where the lotus fell as an auspicious one, and there, freed from anxiety, commenced the sacrifice. Anticipating persecution from the Dânavâs, the god remembered the thousand-rayed one (*the Sun*), when a being, his face surrounded by a halo of radiance, came down from the orb of the sun. Him, the destroyer, Brahmâ appointed to the work of protecting the sacrifice.

I. "From that day the place where the lotus fell has been called Pushkara, and he who came down from the sun the Chohân.* Having obtained the paramount power from the four-faced Creator, he ruled over the heads of the kings, as his ancestor the sun rules over the heads of the mountains. Bali, mortified at seeing the glory of his charity eclipsed by the greater charity of this king, has hidden himself in the

* The "Chaturbhuja" Chohân, as described by Tod, issued, like the other three progenitors of the Agnikulas—Parmâra, Parihâra, Châlukya—from the Agni Kuṇḍá, the sacrificial fire fountain. But the genesis is described differently in different books. Perhaps where there is no truth we must not expect to find concord.

nether world; for what else could a man afflicted with shame do? The moon, taken to task by this prince for attempting to rival his glory, every month hides himself, through fear, in the sun's disk, and comes out as if desirous of propitiating the offended king by presenting him with the brilliant orb. The fire of the king's valour has so burnt the gardens of the fame of his enemies, that the smoke issuing from the conflagration, ascending into the atmosphere, has to this day left its mark in the blue sky. The Śeshanâga, when he heard of the fame of this prince, was tempted to nod approval, but, fearing that the earth resting on his hoods might be thereby convulsed with pain, refrained from giving way to the generous impulse. Angry that his son should rival him in glory, the king deprived the ocean of his wealth of gravity. Are not sometimes fathers made to suffer for the faults of their sons? By the name of Chohân, this prince became the shoot of the family tree, served by the poets; famous in the three worlds; the bearer in abundance of human pearls. In this family rose many a monarch surrounded by a halo of glory, whose lives, beautified with the triple acquisition,[5] are able to destroy mountains of sins.

II. Vâsudeva.—"In process of time Dîkshita Vâsudeva was born, who conquered the world by his valour; who seemed the very incarnation of Vâsudeva come down to this earth for the destruction of the demon Śakâs. He whetted his sword, blunt with striking down the heads of his enemies, in the fire of his valour, and then cooled the steel in the water of the tears gushing from the eyes of the wives of his enemies. The goddess of victory, as if enamoured of this prince, shone in his hand in the battle-field in the disguise of his sword red with the blood of the necks of his enemies that he had severed. In the field of battle, while the martial bands were playing, and the gods in the heavens viewing the performance, the king caused the goddess of victory to dance in the guise of his quivering sword. Does not the sun, surpassed by this prince in brilliancy, drown himself in the deep, and—alas! for the pain of dying—come every day above the waters in his struggles?"

III. Naradeva.—"Vâsudeva begat Naradeva, fit to be praised by Brahmâ himself; the delight of the eyes of women—his body surpassing in beauty that of Cupid himself. When the king went out into the world, the other chiefs, to protect their possessions, did not take the sword out of its sheath, but only took wealth from their coffers. In the battle-field his arms, bearing the brilliant white sword, bore the beauties of the Eastern Mountain, destroying the freshness of the lotuses of the faces of his enemies. It is but natural that the fire of the king's valour should have burnt down the forests of iniquity, but it is strange that the same fire should have filled his enemies with cold shakings. Methinks the sun, with his progeny, in token of submission, had fixed his abode in the toe-nails of this prince.

IV. "Chandrarâja by his fame and the beauty of his countenance, achieving a double conquest over the moon, vindicated the appropriate significance of his name, which means 'Lord of the moon.' Strange was the power of the fire of his valour, for it burnt bright in the enemy in whom the stream of bravery flowed, while it was extinguished in that enemy who was destitute of this stream," &c.

The above paragraphs may suffice to show the style of fulsome eulogy used by the poet in disposing of those princes of whom he had no historical information to give. The same similes occur again and again, and often the language is stiff and artificial.

I subjoin a list of the Chohân princes up to Hammîra as given by our author, and below that given by Tod in his *Râjasthân*.

(1) Châhaman (Canto I. ll. 14-25).
(2) Vâsudeva (*ib.* 26-30).
(3) Naradeva (*ib.* 31-36).
(4) Chandrarâja (*ib.* 37-40).
(5) Jayapâla Chakri (*ib.* 41-52).
(6) Jayarâja (*ib.* 53-57).
(7) Sâmanta Siṁha (*ib.* 58-62).
(8) Guyaka (*ib.* 63-68).
(9) Nandan (*ib.* 67-71).
(10) Vapra Râja (*ib.* 72-81).
(11) Hari Râja (*ib.* 82-87).
(12) Siṁha Râja (*ib.* 88-102)—killed Hetim, the Muhammadan general, and captured four elephants in the battle).
(13) Bhîma (nephew of Siṁha, adopted by him) (Canto I. ll. 1-6).

[5] Acquisition of *artha* (wealth), *kama* (love), and *moksha* (salvation).

(14) Vigraha Râja (killed Mûla Râja of Gujarât,[6] and conquered the country) (*ib.* 7-9).

(15) Gaṅgadeva (*ib.* 10-15).

(16) Vallabha Râja (16-18).

(17) Râma (19-21).

(18) Châmuṇḍa Râja (killed Hejama'd-dîn (*ib.* 22-24).

(19) Durlabha Râja (conquered Shahâbu'd-dîn (*ib.* 26-28).

(20) Duśala (killed Karṇadeva[7]) (*ib.* 29-32).

(21) Viśvala (Visaldeva), killed Shahâbu'd-dîn (*ib.* 33-37).

(22) Pṛithvi Râja I. (*ib.* 38-40).

(23) Alhaṇa (*ib.* 41-44).

(24) Anala dug a tank at Ajmer (*ib.* 45-51).

(25) Jagadeva (*ib.* 52-55).

(26) Viśala (*ib.* 56-59).

(27) Jayapâla (*ib.* 60-62).

(28) Gaṅgapâla (*ib.* 63-66).

(29) Someśvara (married Karpurâ Devî, or, according to Tod, Rukâdevî, daughter of Anangpâl Tunar of Dehli) (*ib.* 67-74).

(30) Pṛithvi Râja II. (Canto III. ll. 75-90).

(31) Hari Râja.

(32) Govinda of Raṇathaṁbhôr, father of—

(33) Bâlhaṇa—had two sons—Prahlâda and Vâgbhaṭa, or Vâkbhaṭa.

(34) Prahlâda, son of Bâlhaṇa.

(35) Vîranârâyaṇa, son of Prahlâda.

(36) Vâgbhaṭa, son of Bâlhaṇa.

(37) Jaitrasingh, son of Vâgbhaṭa.

(38) Hammîra, son of Jaitrasingh.

Genealogy of the Chohâns as given by Tod:—

Anhala or Agnipâla (the first Chohân; probable period 650 before Vikrama, when an invasion of the Turushkâs took place; established Mâkâvati Nagri (Garha Maṇḍla); conquered the Koṅkaṇa, Aser, Golkondâ.

Suvâcha.

Mallana.

Galan Sûr.

Ajipâla Chakravartti (universal potentate; founder of Ajmer —some authorities say in 202 of Vikrama; others of the Vîrataḥ Saṁvat; the latter is the most probable).[8]

Dola Râya (slain, and lost Ajmer, on the first irruption of the Muhammadans, S. 741, A.D. 685).

Manikya Râya (founded Sâmbhar; hence the title of Sâmbhari Râo borne by the Chohân princes his issue: slain by the Mosque invaders under Abu'l Aâs).[9]

Harsharâja or Harihara Râi (defeated Naziru'd-dîn [qu. Subaktegin?], thence styled 'Sulṭân-grâha').

Bîr Bîllandeva (Balianga Râi or Dharmagachha; slain defending Ajmer against Mahmud of Ghazni).

Bisaldeva (classically Viśaladêva); his period, from various inscriptions, S. 1066 to S. 1130.

Saraṅgadêva, his son, (died in nonage).

Âna Deva (constructed the Ânâ Sâgar at Ajmer, which still bears his name), his sons—

Hursapâl (Hispâl of Ferishtah), father of—

Jayapâla or Jayasiṁha (A.D. 977).

Ajayapâla or Anandeva, son of Jayapâla (A.D. 1000); Bijyadeva and Udayadeva were his brothers.

Someśvara, son of Ajayapâla, married Rukâbâi, the daughter of Anangapâl of Dehli. His brothers were Kanharâi and Jaitrasiṁha. Kanharâi's son Îśvaradâs turned Muhammadan.

Pṛithvi Râja (A.D. 1176), son of Someśvara, obtained Dehli; slain by Shahâbu'd-dîn, S. 1249, A.D. 1193.

Reṇasî (A.D. 1192), son of Pṛithvirâja, slain in the sack of Dehli.

Vijayarâja, son of Châhaḍadeva, the second son of Someśvara (adopted successor to Pṛithvirâja; his name is on the pillar at Dehli).

Lâkhansî, son of Vijayarâja, had twenty-one sons; seven of whom were legitimate, the others illegitimate, and founders of mixed tribes. From Lakhansî there were twenty-six generations to Nonad Siṁha, the chief of Nîmrânâ (in Col. Tod's time), the nearest lineal descendant of Ajayapâla and Pṛithvirâja).

As observed before, up to the time of Pṛithvirâja, the last great Chohân, the poem is made up mostly of poetical bombast, in which, at intervals, a grain of historical matter may be found concealed under bushels of poetical chaff. It is therefore useless to give a further analysis of this part of the poem. I begin with Someśvara, the father of Pṛithvi Râja.

After the death of Gaṅgadeva, who was brave like Bhîshma of old, Someśvara be-

[6] According to the Gujarâti chroniclers, Mûla Râja reigned from 998-1053 A.V., i. e. 55 years. Soon after his succession to the throne he was assailed by two armies—that of the Sapâdalakshîya, Râja of Sakâmbharî (Sâmbhar), and that of Bârapa, the general of Tailapa of Kaliyâṇ: see *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 184. Sapâdalakshîya might be a *biruda* of Vigraha Râja. [Bhagavânlâl Indraji points out to me that Sapâdalaksa or Savâlakha is the name of the Sivâlik hills, and that the early râjas of Kamauṅ called themselves Sapâdalakshanṛipatis; and that the Sakâmbharî râjas may have originally come from that country.—Ed.]

[7] Is this Karṇadeva the same with the Karṇadeva of Gujarât, the fifth in descent from Mûla Râja I.? His date, as given by Dr. Bühler, is 1063-1093 A.D. Duśala is sixth in descent from Vigraha, the enemy of Mûla Râja: see *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 186.

[8] Wilford inserts here Sâmanta Deva, Mahâdeva, Ajayasiṁha, Vîrasiṁha, Vindâsura, and Vairi Vihanta.—Ed.

[9] Tod, *Raj.* vol. II. p. 444. Ten more names are given in *Bombay Government Selections*, vol. III. p. 193; and Prinsep's *Antiquities* by Thomas, vol. II. *Us. Tab.* p. 247. —Ed.

came king. He was married to Karpurâ Dêvî, who gave birth to a son as the east gives birth to the cold-rayed beautiful disk of the moon. This son was named Prithvirâja by the king his father. Day by day the child throve, and grew up a strong and healthy boy. After he had acquired proficiency in letters and arms, Someśvara installed him on the *gadi*, and himself retiring into the woods died in the practice of the *yoga*. As the eastern mountain shines beautiful by the rays that it receives from the author of day, so did Prithvirâja shine in the royal insignia obtained from his father.

While Prithvirâja was ruling over his subjects with justice, and keeping his enemies in terror, Shahâbu'd-dîn was vigorously trying to subjugate the earth. The kings of the West, suffering greatly at his hands, chose Śri Chandrarâja, son of Govindarâja, as their spokesman, and in a body came to Prithvirâja. After the customary presents had been offered, the suppliant kings seated themselves in the presence of Prithvirâja, who, seeing the settled gloom of their countenances, asked the reason of their sorrow. Chandrarâja replied to him that a Muhammadan named Shahâbu'd-dîn had arisen for the destruction of kings, and that he had pillaged and burnt most of their cities, defiled their women, and reduced them altogether to a miserable plight. "Sire," said he, "there is scarcely a mountain-pent valley in the country but is filled to suffocation with Râjputs who have fled thither for protection from his tyranny. A Râjput has but to appear before him in arms, when at once he is transferred to Yama's gloomy realm. Methinks Shahâbu'd-dîn is Paraśurâma come down to this earth again for the extirpation of the warrior caste. The people are so panic-stricken that they abstain from rest, and, not knowing from what quarter he may appear, circumspectly raise their eyes in every direction. The noblest of the Râjput families have disappeared before him, and he has now established his capital at Multân. The Râjas now come to seek the protection of your Majesty against this unrelenting enemy and his causeless persecution."

Prithvirâja was filled with anger when he heard this account of the misdeeds of Shahâbu'd-dîn, his hand was raised to his moustache by the vehemence of his feelings, and he declared to the assembled princes that he would force this Shahâbu'd-dîn to beg their pardon on his knees with his hands and feet heavily manacled and fettered, else he were no true Chohân.

After some days, Prithvirâja, with an efficient army, set out for Multân, and after several marches entered into the enemy's country. Shahâbu'd-dîn, when he heard of the king's approach, also advanced to encounter him. In the battle which ensued, Prithviraja took Shahâbu'd-dîn captive, and was thus enabled to fulfil his vow: for he obliged the haughty Muhammadan on his knees to ask forgiveness of the princes whom he had despoiled. His vow now fulfilled, Prithvirâja gave rich presents and gifts to the suppliant princes, and sent them to their respective homes. He also allowed Shahâbu'd-dîn to go to Multân, bestowing on him like gifts.

Shahâbu'd-dîn, though thus well treated, felt bitterly mortified at the defeat he had sustained. Seven times after this did he advance on Prithvirâja to avenge his defeat, each time with greater preparations than before, but each time was signally defeated by the Hindu monarch.

When Shahâbu'd-dîn saw that he could not conquer Prithvirâja either by the force of his arms or by the ingenuity of his stratagems and tactics, he communicated an account of his successive defeats to the king of the Ghaṭaika[10] country and solicited his aid. This he obtained in the form of many horses and men from the king's army. Thus reinforced, Shahâbu'd-din rapidly advanced upon Dehli, which he at once captured. The inhabitants were panic-stricken, and fled from the city in every direction. Prithvirâjâ was greatly surprised at this, and said that this Shahâbu'd-dîn was acting like a naughty child, for he had already been defeated several times by him, and as often allowed to go unmolested to his capital. Prithvirâja, elated with his former victories over the enemy, gathered the small force that was about him, and with this handful of men advanced to meet the invader.

[10] Might not this be a name for the modern Kumbheri?

Slightly attended as the king was, Shahâbu'd-dîn was greatly terrified at the news of the approach of the king, for he remembered too well the former defeats and humiliations sustained at his hands. In the night, therefore, he sent some of his confidential servants into the king's camp, and through them, with promises of large sums of money, he seduced from their allegiance the king's master of the horse and the royal musicians. He then sent a large number of his Muhammadans secretly to the enemy's camp, who entered it early in the morning, when the moon in the west had scarcely reached the horizon, and the sun was but beginning to illuminate the east.

All was now uproar and confusion in the king's camp. Some cried out, "Oh, brave comrades! up and to your arms! Haste, haste! the enemy has approached and taken us by surprise. Let us fight and return conquerors to our homes or to heaven!" While the king's followers were thus preparing to meet their assailants, the disloyal master of the king's horse, as advised by his seducers, saddled and brought forth as the king's charger that day a horse styled Nâtyârambha ('leader of the dance'); and the musicians, who were waiting their opportunity, when the king had mounted, began to play upon their instruments tunes that were the king's favourites. At this the royal steed began to dance proudly, keeping time with the musicians. The king was diverted with this performance for a time, and forgot the all-important business of the moment.

The Muhammadans took advantage of the king's indolence and made a vigorous attack. The Râjputs, under the circumstances, could do little. Seeing this, Pṛithvirâja alighted from his horse and sat on the ground. With the sword in his hand he cut down many Muhammadans. Meanwhile, a Muhammadan taking the king unawares from behind, threw his bow round his neck and drew the king prostrate to the ground, while other Muhammadans bound him captive. From this time the royal captive refused all food and rest.

Pṛithvirâja, before he set out to encounter Shahâbu'd-dîn, had commanded Udayarâja to follow him to attack the enemy. Udayarâja[11] reached the battle-field just about the time when the Muhammadans had succeeded in taking Pṛithvirâja captive. But Shahâbu'd-dîn, fearing the consequences of further fighting with Udayarâja, retired into the city, taking with him the captive monarch.

When Udayarâja heard of the captivity of Pṛithvirâja his heart throbbed heavily with pain. He wished himself in the place of Pṛithvirâja. He was unwilling to turn back leaving the king to his fate. Such a course, he said, would be detrimental to his fair name, in his own country of Gauṛadeśa. He therefore laid siege to the city of the enemy (Yoginîpura or Dehli, which Shahâbu'd-dîn had taken possession of before this battle), and sat before the gates for a whole month, fighting day and night.

One day during the siege, one of Shahâbu'd-dîn's people went up to him and remarked that it would be becoming on his part for once to release Pṛithvirâja, who had several times taken him captive and then dismissed him with honours. Shahâbu'd-dîn was not pleased with this noble speaker, to whom he replied sharply that councillors like him were the sure destroyers of kingdoms. The angry Shahâbu'd-dîn then ordered that Pṛithvirâja should be taken into the fortress. When this order was given, all the brave people hung their necks with shame; and the righteous, unable to suppress the tears gathering in their eyes, lifted them towards heaven. Pṛithvirâja a few days after this breathed his last and went to heaven.

When Udayarâja learnt of the death of his friend, he thought that the best place of abode for him now was that only whither his late friend had sped. He therefore gathered together all his followers and led them into the thickest of the battle, and there fell with his whole army, securing for himself and them eternal happiness in heaven.

When Harirâja learnt the sad news of the death of Pṛithvirâja, his sorrow knew no bounds. With tears gushing from his eyes, he performed the funeral ceremonies for the deceased monarch and then ascended the throne. He had not ruled long when the king of Gujarât, in order to secure his

[11] This must be the famous Udayâditya Puâr of Mâlwâ, mentioned by Chanda as the great friend and ally of Pṛithvirâja.

favour, sent to him some dancing women from his country as presents.[13] These girls were exceedingly beautiful and highly accomplished, and they drew to themselves the king's heart so much that all his time was usually spent in their company, in listening to their music and seeing their dancing. At last matters came to such a pass that most of his revenues were squandered on musicians and dancers, and nothing was left with which to pay the salaries of the servants of the state, who naturally were disgusted with the king and his manners. His subjects also were dissatisfied.

Apprised of these circumstances, Shahâbu'd-dîn thought this a favourable opportunity for destroying Harirâja and his power. He therefore marched his army into the country of Harirâja. Ever since the death of Pṛithvirâja, Harirâja had vowed not to see even the face of the hated Muslîm, and he passed his time, as described, in the company of women. He was therefore ill prepared to meet Shahâbu'd-dîn in the battle-field. As a last resource, Harirâja determined to perform the '*sak*.' He gathered together all the members of his family, and ascended the funeral pile along with them, and so went to the other world.

Harirâja had no son, and Shahâbu'd-dîn pressed his followers hard. In the utmost confusion and misery, therefore, they assembled in council to deliberate on the course they had best adopt. They were now, they said, without a leader, while their army was so disorganized that it could not look the enemy in the face. Shahâbu'd-dîn was a great warrior and they were weak. It was impossible that they should be able to protect themselves and their capital. They therefore resolved to abandon the country to its fate, and go and live under the protection of Govindarâja, the grandson of Pṛithvirâja, who, having been banished the kingdom by his father, had by his bravery acquired a new kingdom and established his capital at Raṇathaṁbhôr. They accordingly gathered in all the remnants of Harirâja's power and wealth and started for Raṇathaṁbhôr. Ajmer, vacated by Harirâja's party, was now pillaged and burnt by Shahâbu'd-dîn, who took possession of the city.

The followers of Harirâja were well received by Govindarâja, and appointed to suitable offices in the kingdom. Govindarâja was paralyzed at the sad news of the fall of Ajmer, and the death of Harirâja, to whom he paid the last rites. For some years after this Govindarâja ruled well and justly. At last he died and went to heaven.

After Govindarâja, Bâlhaṇa succeeded to the throne. Bâlhaṇa had two sons—Prahlâda, the elder, and Vâgbhaṭa, the younger. Being brought up and educated together, there was between them very great brotherly affection. When they came of age, their father, who had grown old and feeble, placed his elder son, Prahlâda, upon the *gâdi*, and appointed the younger, Vâgbhaṭa, to the post of prime minister. The old king did not long survive this arrangement. Prahlâda was a just king, and, as he ruled mildly, his subjects were contented.

One day, however, as fate would have it, he went out to the forest to hunt. The hunting party was a grand one. There were many dogs with them, and the party was dressed in blue clothes. Merrily they went that day over hill and dale, and the prey was unusually heavy. Many a mighty lion was made to bite the dust. While the party was thus engaged, the king saw a big lion lying at his ease in a patch of tall reed grass, and, being dexterous with his bow, aimed an arrow at the lion and killed him. The attendants of the king raised a shout of joy at this feat of royal archery, which had the effect of rousing from his slumbers another lion that was hard by, but of whose presence they were not aware. In an instant the brute rushed on the king with the swiftness of lightning, and seizing one of the king's arms in his mouth tore it from the body. This sad accident put a stop to the sport, and the party bore the wounded monarch home, where the effects of the poison of the animal's bite terminated his life.

The death-bed of the king was an affecting scene. He placed on the *gâdi* his son Vîranârâyaṇa, and called to his presence Vâgbhaṭa, his brother and minister, and said to him that the three qualities of bravery, pene-

[13] Gujarât in ancient times was famous for the number and beauty of its dancing girls. One of its kings was forced to give his daughter in marriage to an ancient Persian king, who took with him from the country 1200 dancing girls. The professional dancing girls of Persia are said have been the descendants of this stock! Vide *As. Res.* vol. IX., "Bickram and Sâlibâhan."

tration, and circumspection were the main stays of a monarch; but that these were acquisitions to which people attained in their majority. Rarely were they possessed by inexperienced youths. "My son," said he, "is yet a child, and he knows only how to sleep and rise again to play. Be thou, therefore, such a guide to him that he may not come to ruin."

Vîranârâyaṇa from his very childhood was a naughty and unmanageable boy, and Vâgbhaṭa, convinced of this, could not find it in his heart to hold out the language of decided hope to his dying and beloved brother. "My dear brother," said he, as the tears rushed down his cheeks, "you know that no one is able to avert what is to happen. As for myself, I will serve the prince as faithfully and as diligently as ever I have served you." Scarcely had Vâgbhaṭa finished his speech when the king breathed his last.

When Vîranârâyaṇa came of age, a marriage was arranged between him and the daughter of the Kachhavâha prince of Jayapur, and he set out for Amarapur (Amber), the capital of the Kachhavâha. On the way Vîranârâyaṇa and his party were pursued by Jelâlu'd-dîn, and had to turn back to Raṇathaṁbhôr without being able to marry the Jayapurâni. Here a great battle ensued, but neither party obtained the advantage. Jelâlu'd-dîn saw that it would be difficult to conquer Vîranârâyaṇa in the field, and therefore determined to entrap him into his power by stratagem. For the present, therefore, he returned to his country; but after some days he sent a very flattering message to Vîranârâyaṇa through one of his most trusted servants. The messenger represented to Vîranârâyaṇa that he and Jelâlu'd-dîn were the sun and moon in the surrounding starry heaven of kings, and that his master, extremely pleased with the gallantry displayed by the prince in the late war, sought his friendship. He also represented how good it would be if they both lived in harmony and saw each other frequently; how strong they both would be by this alliance, which would be like the union of wind with fire, and which would enable them to bear down all their many enemies. Jelâlu'd-dîn, said the envoy, now looked upon Vîranârâyaṇa as his brother, and called upon the Almighty to witness if there was aught of deceit in his heart. The envoy concluded by inviting the prince, in the name of his master, to be the guest of the latter in his capital. "Should your Majesty have any objection," added the wily man, "to accept of Jelâlu'd-dîn's hospitality, Jelâlu'd-dîn himself will come to Raṇathaṁbhôr and pass a few days with you."

At this time there was pending some feud between Vîranârâyaṇa and Vigraha, king of Vakshasthalapura. Bent upon chastising Vigraha, Vîranârâyaṇa gave a willing ear to the ambassador, and resolved upon an alliance with Jelâlu'd-dîn. Vâgbhaṭa disapproved of this alliance with the wicked Muhammadans, sought an interview with Vîranârâyaṇa and spoke against it. "An enemy," said he, "is never changed to a friend, do what service you may to him; and if you have any wish to live and govern the kingdom, you must listen to the advice of your teachers and elders, and avoid having aught to do with Jelâlu'd-dîn and the Muslims."

Vîranârâyaṇa was incensed at his uncle's advice, and contemptuously asked him not to think of the cares of the state, as they were now ill-suited to his old and weak mind; that he himself was equal to the task of government, and henceforth would do and act as best pleased him.

Vâgbhaṭa, stung to the quick by this answer, left the palace and departed for Mâlwâ. Other courtiers, too, after Vâgbhaṭa had left, tried to dissuade the king from going to his enemy, but all failed. Vîranârâyaṇa at length went to Yoginîpura. The wily Muslim came out to receive him, and treated his guest apparently with the greatest respect. The prince was delighted with his reception, and became much attached to Jelâlu'd-dîn. After a few days' hospitality, however, the prince was poisoned and died.

The joy of the Muhammadans at this event was excessive. They exclaimed that now the whole tree was prostrate at their feet, and they could help themselves to any part of it.

As the king was no more, and Vâgbhaṭa had left for Mâlwâ, Raṇathaṁbhôr was without defenders, and easily fell into the hands of the enemy. Once in possession of Raṇathaṁbhôr, Jelâlu'd-dîn sent a message to the king of Mâlwâ to say that Vâgbhaṭa should be put to death.

The king of Mâlwâ, it appears, lent a willing ear to this nefarious proposal, but Vâgbhaṭa

discovered the secret. He murdered the king of Mâlwâ, and possessing himself of his throne, soon gathered round him many of the distressed Râjputs. Possessed thus at once of a country and an army, he made a league with the Kharpûrâs,[13] who were already in arms against the Muhammadans. Vâgbhaṭa conducted the combined army to Raṇathaṁbhôr and reduced its Muslîm garrison to such a plight that they vacated the fort. Thus Vâgbhaṭa and the Râjputs once more became masters of Raṇathaṁbhôr.

It was Vâgbhaṭa's policy to station large forces at different posts along the frontier and thus to keep off his enemies. He died after a happy reign of twelve years.

Vâgbhaṭa was succeeded by his son Jaitrasingh. His queen was named Hirâ Dêvî, who was very beautiful, and in every way qualified for her high position. In course of time, Hirâ Dêvî was found to be with child. Her cravings in this condition presaged the proclivities and greatness of the burden she bore. At times she was possessed with a desire to bathe herself in the blood of the Muslîms. Her husband satisfied her wishes, and at last, in an auspicious hour, she was delivered of a son. The four quarters of the earth assumed a beautiful appearance; balmy winds began to blow; the sky became clear; the sun shone graciously; the king testified his joy by showering gold on the Brâhmaṇs, and by making thank-offerings. The astrologers predicted, from the very favourable conjunction of the stars that presided over the child's nativity, that the prince would make the whole earth wet with the blood of the enemies of his country, the Muhammadans.

Hammîra (for that was the name bestowed on the child) throve and grew up a strong and handsome boy. He easily mastered the sciences, and soon grew an expert in the art of war. When he attained a proper age, his father had him married to seven beautiful wives.

Jaitrasingh had two other sons also, Surattrâṇa and Vîrama, who were great warriors. Finding that his sons were now able to relieve him of the burden of government, Jaitrasingh one day talked over the matter with Hammîra, and, after giving him excellent advice as to how he was to behave, he gave over the charge of the state to him, and himself went to live in the forest. This happened in Saṁvat 1330 (A.D. 1283).[14]

Being endowed with the six *guṇas* and the three *śaktis*, Hammîra now resolved to set out on a series of warlike expeditions. The first place which he visited was Sarasapûra, the capital of Râja Arjuna. Here a battle was fought, in which Arjuna was defeated and reduced to submission. Next the prince marched on Gaḍhamaṇḍala, which saved itself by paying tribute. From Gaḍhamaṇḍala Hammîra advanced upon Dhâra. Here was reigning a Râja Bhoja, who, like his famous namesake, was the friend of poets. After defeating Bhoja, the army arrived at Ujjain, where the elephants, horses, and men bathed in the clear waters of the Kshiprâ. The prince also performed his ablutions in the river and paid his devotions at the shrine of Mahâkâla. In a grand procession he then passed through the principal streets of the old city. From Ujjain, Hammîra marched to Chitrakoṭa (Chitoḍ), and ravaging Medapâṭa (Mewâḍ), went on to Mount Âbû.

Though a follower of the *Vedas*, Hammîra here worshipped at the temple of Ṛishabha Dêva,—for the great do not make invidious distinctions. The king was also present at a recitation in honour of Vaśtupâla. He stayed for some days at the hermitage of Vasishṭha, and, bathing in the Mandâkinî, paid his devotions to Achalêśvara. Here he was much astonished at seeing the works which Arjuna had executed.

The king of Âbû was a famous warrior, but his prowess little availed him at this juncture, and he was obliged to submit to Hammîra.

Leaving Âbû, the king arrived at Varddhanapura, which city he plundered and despoiled. Changâ met with the same fate. Hence, by way of Ajmer, Hammîra went to Pushkara, where he paid his devotions to Âdivarâha (the primeval boar). From Pushkara the prince repaired to Śâkambhari. On the way the towns of Mândatâ[15]

[13] Ferishta says "Khakars," a Mongol tribe, who also seem to have invaded India at this time.

[14] The text runs as follows:—ततश्च संवत्त्रय वह्निवह्नि-भूतागने माघवलक्षपक्षे । पौष्यां तिथौ हेलिदिने सपुष्ये ज्योतिर्विदादिष्टबले विलग्ने ॥

[15] There is no town of this name that Hammîra could have ravaged on his way to Śâkambhari. There is such a town as Meḍatâ, on the borders of Mewâḍ.

Khaṇḍilla, Champâ, and Kâṅkrolî were plundered. Tribhuvanêndra came to see him at Kâṅkrolî, and presented to him many rich gifts.

After having accomplished these brilliant exploits, Hammîra returned to his capital. The advent of the king caused a great commotion there. All the great officers of state, headed by Dharmasingh, came out in procession to receive their victorious monarch. The streets were lined by loving subjects eager to get a glimpse of their king.

Some days after this, Hammîra inquired of his spiritual guide, Viśvarûpa, as to the efficacy of the merits arising from the performance of a sacrifice called the *Koṭi-yajña*, and being answered by the high priest that admittance into Svarga-loka was secured by the performance of the sacrifice, the king ordered that preparations should be made for the *Koṭi-yajña*. Accordingly, learned Brâhmaṇs from all parts of the country were convened, and the sacrifice was completed according to the ordinances laid down for its performance in the holy *Śâstras*. The Brâhmaṇs were sumptuously feasted, and handsome *dakshiṇas* were given to them. To crown all, the king now entered on the *Munivrata*, which he was to observe for an entire month.

While these things were taking place at Raṇathaṁbhôr, many changes had occurred at Dehli, where 'Alâu'd-dîn was now reigning. Apprised of what was passing at Raṇathaṁbhôr, he commanded his younger brother Ulugh Khân[16] to take an army with him into the Chohân country and to lay it waste. "Jaitrasingh," he said, "paid us tribute; but this son of his not only does not pay the tribute, but takes every opportunity of showing the contempt in which he holds us. Here is an opportunity to annihilate his power." Thus commanded, Ulugh Khân invaded the Raṇathaṁbhôr country with an army of 80,000 horse. When this army reached the Varṇanâśâ river, it was found that the roads which led into the enemy's country were not practicable for cavalry. Ulugh Khân, therefore, encamped here for some days, burning and destroying the villages in the neighbourhood.

The king at Raṇathaṁbhôr, not having yet completed the *Munivrata*, was unable to take the field in person. He therefore despatched his generals, Bhîmasingh and Dharmasingh, to drive away the invaders. The king's army came upon the invaders at a place on the Varṇanâśâ, and gained a decisive advantage over the enemy, great numbers of whom were killed. Contenting himself with the advantage thus gained, Bhîmasingh began to retrace his steps towards Raṇathaṁbhôr, Ulugh Khân secretly following him with the main body of his army. Now it so happened that the soldiers of Bhîmasingh, who had obtained immense booty, were anxious to carry it home safely, and, in their anxiety to do this, had outstripped their chief, who had around him only a small band of his personal followers. When Bhîmasingh had thus gained the middle of the Hindavât pass, in the pride of victory he ordered the kettledrums and other musical instruments he had captured from the enemy to be vigorously sounded. This act had an unforeseen and disastrous consequence. Ulugh Khân had ordered his army to follow Bhîmasingh in small detachments, and had commanded them to fall on him wherever he should sound his martial instruments, which they were to understand as the signal of some great advantage gained over the enemy. When the detached parties, therefore, of the Muhammadans heard the sound of the *nagâras*, they poured into the pass from all sides, and Ulugh Khân also coming up began to fight with Bhîmasingh. The Hindu general for a time nobly sustained the unequal combat, but was at last wounded and killed. After gaining this signal advantage over the enemy, Ulugh Khân returned to Dehli.

Hammîra, after the completion of the sacrifice, learnt the details of the battle and of the death of his general Bhîmasingh. He upbraided Dharmasingh for deserting Bhîmasingh, and called him blind, as he could not see that Ulugh Khân was on the track of the army. He also called him impotent as he did not rush to the rescue of Bhîmasingh. Not content with thus upbraiding Dharmasingh, the king ordered the offending general to be blinded and castrated. Dharmasingh was also superseded in the command of the army by Bhoja Deva, a natural brother of the

[16] Malik Mûizzu'd-dîn Ulugh Khân, called "Aluf Khan" by Briggs in his translation of Firishtah.—ED.

Râja, and a sentence of banishment was passed upon him, but, at Bhoja's intercession, it was not carried out.

Dharmasingh, thus mutilated and disgraced, was bitterly mortified at the treatment he had received at the king's hands, and resolved to be avenged. In pursuance of his determination, he contracted an intimate friendship with one Râdhâ Dêvî, a courtesan, who was a great favourite at court. Râdhâ Dêvî kept her blind friend well acquainted every day as to what was passing at court. One day it so happened that Râdhâ Dêvî returned home quite cross and dejected, and when her blind friend asked her the cause of her low spirits, she answered that the king had lost that day many horses of the *vedha* disease, and consequently paid little attention to her dancing and singing, and that this state of things, in all probability, was likely to continue long. The blind man bade her be of good cheer, as he would see ere long that all was right again. She was only to take the opportunity of insinuating to the king that Dharmasingh, if restored to his former post, would present the king with twice the number of horses that had lately died. Râdhâ Dêvî played her part well, and the king, yielding to avarice, restored Dharmasingh to his former post.

Dharmasingh thus restored, only thought of revenge. He pandered to the king's avarice, and by his oppression and exactions reduced the rayats to a miserable condition and made them detest their monarch. He spared no one from whom anything could be got—horses, money, anything worth having. The king, whose treasury he thus replenished, was much pleased with his blind minister, who, flushed with success, now called on Bhoja to render an account of his department. Bhoja knew the blind man grudged him his office, and going to the king he informed him of all Dharmasingh's schemes, and applied to him for protection from the minister's tyranny. But Hammîra paid no attention to the representations of Bhoja, telling him that as Dharmasingh was entrusted with full powers, and could do whatever he thought proper, it was necessary others should obey his orders. Bhoja, when he saw that the king's mind was turned from him, submitted to his property being confiscated and brought into the king's coffers, as ordered by Dharmasingh. As in duty bound, however, he still followed his chief wherever he went. One day the king went to pay his devotions at the temple of Vaidyanâth, and seeing Bhoja in his train, scornfully remarked to a courtier, who stood by, that the earth was full of vile beings; but the vilest creature on earth was the crow, who, though deprived of his last feather by the angry owl, still clung to his habitation on the old tree. Bhoja understood the intent of the remark, and that it was levelled at him. Deeply mortified, he returned home and communicated his disgrace to his younger brother Pîtama. The two brothers now resolved to leave the country, and the next day Bhoja went to Hammîra and humbly prayed to be allowed leave to undertake a pilgrimage to Banâras. The king granted his request, adding that he might go to Banâras or further if he chose,—that there was no danger of the town being deserted on his account. To this insolent speech Bhoja made no reply. He bowed and withdrew, and soon after started for Banâras. The king was delighted at Bhoja Deva's departure, and he conferred the Kotwâlship vacated by him on Ratipâla.

When Bhoja reached Śirśa, he reflected on the sad turn his affairs had taken, and resolved that the wanton insults heaped upon him should not go unavenged. In this mind, with his brother Pîtama, he went to Yoginîpura, and there waited upon 'Alâu'd-dîn. The Muhammadan chief was much pleased with Bhojâ's arrival at his court. He treated him with distinguished honour, and bestowed upon him the town and territory of Jagarâ as a jahâgir. Henceforth Pîtama lived here, and the other members of Bhoja's family, while he himself stayed at court. 'Alâu'd-dîn's object was to learn Hammîra's affairs, and he therefore lavished presents and honours on Bhoja, who gradually became entirely devoted to the interests of his new master.

Convinced of Bhoja's devotion to his cause, 'Alâu'd-dîn one day asked him, in private, if there were any easy and practicable means of subduing Hammîra. Bhoja answered that it was no easy matter to conquer Hammîra, a king who was the terror of the kings of Kuntala, Madhyadeśa (Central India), Aṅ-

gadeśa and the far Kâñchî—a king who was master of the six *guṇás* and the three *śaktis*, and who commanded a vast and powerful army—a king whom all other kings feared and obeyed, and who had a most valiant brother in Vîrama, the conqueror of many princes—a king who was served by the fearless Mongol chiefs Mahimâśâhi and others, who, after defeating his brother, had defied 'Alâu'd-dîn himself. Not only had Hammîra able generals, said Bhoja, but they were all attached to him. Seduction was impossible save in one quarter. One man only had his price in the court of Hammîra. What a blast of wind was to a lamp, what the cloud was to the lotuses, what night was to the sun, what the company of women was to an ascetic, what avarice was to all other qualities, that was this one man to Hammîra—the sure cause of disgrace and destruction. The present time, too, said Bhoja, was not ill suited for an expedition against Hammîra. There was a bumper harvest this year in the Chohân country and if 'Alâu'd-dîn could but snatch it from the peasantry before it could be stored away he would induce them, as they already suffered from the blind man's tyranny, to forsake the cause of Hammîra.

'Alâu'd-dîn liked Bhoja's idea, and forthwith commanded Ulugh Khân to invade Hammîra's country with an army of 100,000 horse. Ulugh Khân's army now poured over the land like an irresistible torrent,—the chiefs through whose territories it passed bending like reeds before it. The army thus reached Hindavât, when the news of its approach and intention was carried to Hammîra. Thereupon the Hindu king convened a council, and deliberated on the course they had best adopt. It was resolved that Vîrama and the rest of the eight great officers of state should go and do battle with the enemy. Accordingly, the king's generals divided the army into eight divisions, and fell on the Muhammadans from all the eight points of the compass at once. Vîrama came from the east, and Mahimâśâhi from the west. From the south advanced Jâjadêva, while Garbharûka advanced from the north. From the south-east came Ratipâla, while Tichar Mongol directed the attack from the north-west. Raṇamalla came from the north-east, while Vaichara chose the south-west for his direction of attack. The Râjputs set to their work with vigour. Some of them filled the enemy's entrenchments with earth and rubbish, while others set on fire the wooden fortification raised by the Muhammadans. Others, again, cut the ropes of their tents. The Muhammadans stood to their arms and vauntingly said they would mow down the Râjputs like grass. Both sides fought with desperate courage; but the Muhammadans at last gave way before the repeated attacks of the Râjputs. Many of them, therefore, left the field and fled for their lives. After a time their example was followed by the whole of the Muhammadan army, which fled ignominiously from the battle-field, leaving the Râjputs complete masters of it.

When the battle was over, the modest Râjputs went over the field to gather their dead and wounded. In this search they obtained much booty and arms, elephants and horses. Some of the enemy's women also fell into their hands. Ratipâla forced them to sell buttermilk in every town they passed through.

Hammîra was exceedingly delighted at the signal victory over the enemy gained by his generals. He held a grand darbâr in honour of the event. In the darbâr the king invested Ratipâla with a golden chain—comparing him, in his speech, to the war elephant who had richly deserved the golden band. All the other nobles and soldiers were also rewarded according to their deserts, and graciously ordered back to their respective homes.

All but the Mongol chiefs left the presence. Hammîra observed this, and kindly asked them the reason of their lagging behind. They answered that they were loth to sheathe their swords and retire to their houses before they had chastised the ungrateful Bhoja, who was enjoying himself in his jahâgir at Jagarâ. On account of the relation in which he stood to the king, said they, they had up to this time allowed Bhoja to live; but he now no longer deserved this forbearance, as it was at his instigation that the enemy had invaded the Raṇathambhôr territory. They therefore asked permission of the king to march on Jagarâ and attack Bhoja. The king granted the request, and at once the Mongols left the palace for Jagarâ. They took the town by storm,

and taking **Pîtama** captive, with many others, brought him back to **Raṇathaṁbhôr.**

Ulugh Khân after his discomfiture hastily retired to Dehli and apprised his brother of what had happened. His brother taxed him with cowardice; but **Ulugh Khân** excused his flight by representing that it was the only course open to him, under the circumstances, which could enable him to have the pleasure of once more seeing his brother in this world, and have another opportunity of fighting with the **Chohân.** Scarcely had **Ulugh Khân** done with his excuses, when in came **Bhoja,** red with anger. He spread the cloth which he had worn as an upper garment on the ground, and began to roll upon it as one possessed with an evil spirit, muttering incoherently all the while. 'Alâu'd-dîn was not a little annoyed at this strange conduct, and inquired the reason of it. **Bhoja** replied that it would be difficult for him ever to forget the misfortune that had overtaken him that day; for **Mahimáśâhi** having paid a visit to **Jagarâ,** had carried it by assault and dragged his brother **Pîtama** into captivity before **Hammîra.** Well might people now, said **Bhoja,** point the finger of scorn at him, and say, Here is the man who has lost his all in the hope of getting more. Helpless and forlorn, he could not now trust himself to lie on the earth, as it all belonged now to **Hammîra;** and he had therefore spread his garment, on which to roll in grief which had deprived him of the power of standing.

Already the fire of anger was kindled in the breast of **'Alâu'd-dîn** at the tale of the defeat his brother had sustained, and **Bhoja's** speech added fuel to the fire. Throwing to the ground, in the vehemence of his feelings, the turban he had on, he said **Hammîra's** folly was like that of one who thought he could tread upon the lion's mane with impunity, and vowed he would exterminate the whole race of the **Chohâns.** Then at once he despatched letters to the kings of various countries, calling upon them to join him in a war against **Hammîra.** The kings of **Aṅga, Telaṅga, Magadha, Maisûr, Kaliṅga, Baṅga, Bhot, Medapât, Panchâl, Bângâl,**[17] **Thamim, Bhilla, Nepâl, Dâhal,** and some Himâlayan chiefs, who also obeyed the summons, brought their respective quotas to swell the invading army. Amongst this miscellaneous host there were some who came on account of the love they bore to the goddess of war, while others were there who had been drawn into the ranks of the invaders by the love of plunder. Others, again, only came to be spectators of the desperate fighting that was expected to take place. There was such a thronging of elephants, horses, chariots, and men that there was scarcely room for one to thrust a grain of *tila* amidst the crowd. With this mighty concourse, the two brothers, **Nusrat Khân** and **Ulugh Khân,** started for the **Raṇathaṁbhôr** country.

'Alâu'd-dîn with a small retinue stayed behind with the object of inspiring the Râjputs with a dread of the reserves that must have necessarily remained with him, their king.

The numbers in the army were so great that they drank up all the water of the rivers on the line of march. It was therefore found necessary not to halt the army longer than a few hours in any one place. By forced marches, the two generals soon reached the borders of the **Raṇathaṁbhôr** territory—an event which gave rise to conflicting sentiments in the minds of the invaders. Those that had taken no part in the late war said victory was now *certain*, as it was impossible the Râjputs should be able to withstand such troops as they were. The veterans of the last campaign, however, took a different view of the matter, and asked their more hopeful comrades to remember that they were about to encounter **Hammîra's** army, and that, therefore, they should reserve their vaunting until the end of the campaign.

When the pass was gained which was the scene of **Ulugh Khân's** discomfiture and disgrace, he advised his brother not to place too much confidence in their power alone, but, as the place was a difficult one, and **Hammîra's** army both strong and efficient, to try stratagem by sending some one on to the court of **Hammîra,** there to try to while away some days in negotiations about peace, while the army should safely cross the mountains and take up a strategical position. **Nusrat Khân** yielded to the superior experience of his brother, and **Śri Molhaṇa Deva** was sent to propose the terms

[17] I spell these names as they are in the original.

on which the Muhammadans would conclude a peace with Hammîra. Pending negotiations, Hammîra's people allowed the invading army to cross the dangerous pass unmolested. The Khân now posted his brother on one side of the road known as the Maṇḍi Road, and he himself occupied the fort of Śrî Maṇḍapa. The forces of the allied princes were stationed all round the tank of Jaitra Sâgara.

Neither party was sincere. The Muhammadans thought they had artfully secured an advantageous position from whence to commence their operations; whilst the Râjputs were of opinion that the enemy had so far advanced into the interior that he could not now possibly escape them.

The Khân's ambassador at Raṇathambhôr, admitted into the fort by the king's order, from what he saw there, was inspired with a dread of Hammîra's power. However, he attended the darbâr held to receive him, and, after the exchange of the usual courtesies, boldly delivered himself of the message with which he was charged. He said that he was deputed to the king's court as the envoy of Ulugh Khân and Nusrat Khân, the two brothers of the celebrated 'Alâu'd-dîn; that he had come there to impress on the king's mind, if possible, the futility of any resistance that he could offer to so mighty a conqueror as 'Alâu'd-dîn, and to advise him to conclude a peace with his chief. He offered to Hammîra, as the conditions of peace, the choice between paying down to his chief a contribution of one hundred thousand gold *mohors*, presenting him with four elephants and three hundred horses, and giving his daughter in marriage to 'Alâu'd-dîn; or the giving up to him the four insubordinate Moṅgol chiefs, who, having excited the displeasure of his master, were now living under the protection of the king. The envoy added that if the king desired the enjoyment of his power and kingdom in peace, he had the opportunity at hand of securing his object by the adoption of either of these conditions, which would equally secure to him the good graces and assistance of 'Alâu'd-dîn, a monarch who had destroyed all his enemies, who possessed numerous strong forts and well-furnished arsenals and magazines, who had put to shame Mahâdeva himself by capturing numerous impregnable forts, like Dêvagaḍha, whereas the fame of the god rests on the successful capture of the fort of Tripura alone.

Hammîra, who had listened with impatience to the ambassador's speech, was incensed at the insulting message delivered to him, and said to Śrî Molhaṇa Deva that if he had not been there in the capacity of an accredited envoy, the tongue with which he uttered those vaunting insults should ere this have been cut out. Not only did Hammîra refuse to entertain either of the conditions submitted by the envoy, but on his part he proposed the acceptance by 'Alâu'd-dîn of as many sword-cuts as the number of the gold *mohors*, elephants, and horses he had the impudence to ask for, and told the envoy he would look upon the refusal of this martial offer by the Muhammadan chief as tantamount to his ('Alâu-'d-din's) feasting on pork. Without any further ceremony, the envoy was driven from the presence.

The garrison of Raṇathambhôr now prepared for resistance. Officers of approved ability and bravery were told off to defend various posts. Tents were pitched here and there on the ramparts to protect the defenders from the rays of the sun. Oil and resin were kept boiling in many places, ready to be poured on the bodies of any of the assailants to scald them if they dared come too near, and guns were mounted on suitable places. The Muhammadan army, too, at last appeared before Raṇathambhôr. A desperate struggle was carried on for some days. Nusrat Khân was killed by a random shot in one of the engagements,[18] and, the monsoon having set in, Ulugh Khân was obliged to stop all further operations. He retired to some distance from the fort, and sent a despatch to 'Alâu'd-dîn, informing him of the critical situation he was in. He also sent him in a box Nusrat Khân's body for burial. Upon this intelligence reaching 'Alâu'd-dîn, he started at once for Raṇathambhôr. Arrived there, he immediately marched his army to the gates of the fort and invested it.

Hammîra, to mark his contempt of these proceedings, had caused to be raised, on many places over the walls, flags of light wicker-work. This was as much as to say that 'Alâ-

[18] Elliot and Dowson's *History*, vol. III. p. 172.—ED.

u'd-dîn's advent before the fort was not felt to be a burden to, or an aggravation of, the sufferings of the Râjputs. The Muhammadan chief at once saw that he had to deal with men of no ordinary resolution and courage, and he sent a message to Hammîra saying he was greatly pleased with his bravery, and would be glad to grant any request such a gallant enemy might wish to make. Of course this was bidding in some way for peace. Hammîra, however, replied that as 'Alâu'd-dîn was pleased to grant anything he might set his heart upon, nothing would gratify him so much as fighting with him for two days, and this request he hoped would be complied with. The Muhammadan chief praised very much this demand, saying it did justice to his adversary's courage, and agreed to give him battle the next day. The contest that ensued was furious and desperate in the last degree. During these two days the Muhammadans lost no less than 85,000 men. A truce of some few days being now agreed upon by both the belligerents, fighting ceased for a time.

On one of these days the king had Râdhâ Dêvî dancing before him on the wall of the fort, while there was much company round him. This woman, at stated and regular intervals, well understood by those who understand music, purposely turned her back towards 'Alâu'd-dîn, who was sitting below in his tent not far from the fort, and who could well see what was passing on the fort wall. No wonder that he was incensed at this conduct, and indignantly asked those who were about him if there was any among his numerous followers who could, from that distance, kill that woman with one arrow. One of the chiefs present answered that he knew one man only who could do this, and that man was Uddânasingh, whom the king had in captivity. The captive was at once released and brought before 'Alâu-'d-dîn, who commanded him to show his skill in archery against the fair target. Uddânasingh did as he was bid, and in an instant the fair form of the courtesan, being struck, fell down headlong from the fort wall.

This incident roused the ire of Mahimâśâhi, who requested permission of the king to be allowed to do the same service to 'Alâu'd-dîn that he had done to poor Râdhâ Dêvî. The king replied that he well knew the extraordinary skill in archery possessed by his friend, but that he was loth 'Alâu'd-dîn should be so killed, as his death would deprive him of a valiant enemy with whom he could at pleasure hold passages of arms. Mahimâśâhi then dropped the arrow he had adjusted on his bowstring on Uddânasingh, and killed him. This feat of Mahimâśâhi so intimidated 'Alâu'd-dîn that he at once removed his camp from the eastern side of the lake to its western side, where there was greater protection from such attacks. When the camp was removed, the Râjputs were able to perceive that the enemy, by working underground, had prepared mines, and had attempted to throw over a part of the ditch a temporary bridge of wood and grass carefully covered over with earth. The Râjputs destroyed this bridge with their cannon, and, pouring burning oil into the mines, destroyed these that were working underground. In this manner all 'Alâu'd-dîn's efforts to take the fort were frustrated. At the same time he was greatly harassed by the rain, which now fell in torrents. He therefore sent a message to Hammîra, asking him kindly to send over to his camp Ratipâla, as he desired very much to speak with him, with a view to an amicable settlement of the differences subsisting between them.

The king ordered Ratipâla to go and hear what 'Alâu'd-dîn had to say. Raṇamalla was jealous of Ratipâla's influence, and did not at all like that he should have been chosen for this service.

'Alâu'd-dîn received Ratipâla with extraordinary marks of honour. Upon his entering the darbâr tent, the Muhammadan chief rose from his seat, and, embracing him, made him sit on his own *gâdi*, while he himself sat by his side. He caused valuable presents to be placed before Ratipâla, and also made promises of further rewards. Ratipâla was delighted with such kind treatment. The wily Muhammadan, observing it, ordered the rest of the company to leave them alone. When they had all left, he began to address Ratipâla. "I am," said he, "'Alâu'd-dîn, the king of the Muhammadans, and I have up to this time stormed and carried hundreds of fortresses. But it is impossible for me to carry Raṇathambhôr by force of arms.

My object in investing this fort is simply to get the fame of its capture. I hope now (as you have condescended to see me) I shall gain my object, and I may trust you for a little help in the fulfilment of my desire. I do not wish for any more kingdoms and forts for myself. When I take this fort, what better can I do than bestow it on a friend like you? My only happiness will be the fame of its capture." With blandishments such as these, Ratipâla was won over, and he gave 'Alâu'd-dîn to understand so. Thereupon 'Alâu'd-dîn, to make his game doubly sure, took Ratipâla into his *harem*, and there left him to eat and drink in private with his youngest sister.[19] This done, Ratipâla left the Muhammadan camp and came back into the fort.

Ratipâla was thus gained over by 'Alâu'd-dîn. Therefore, when he saw the king, he did not give him a true account of what he had seen in the Muhammadan camp, and of what 'Alâu'd-dîn had said to him. Instead of representing 'Alâu'd-dîn's power as fairly broken by the repeated and vigorous attacks of the Râjputs, and he himself as willing to retire upon a nominal surrender of the fort, he represented him as not only bent upon exacting the most humiliating marks of submission on the part of the king, but as having it in his power to make good his threats. 'Alâu'd-dîn confessed, said Ratipâla, that the Râjputs had succeeded in killing some of his soldiers; but that mattered little, for no one could look upon the centipede as lame for the loss of a foot or two. Under these circumstances he advised Hammîra to call upon Raṇamalla in person that night, and persuade him to do his best in repelling the assailants; for Raṇamalla, said the traitor Ratipâla, was an uncommon warrior, but that he did not, it appeared, use his utmost endeavours in chastising the enemy, as he was offended with the king for something or other. The king's visit, alleged Ratipâla, would make matters all right again.

After this interview with the king, Ratipâla hastened to see Raṇamalla, and there, as if to oblige and save from utter destruction an old comrade and associate, informed him that, for some unknown reason, the king's mind was greatly prejudiced against him, and he advised him to go over to the enemy on the first alarm; for he said Hammîra had resolved to make him a prisoner that very night. He also told him the hour at which he might expect to be visited by the king for this purpose. Having done this, Ratipâla quietly waited to see the issue of the mischief he had so industriously sown.

Vîrama, the brother of Hammîra, was with him when Ratipâla paid him the visit, and he expressed his belief to his brother that Ratipâla had not spoken the truth, but had been seduced from his allegiance by the enemy. He said he could smell liquor when Ratipâla was speaking, and a drunken man was not to be believed. Pride of birth, generosity, discernment, shame, loyalty, love of truth and cleanliness, were qualities, said Vîrama, that were not to be expected to be the possessions of those that drink. In order to stop the further progress of sedition among his people, he advised his brother to put Ratipâla to death. But the king objected to this proposal, saying that his fort was strong enough to resist the enemy under any circumstances; and if by any unforeseen accident, it should fall into the hands of the enemy after he had killed Ratipâla, people would moralize on the event, and attribute their fall to their wickedness in putting to death an innocent man.

In the mean time, Ratipâla caused a rumour to be spread in the king's Ranawâs that 'Alâu'd-dîn only asked for the hand of the king's daughter, and that he was ready to conclude a peace if his desires in this respect were granted, as he wanted nothing else. Hereupon the king's wives induced his daughter to go to her father and express her willingness to bestow her hand on 'Alâu'd-dîn. The girl went where her father was sitting, and implored him to give her to the Muhammadan, to save himself and his kingdom. She said she was as a piece of worthless glass, whilst her father's life and kingdom were like the *chintâmaṇi*, or the wish-granting philosopher's stone; and she solicited him to cast her away to retain them.

The king's feelings quite overcame him as the innocent girl, with clasped hands, thus

[19] At first sight this statement might seem to be a fancy of the author, intended to blacken the character of the victor. But we read that such things were quite possible in the tribe to which the conqueror belonged. A slipper at the door of his wife's room is a sign well understood by a husband in this tribe, at sight of which he immediately takes care to retire from the house. See Tod, vol. I. p. 56.

spoke to him. He told her she was a mere child, and was not to be blamed for what she had been taught to speak. But he knew not what punishment they deserved who had the imprudence to put such ideas into her innocent head. It did not, said he, become a Râjput to mutilate females; else he should have cut out the tongues of those that uttered such blasphemy in his fair daughter's ears. "Child," said Hammîra, "you are yet too young to understand these matters, and there is not much use in my explaining them to you. But to give you away to the unclean Muhammadan, to enjoy life, is to me as loathsome as prolonging existence by living on my own flesh. Such a connection would bring disgrace on the fair name of our house, would destroy all hopes of salvation, and embitter our last days in this world. I will rather die ten thousand deaths than live a life of such infamy." He ceased, and ordered his daughter, kindly but firmly, to her chamber.

The unsuspecting king then prepared to go, in the dusk of the evening, to Raṇamalla's quarters, in order to remove his doubts, as advised by Ratipâla. The king was but slightly attended. When, however, he approached Raṇamalla's quarters, the latter remembered what Ratipâla had said to him, and, thinking his imprisonment was inevitable if he stopped there any longer, precipitately left the fort with his party and went over to 'Alâu'd-dîn. Seeing this, Ratipâla also did the same.

The king, thus deceived and bewildered, came back to the palace, and sending for the Koṭhâri (the officer in charge of the royal granaries) inquired of him as to the state of the stores, and how long they would hold out. The Koṭhâri, fearing the loss of his influence, if he were to tell the truth to the king at that time, falsely answered that the stores would suffice to hold out for a considerable time. But scarcely had this officer turned his back when it became generally known that there was no more corn in the state granaries. Upon the news reaching the king's ears, he ordered Vîrama to put the false Koṭhâri to death, and to throw all the wealth he possessed into the lake of Padma Sâgar.

Harassed with the numerous trials of that day, the king in utter exhaustion threw himself on his bed. But his eyes were strangers to sleep that dreadful night. It was too much for him to bear the sight of those whom he had treated with more than a brother's affection, one by one, abjure themselves and leave him alone to his fate. When the morning came, he performed his devotions, and came and sat in the darbâr hall, sadly musing on the critical situation. He thought that, as his own Râjputs had left him, no faith could be placed in Mahimaśâhi, at once a Muhammadan and an alien. While in this mood, he sent for Mahimaśâhi and said to him that, as a true Râjput, it was his duty to die in the defence of his kingdom; but he was of opinion it was improper that people who were not of his race should also lose their lives for him in this struggle, and therefore now it was his wish that Mahimaśâhi should name to him some place of safety where he could retire with his family, and thither he would see him escorted safely.

Struck by the king's generosity, Mahimaśâhi, without giving any reply, went back to his house, and there put to the sword all the inmates of his zanâna, and returning to Hammîra said that his wife and children were ready to start off, but that the former insisted on once more looking upon the face of the king, to whose favour and kindness the family had owed so long their protection and happiness. The king acceded to this request, and, accompanied by his brother Vîrama, went to Mahimaśâhi's house. But what was his sorrow and surprise when he saw the slaughter in the house! The king embraced Mahimaśâhi and began to weep like a child. He blamed himself for having asked him to go away, and knew not how to repay such extraordinary devotion. Slowly, therefore, he came back to the palace, and, giving up everything for lost, told his people that they were free to act as they should think proper. As for himself, he was prepared to die charging the enemy. In preparation for this, the females of his family, headed by Raṅga Dêvî, perished on the funeral pile. When the king's daughter prepared to ascend the pile, her father was overcome with grief. He embraced her and refused to separate. She, however, extricated herself from the paternal embrace, and passed through the fiery ordeal. When there remained no-

ing but a heap of ashes, the sole remains of the fair and faithful Chohânîs, Hammîra performed the funeral ceremonies for the dead, and cooled their manes with a last ovation of the *tilânjalî*. He then, with the remains of his faithful army, sallied out of the fort and fell upon the enemy. A deadly hand-to-hand struggle ensued. Vîrama fell first in the thickest of the battle; then Mahimâśâhi was shot through the heart. Jâja, Gaṅgâdhar Tâk, and Kshetrasingh Paramâra followed them. Lastly fell the mighty Hammîra, pierced with a hundred shafts. Disdaining to fall with anything like life into the enemy's hands, he severed, with one last effort, his head from his body with his own hands, and so terminated his existence. Thus fell Hammîra, the last of the Chohâns! This sad event happened in the 18th year of his reign, in the month of Śrâvaṇa[30].

TWO EASTERN CHALUKYA COPPERPLATE GRANTS.

BY R. SEWELL, M.C.S., M.R.A.S.

The two plates of which I give the transcripts below were lately found in the vernacular record room of the Collector's office in Masulipatam. As system is everything in these matters, I have adopted Mr. Fleet's system of transliteration; and, in places where passages in his published grants and in these new ones are identical, I have adopted the very words of his translation,—believing that by so doing I am assisting best the work now being carried out. This will serve to show how very similar to one another are these Châlukya[1] grants.

Both the grants now published belong to the eastern coast of the peninsula near the Kṛishṇâ river, and date from the period when the Eastern branch of the Châlukya kings were ruling over the country they had conquered from the Śâlaṅkâyana sovereigns of Veṅgîdêśa.

Dr. Burnell, in the 1st edition of his *South-Indian Palæography*, had to be content with five inscriptions which gave the consecutive order and relationship of these kings and the lengths of their reigns,[2] but we have now more than double that number to go by, and there is reason to hope that dates and other particulars will soon be as accurately determined as those of the Kalyâṇa branch.

And although there is nothing important in these two plates, I think those interested in the subject will agree that the more the published inscriptions are multiplied the better.

No. I.

This inscription is, unfortunately, undated. It carries the list of kings from Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana, the first sovereign, down to Ammarâja II., and is almost identical in style and expression with the grant published by Mr. Fleet, Vol. VII. pp. 15ff. That grant is dated A. D. 945-6, Śaka 867, and is given by one Vijayâditya, whose relationship to Ammarâja II. is not noted. Now the present grant also is apparently given by this same Vijayâditya, and, as in Mr. Fleet's No. XXXIV., his relationship to Ammarâja II. is not mentioned, though kingly titles are awarded to him. This may, as suggested by Mr. Fleet, be Ammarâja's grandfather, Kollabigaṇḍa-Vijayâditya. It is also possible that he may be the Vijayâditya mentioned as the son of Ammarâja I., who was expelled from the throne when an infant by Târapa, and who was cousin to Ammarâja II., and probably about the same age as that sovereign. But I think it is more probably a title of Ammarâja himself (*vide* my remarks on inscription No. II.).

The grant consists of some fields and lands in the eastern delta of the Kṛishṇâ. It is interesting to notice that one of the boundaries mentioned is the "large road," showing that communications were cared for in that part of the country at that period. The boundaries are noted in Telugu, the words *chênu*, 'a field,' *êru*, 'a river,' *cheṟuvu*, 'a tank,' being mixed up with the Sanskrit *kshêtra*, &c. I shall be very glad to receive information on the meanings of the words *pannasa* and *paṭu*, which

[30] The *Târîkh-i 'Alâî* of Amîr Khusrû gives the date as 3rd Zî-l Ka'da A.H. 700 (July 1301 A.D.); the siege began in Rajab, four months previously.—Elliot and Dowson's *History*, vol. III. pp. 75, 179, 549.—Ed.

[1] I use the name so spelt as that in use in several plates, though it seems doubtful whether it ought not to be written with the short *a*,—Chalukya.

[2] Some, of course, more, some less, according to their respective dates.

I cannot interpret; *pâṭu* I could understand, but the word is clearly *paṭu*.

The original consists of three plates, each measuring 8″ long by 3½″ broad, the writing being on the insides of both the outer plates, and both sides of the inner one. The seal of the ring on which they are strung is 2¼″ in diameter. It bears the usual Châlukya devices,—the boar facing left, the sun above it, the moon over the animal's head, in front of the boar a *śaṅkha*, behind him an elephant-goad. Underneath the boar are the words *Śrî-Tribhuvanâṁkuśa*, but they are much worn away. At the base is some ornamental design, probably a lotus, but on this seal it is impossible to define it. It will thus be seen that the seal is one of those ordinarily in use among the Châlukya kings of this period.

Transcription.

I. (1) Svasti Śrîmatâṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstûyamâna-Mânavya-sagôtrâṇâṁ Hârîti-putrâ-

(2) nâṁ Kô(kan)śikî-vara-prasâda-labdha-râjyânâṁ mâtṛi-gaṇa-paripâlitânâṁ Svâmi-Mahâsêna-pâ-

(3) d-ânudhyâtânâṁ bhagavan-Nârâyaṇa-prasâda-samâsâdita-vara-varâha-lâñchhan-êksha[ṇa-ksha-]*

(4) ṇa-vaśîkṛit-ârâti-maṇḍalânâm=aśvamêdh-âvabhṛita-snâna-pavitrîkṛita-vapushâṁ [Cha-lu]kyâ-

(5) nâṁ kulam=alaṁkarishṇôḥ Satyâśraya-Vallabhêndrasya bhrâtâ Kubja-Vishṇuvard-dhanô=shṭâdaśa [varshâṇi]

(6) Veṁgî-dêśam=apâlayat | tad-âtmajô Jayasiṁhas=trayas-triṁśataṁ | tad-anuj-Êndra râja-nandanô Vi-

(7) shṇuvarddhanô nava | tat-sûnur=Mmaṅgi-yuvarâjaḥ paṁcha-viṁśatiṁ | tat-putrô Jayasiṁhas=trayô-

(8) daśa | tad-avarajaḥ Kokkiliḥ shaṇ=mâsân | tasya jyêshṭhô bhrâtâ Vishṇuvardhanas=tam=uchchâtya sapta-triṁ[śataṁ]

II. *a.* (9) tat-putrô Vijayâditya-bhaṭṭârakô=shṭâdaśa | tat-sutô Vishṇuvarddhanash=shaṭ-triṁśataṁ | tat-sutô

(10) Vijayâditya-narêndra-mṛigarâjaś=ch=âshṭâ-chatvâriṁśataṁ | tat-sutaḥ Kali-Vishṇu-varddhanô=dhy-a-

(11) rddha-varshaṁ | tat-putrô Guṇagâṁka-Vijayâdityaś=chatuś-chatvâriṁśataṁ | tad-bhrâtu-

(12) [r*] Vvikramâditya-bhûpatês=sûnuś=Châlukya-[Bhî]ma-bhûpâlas=triṁśataṁ | tat-sutaḥ

(13) Kollabigaṇḍa-Vijayâdityash=shaṇ=mâsân | tat-sûnur=Ammarâ[ja]s=sapta-varshâṇi | tat-su-

(14) taṁ Vijayâdityaṁ bâlam=uchchâṭya lîlayâ Tâl-âdhipatir=âkramya mâsam=êkam=apâ-

(15) d=bhuvaṁ | taṁ jitvâ Châlukya-Bhîma-tanayô Vikramâditya êkâdaśa mâsân | tatas=Tâl-âdhipa[ti]-

(16) sûnu[r*] Yyuddhamalla(llaḥ) sapta varshâṇi | Nirjjity=Ârjuna-sannibhô janapadât=ta-n=nirggamayy=ôddhatân=dâyâ-

II. *b.* (17) dân=ina-bhânu-lîna-bhagaṇ-âkârân=vidhây=êtarân=Vajr=îv=ôrjjita-nâkam=Amma-nṛipa-têr=bhrâtâ kanîyân=bhu-

(18) vaṁ Bhîmô Bhîma-parâkramas=samabhunak=saṁvatsarân=dvâdaśa | tasya Mahêśvara-mûrttêr=Umâ-samân-âkṛitêḥ

(19) Kumâr-âbhaḥ Lôkamahâdêvyâḥ khalu yas=samabhavad=Amma-râj-âkhyaḥ | Kavi-gâyaka-kalpataru[r*] ddvija-muni-

(20) dîn-ândha-bandhujana-surabhiḥ | yâchaka-jana-chintâmaṇir=avanîśa-maṇir-mmahôgra-mahasâ dyumaṇiḥ [||*]

(21) Sa samastabhuvana(â)śraya-Śrî-Vijayâditya-mahârâjô râjâdhirâja-parama(mê)śvaraḥ parama-bha-

* The letters within [ ] are illegible in the plates.

(22) ṭṭârakaḥ Gudrâvâra-vishaya-nivâsinô râshṭrakûṭa-pramukhân=kuṭumbinas=sarvvân= ittham=âjnâpayati | Asya(?)

(23) tasyâḥ paṭṭa-varddhinyâḥ Pammav-âkhyâyâḥ sutâya Yuvarâja-Ballaladêva-Vêlâbhaṭâya

(24) Bôddiya-nâmnê Pâṁ(? dâṁ)barru-nâma-grâmasya dakshiṇasyân=diśi nêmê=kshê(?)trapû[. . . . .][4]

III. (25) kshêtraṁ Amma-râjô râja-Mahêndrô dattavân [||*] Asya kshê[tra*]-dvayasy=âvadhayaḥ pûrvvataḥ [. . . . .][5]

(26) cheruvu | Dakshiṇataḥ Raṭṭêdi-chênu | paśchimataḥ Sugumma-[6]chênu-garusu | Uttarataḥ Vêlpûr-jênu[7]-

(27) turpûna-pannasa[8] | Pûrvvataḥ Dâmadiya-pannasa | Dakshiṇataḥ Pedda-trôva | Paśchimataḥ yê-

(28) ru | Uttarataḥ Ganṭhaśâlaya[. . . . . [9]]yyari-pannasa | griha-kshêtraṁ cha | Pûrvvataḥ Badirâ-

(29) la-majjaya-paṭu | Dakshiṇataḥ Têṇ[. . . . . . [10]]ṭama paṭu | Paśchimataḥ Jiṁvarakshapaṭu |

(30) Uttarataḥ rachcha[11] | Asy=ôpari na kênachid=bâdhâ karttavyâ yaḥ karôti saḥ paṁcha-mahâpâtaka-yu-

(31) ktô bhavati | tathâ ch=ôktaṁ Vyâsêna | Bahubhir=vvasudhâ dattâ bahubhiś=ch=ânupalitâ yasya ya-

(32) sya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ pa(pha)laṁ |

Translation.

Hail! Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana,—brother of Satyâśraya-Vallabhêndra, who adorned the family of the Chalukyas; the glorious; of the lineage of Mânavya, praised by all the world; descendants of Hârîti; they who acquired sovereignty through the holy favour of Kauśikî; cherished by the assembly of Mothers; meditating on the feet of Svâmi-Mahâsêna; who have the territories of their enemies made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the excellent sign of the Boar which they acquired through the favour of the holy Nârâyaṇa; whose bodies are purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices;—he (Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana) ruled over the country of Veṅgî for eighteen years.

His son, Jayasiṁha, for 33 (*years*).

His younger brother Indrarâja's son, Vishṇuvardhana, 9.

His son, the *Yuvarâja* Maṅgi, 25.

His son, Jayasiṁha, 13.

His younger brother, Kokkili, 6 months.

His elder brother, Vishṇuvardhana, having expelled him, 37.

His son, Vijayâditya-Bhaṭṭâraka, 18.

His son, Vishṇuvardhana, 36.

His son, Vijayâditya-Narêndramṛigarâja, 48.

His son, Kali-Vishṇuvardhana, 1½ years.

His son, Guṇagâṅka-Vijayâditya, 44.

His brother, the lord Vikramâditya's son, king Châlukya-Bhîma, 30.

His son, Kollabigaṇḍa-Vijayâditya, 6 months.

His son, Ammarâja, 7 years.

Having expelled his son Vijayâditya (*while*) an infant, (*and*) having easily usurped (*the throne*), the sovereign lord Tâla ruled the earth for one month.

Having conquered him, Châlukya-Bhîma's son, Vikramâditya, 11 months.

Then the sovereign lord Tâla's son, Yuddhamalla, 7 years.

[4] Several letters undecipherable.

[5] Plate injured. Two or three letters illegible.

[6] The plate is here injured, and the syllable *gu* is doubtful.

[7] *jênu* probably written for *chênu*, 'a field.'

[8] I shall be glad of a translation for this word. The letter *pa* may be *sa*, but where the word occurs again it is clearly *pa*.

[9] Two or three letters defaced. It looks like *yappanḍy-yari*.

[10] Two or three letters defaced.

[11] The *Ratsa* is the general village meeting-place and *kachêri*.

Having conquered him and having driven him out from the country, and having made the other claimants to assume the appearance of stars absorbed in the rays of the sun, the younger brother of king A m m a, (*viz.*) B h î m a, who was like A r j u n a and who was possessed of terrible prowess, ruled the earth for 12 years, just as the Wielder of the thunderbolts (*rules*) the mighty (*expanse of the*) sky.

To him, who was like M a h ê ś v a r a, from L ô k a m a h â d ê v î, who was like U m â, there was born king A m m a, who was like K u m â r a. He was a very tree of plenty to poets and minstrels; he was a very cow of plenty to the twice-born and holy men and the poor and blind and his relations; he was a very philosopher's stone to those who begged of him; he was a very jewel of a king; and a very sun by reason of his fierce brilliance.

He, Ś r î-V i j a y â d i t y a, the asylum of the universe, the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the most venerable, thus addresses all the householders, headed by the chiefs of countries, who inhabit the district of G u d r â v â r a[12]:—

"King A m m a, the great lord, gave the field of . . . . which adjoins the south side of the village named P â m b a r ṛ u[13], to one named Y u v a r â j a-B a l l a l a-d ê v a-V ê l â b h a ṭ a-B o d d i y a[14], the son of (*the lady*) P a m m a v â who is improving this town (?). The boundaries of these two fields are;—East, ... Tank; South, the field (*called*) R a ṭ ṭ ê d i; West, the . . . .[15] of the field called S u g u m m a; North, the eastern[16] . . . .[17] of the field of V ê l p û r.[18] (*Also*), East . . . .[19]; South, the great road; West, the river; North, the . . . .[20] of G a ṇ ṭ h a ś â l a.[21] And the field with the house, (*whose boundaries are*);—East, the . . . . [22] of B a d i r â l a[23]; South, the . . . .[24]; West, the . . . .[25]; North, the village place of assembly.

"No molestation is to be offered to this. He who offers it becomes guilty of the five great sins. And so it has been said by V y â s a,—'Land has been given by many, and has been preserved by many; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the benefit of it.'"

No. II.

This, also, is, unfortunately, undated; but a comparison between it and Mr. Fleet's No. XXXIV. shows that it must have been inscribed a few years earlier than the latter. It carries the genealogy down to A m m a r â j a I., and then narrates that Ś r î-V i s h ṇ u v a r-d h a n a gave certain land in grant. But the context, very similar to Mr. Fleet's, seems to show that Ś r î-V i s h ṇ u v a r d h a n a is intended to be an epithet or title of the sovereign A m m a, just as, in Mr. Fleet's, A m m a II. is called (?) "Ś r î-V i j â y a d i t y a." At any rate, there is no V i s h ṇ u v a r d h a n a known from the lists already published belonging to this family within 75 years of this king A m m a's reign, which began in Śaka 867.

It will be noticed that the donor of this, whoever he may have been, was in the same district when he gave this grant that the donor of Mr. Fleet's grant No. XXXIV. was in, P e n n â t a v â ḍ i, wherever that may have been. The grant is of the village of D r u j j û r, the boundaries of which are declared to be the lands of the villages of—E., T â ṛ u g u m m i; S., G o ṭ ṭ i b r ô l u; W., M a l k a b ô r a m u; and N., A d u p u. I think that this granted village is that now known as Dzuzzûr, a village lying north of the Kṛishṇâ, about nine miles from the river, and nineteen north-west of Bêzwâḍâ. But, if so, the writer of the grant has made the mistake of putting west for east, and east for west. West of Drujjûr is the village of Taḍigummi; east of it, on the east side of a range of forest-covered hills, which would have thus been included in the grant[26], is the village of Malkâpuram. On the south is a

[12] This name is unknown to me, but there is a village called Rudravaram in the eastern delta of the Kṛishṇâ.

[13] Modern name Pâmarru.

[14] *Vêlâbhaṭâya?*

[15] *garuvu?*

[16] *turpûna.* Telugu, *tûrpu*, 'east.'

[17] *pannasa?*

[18] Vêlpûr, a village close to Pâmarru, Kṛishṇâ eastern delta.

[19] *Dâmadiya-pannasa?*

[20] *Ya (?-?)yyari pannasa?*

[21] Ganṭhasâla is also a village in the Kṛishṇâ eastern delta. It possesses a Buddhist *stûpa* in fair preservation by all reports, but as yet unexplored.

[22] *mrj.aya-paṭu?*

[23] Badirâla. This village I have found no trace of.

[24] *tên (-?-?-?) ṭama paṭu?*

[25] *jihvaraksha-paṭu?*

[26] On these hills in subsequent years was erected a handsome palace and fort, built for defence and safety by the Reḍḍi (? Raṭṭa) chiefs, and subsequently seized by the Musalmâns. The fort and village go by the name of Koṇḍapalli, and the hills are now called the Koṇḍapalli Hills. The ruins are very picturesque.

village now called Goṭṭimukkula, which may be the G o ṭ ṭ i b r ô l u of the inscription. *Brôlu* is a common termination of villages in the eastern delta of the Krishṇâ. A d u p u I cannot identify.

With regard to the subscription, common both to Mr. Fleet's and this grant, "*âjñâptiḥ Kaṭaka-râjaḥ*", see Mr. Fleet's note to *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII., p. 19.

The original of this grant consists of three plates, each measuring 8¾″ long by 4½″ broad, the writing being on the insides of both outer plates, and both sides of the inner one. The seal of the ring on which they are strung is 3½″ in diameter. It bears for device the C h â l u k y a Boar, above which is the elephant-goad, and above that the crescent-moon. Under the Boar are the words "*Śrî-Tribhuvanâṁkuśa.*" The ring on which the plates are strung is 5¾″ in diameter.

It will be noticed that this grant gives forty years to V i j a y â d i t y a-B h a ṭ ṭ â r a k a.

Transcription.

I. (1) Śivam=astu sarvva-ja[ga*]taḥ[||*]Svasti Śrîmatâm sakala-bhuvana-saṁstûyamâna-Mâ-
(2) navya-sagôtrâṇâṁ Hârîti-putrâṇâṁ Kô(kau)śikhî(kî)-vara-prasâda-labdha-râjyânâṁ-(ṇâṁ) Mâ-
(3) tṛi-gaṇa-paripâlitânâṁ Svâmi-Mahâsêna-pâd-ânudhyâtânâṁ bhagavan-Nârâ-
(4) yaṇa-prasâda-samâsâdita-vara-varâha-lâṁchhan-êkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśikṛi-
(5) t-ârâti-maṇḍalânâm=aśvamêdh-âvabhṛitha-snâna-pavitrîkṛita-vapushâṁ
(6) Chalukyânâṁ kulam=alaṁkarishṇôḥ Satyâśraya-Vallabhasya-bhrâtâ Kubja-Vishṇuvarddhanô=
(7) shṭâdaśa-varshâṇi | tat-putrô Jayasiṁha-Vallabhô(bha)=strayas-triṁśad=varshâṇi | tad-bhrâtu-
(8) r=Indra-râjasya sutaḥ Vishṇu-râjô nava | tat-putrô Maṁggi-yuva-râjaḥ paṁchcha(cha)-viṁśatiṁ
(9) tat-putrô Jayasiṁhaḥ trayôdaśa | tad-[d*]vaimâtur-ânujaḥ Kokkiliḥ shaṇ=mâsân

II.*a.* (10) tasya jyêshṭhô bhrâtâ tam=uchchâṭya Vishṇuvarddhanas=sapta-triṁśatam | tat-putrô Vijayâ-
(11) ditya-bhaṭṭârakaḥ ashṭâdaśa | tat-sutô Vishṇuvarddhanaḥ shaṭ-triṁśatam | tat-sûnur=ashṭôtta-
(12) ra-narêndr-êśvar-âyatanânâṁ karttâ | Vijâyadityaś=chatvâriṁśatam | tad-âtmajaḥ Kali-
(13) Vishṇuvarddhanô=shṭâdaśa mâsân | tat-putrô Vijayâditya-mahârâjaś=cha-tad-
(14) tuś-chatvâriṁśatam | anuja-yuvarâjâd=Vikramâditya-nâmnaḥ
(15) prabhur=abhavad=arâti-vrâta-tûl-ânil-ô(au)ghaḥ . nirupama-nṛipa-Bhî-
(16) mas=triṁśataṁ vatsarânâṁ nni(ni)ja-guṇa-gaṇa-kîrtti-vyâpta-dik-chakravâlaḥ[||*] Tat-sûnu-
(17) [r*] Vvijayâdityaḥ shaṇ=mâsân=Veṅggi-maṇḍalaṁ Trikaliṅgg-âṭavi-yuktaṁ paripâlya [[27]di-]
(18) vaṁ yayâ(yau) | Ajâyata sutas=tasya bhû-bhâr-ôdvahana-kshama Amma-râ-

II.*b.* (19) ja-mahîpâlaḥ pâlit-âśêsha-bhûtalaḥ [||*] Yasya pâd-âṁbuja-chchâyâm=â-
(20) śritaṁ râja-maṇḍalaṁ daṇḍit-ârâti-kôdaṇḍaṁ maṇḍitaṁ maṇḍala-trayê - kund-êndu-dha |
(21) valaṁ yasya | yaśô raṁjita-bhûtalaṁ | gâyanti galit-ârâtê[r*] ||[28]. vvidyâdharyyô=
(22) pi viṇayâ || Sa sarvvalôkâśraya-Śrî-Vishṇuvarddhana-mahârâjaḥ Peṅnâta-
(23) vâḍi-vishaya-nivâsinô râshṭrakûṭa-pramukhân kuṭiṁ(ṭuṁ)binas=sarvvân=âhû-
(24) y=êttham=âjñâpayati ||. Viditam=astu vaḥ [|*] Châlukya-Bhîma-bhûpâla-dhâ-
(25) ttrî(trî) dhâtr=îva ch=âparâ kshamayâ Kshatriya-prâyâ Nâgipoṭir=iti śrutâ || Â

[27] *divaṁ*. Space is left at the end of line 8 for the *di*, but it is omitted. [28] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

(26) sît=tasyâs=sutâ Gâmakâmbâ nâm=Âmbika-samâ | mâtu[ḥ*] stanyaṁ samîkṛitya Bhî-

(27) ma-râjêna yâ papau || S=âjîj anat=kumâraṁ śakti yuktaṁ Kumâra-vt || Bhîma-râja-

III. (28) sya sênânyaṁ | Mahâkâlam=mahâ-matiṁ || Yaś=ch=ânekaśaḥ anyôny-a(â)stra-samâyô-

(29) ga-saṁjâtagô[29] mahâhavê svâminô=grasarô dhîrô ripu-sainyam=anînê(na)śat ||

(30) Kiṁchcha(cha) rûpêṇa Manasijaḥ kôpêna Yamaḥ śauryyêṇa Dhanaṁjayaḥ sâhasai [ḥ*]

(31) Śûdrakaḥ || Tasmai Drujjûru-ṇâma-grâmô=smâbhis=sarvva-kara-parihâ-

(32) rêṇa mânyîkṛitya dattaḥ [||*] Asy=âvadhayaḥ Pûrvvataḥ-Târugummi-sî-

(33) m=aiva sîmâ | Dakshiṇataḥ Goṭṭibrôlu-sîm=aiva sîmâ | Paśchimataḥ Malkabôramu-sîm=aiva

(34) sîmâ Uttarataḥ Adupu-sîm=aiva sîmâ [||*] Asy=ôpari bâdhâ na karttavyâ tathâ cha Vyâsên=ôktaṁ | Bahubhir=vvasu-

(35) dhâ dattâ bahubhiś=ch=ânupâlitâ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ pa(pha)laṁ | Svadattâm=paradattâṁ

(36) vâ yô harêtu(t=tu) vasundharâṁ shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi vishṭâyâṁ jâyatê kṛimiḥ Âjṇâpti(ptiḥ) Kaṭaka-râjaḥ ||

Translation.

(*May there be*) prosperity of the whole world! Hail! Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana,—the brother of Satyâśraya-Vallabha, who adorned the family of the Chalukyas, who are glorious; who are of the lineage of Mânavya, which is praised over the whole world; who are the descendants of Hârîti; who have acquired sovereignty through the excellent favour of Kauśikî; who have been cherished by the assemblage of (*divine*) Mothers; who meditate on the feet of Svâmi-Mahâsêna; who have the territories of their enemies made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the excellent sign of the Boar, which they acquired through the favour of the holy Nârâyaṇa; and whose bodies are purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices,—(*ruled over the country of Veṅgî*) for eighteen years.

His son, Jayasiṁha-Vallabha, thirty-three years.

His brother king Indra's son, king Vishṇu, nine.

His son, Maṅgi, the *Yuvarâja*, twenty-five.

His son, Jayasiṁha, thirteen.

His younger half-brother, Kokkili, six months.

Having expelled him. his elder brother, Vishṇuvardhana, thirty-seven.

His son, Vijayâditya-Bhaṭṭâraka, eighteen.

His son, Vishṇuvardhana, thirty-six.

His son, Vijayâditya, who became the chief of eight royal dynasties, forty.

His son, Kali-Vishṇuvardhana, eighteen months.

His son, Vijayâditya, the great king, forty-four years.

His brother the *Yuvarâja* Vikramâditya's son, the unparalleled Bhîma, who became king, being as wind to the cotton of the crowd of (*his*) enemies, thirty. His general good qualities and fame extended on all sides.

His son, Vijayâditya, having ruled over Veṅgi and Trikaliṅga for six months, died.

To him was born a son, king Amma; able to take upon himself the burden of the earth; protector of the world; governor of the entire globe; the shade of whose lotus-feet is courted by a crowd of kings; whose enemies have disappeared; whose fame heavenly songstresses sing to the lute, because he broke the arrows of his enemies. It (*his fame*) is glorified in the three worlds, and is white like the jessamine-flower or the moon, while it causes him to be beloved in the world.

He, the refuge of the whole world, Śrî-Vishṇuvardhana, having called together the householders, headed by the chiefs of countries, who inhabit the district of Peṇṇâtavâḍi, thus issues his commands ;—

"Be it known to you! The wet-nurse of

[29] For *saṁjâtaśrô*?

the king Châlukya-Bhîma was Nâgipoṭi,[30] who was, as it were, a second earth (*in respect of her power of giving nourishment*), and who was almost like a Kshatriya woman in respect of her endurance. Her daughter, equal to Ambikâ (*in affection*), was Gâmakâmbâ, who drank her mother's milk at the same time with king Bhîma.[31] She bore a son, like Kumâra for power, who was king Bhîma's general, Mahâkâla, a man of great wisdom. He used to go in front of his master in the great war, brave, the destroyer of the armies of the enemy, bloody by reason of the striking of hostile arrows. Moreover he was in beauty Love, in wrath Yama, in valour Arjuna, in courage Śûdraka. To him, as a rent-free grant, is given by us the village of Drujjûru,[32] free of all taxes. The boundaries of it are:—

East, the boundary of Târugummi[33];
South, the boundary of Goṭṭibrôlu[34];
West, the boundary of Malkabôramu[35];
North, the boundary of Adupu.[36]

No molestation is to be offered to this. And it has been said by Vyâsa:—'Land has been given by many, and has been preserved by many; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the benefit of it! He is born for sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure, who appropriates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another!'

"The specification is Kaṭakarâja."[37]

It remains to notice these grants from a palæographic point of view. A comparison between the two becomes interesting from the fact that though No. 1 was granted at least twenty-five or thirty years subsequently to No. 2, the general forms of the letters of the former are more upright, stiffer, and, it would be thought, more archaic, than those of the latter. This may of course be due to rough and faulty execution, but the fact remains that the characters of the earlier grant are far more cursive than those of the later.

In No. I. the blunt heads of the letters—which afterwards, becoming in a sense disunited from the characters themselves, gave rise to the notion that they represented the short vowel *a*—are more decided and developed than in No. II.

In No. II., the earlier, the *anusvâra* is placed, as in Sanskṛit, above the line. In No. I., the later, it appears in the place it occupies in more modern Telugu, on the level of the top of the letters and between them. There is a form of the *anusvâra* which is worth noticing, seen principally in No. II., where, when it occurs at the close of a sentence, it seems to have been considered more of the nature of an ordinary consonant requiring a *virâma* to mark the absence of any following vowel, as in No. II. ii. (*a*), 1, the last character of the word *triṁśatam*. In another plate noted by Dr. Burnell of the same dynasty, but date cir. 680 A.D., the same peculiarity is observable.[38]

In modern Telugu, the vowel sound *ô* is sometimes expressed by a combination of the forms of *ê* and *â*, sometimes by a form of its own. In No. II. of the present inscriptions the single form is never used, the *ô* being always represented by the *ê* and *â* marks. In No. I. both forms are used. It may be assumed that the period of these inscriptions was the period when the modern *ô* forms were coming into fashion in the Telugu country.

The *â* form in No. II. is often remarkable from its extreme freedom and dash, contrasting strongly with the primitive stiffness of No. I. No. II., however, employs also the stiff form in places. In No. I. the *â* form is never cursive. There is another form of *â* found in No. II., mostly towards the end of the inscription, consisting of an upright stroke above the consonant to which it is attached. It may be that space had to be economized. I do not find the form in Burnell's plates, nor do I remember having seen it in other published inscriptions.

I observe that the vowel form for *ṛi* in No. I., and in all instances except one in No. II., is written with a curve to the left, which appears to have been in all centuries the most usual form (see Burnell's plates). But in Burnell's

[30] Conf. the names of Vinâpôṭi and Kuchipôṭi, given by Mr. Fleet, *ante*, p. 45*a*.
[31] *i. e.*, "who was the foster-sister of king Bhîma."
[32] Now Dzuzzûr.
[33] This village, under the same name, lies to the west of Dzuzzûr.
[34] Now called Gôṭṭimukkula.
[35] Malkâpuram lies to the east of Dzuzzûr.
[36] Not now in existence. *Adivi* in Telugu is 'jungle.'
[37] This is probably of the same purport as the statement regarding the *dûtaka* in the Chalukya grant of Vijayarâja (Vol. VII., p. 241) and in Dr. Bühler's Chalukya grants.—J. F. F.
[38] See note to plate 4, Burnell's *Elements of S. Ind. Palæography*, date circa 680 A.D.

plate No. III. of Western Chalukya characters dated A. D. 608,[38] one instance is given of the *ri* attached to a *k* being written with a sweep to the right; and in No. II. of the present inscriptions there is one instance also combined with a *k* (in II. i. 4).

NOTES ON THE DRÂVIḌIAN OR SOUTH INDIAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES.

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(*Continued from Vol. V. p. 361.*)

No. IV.

I have made a selection of words I have met with in reading Drâviḍian authors, which have a resemblance to known Indo-Germanic stems. I dare say the identity is accidental in many cases; in others there seem to be traces of a law. In some words the similarity is not great; but let anyone compare the lists, in Klaproth's *Sprach-atlas*, of North-Asian dialects, and he will perceive no resemblance whatever between those words and any Drâviḍian forms, while here each word seems an echo of some Âryan form.

1. tâḷ [*Ta. Teḷ. Kan. Mal.*], *endure; bear; a foot, stalk; bolt.*—thôl, [*A.S.*] duld-en, thowel, thowl (of a boat). *L.* tul-i, *Gr.* τλη.

2. pôr; 1, *put on, wear; 2, join battle;* as a noun, *battle.*—[*A.S.*] wêr-ian—1, *wear;* 2, *defend; war.*

3. kaḷ, kaḷi, *joy, enjoyment, stimulus.*—gle, 'glee,' [*A.S.*] gil-ian, *rejoice;* gallant; *S.* hlâd, *glad.*

4. vil[1], *a bow.*—bill, *any instrument.*

5. tuy-ar, tuy-ar-am, *sorrow.*—tre, trega [*A.S.*], *L.* trist-is, *G.* trau-er, *S.* dur.

6. veṇ, veḷ, *white.*—*A.S.* wonn, 'pale;' *Gaelic* and *Erse, ban.*

7. vêl, vêṇḍ, *Kan.* bê, *want.*—*A.S.* won = *desire;* 'want.'

8. viṛ, hir, hil, *fall, fell.*[2]—*A.S.* feall-an, fail. *L.* fallere. *L.* fer-ire.

9. paṇ, *make, do.*—*A.S.* fond-en, *do.*

10. tî, tî-mai, *evil.*—*A.S.* teona, *evil.*

11. vin-u, *ask;* vin-ai, *question;* vin-appam, *petition.*—*A.S.* bene, *prayer.*

12. mîḍ, mîḷ, *ransom, return.*—*A.S.* bote, *ransom.*

13. oṛi, *cease, rest;* urra, *sleep.*—*A.S.* row, 'rest.'

14. eikilu [*Anc. Kan.*].—'ice,' 'icicle.'

15. kâ, kâr, *guard.*—*A.S.* waerd-ian.

16. uṛ, *plough.*—*A.S.* eri-an, *L.* ar-are, *Gr.* ἀpo-τραw.

17. kurri-chi, *hill-village.*—craig, crag. *Gadhelic*, carraig.

18. komb-u, *anything rounded;* komb-ê, *a valley running up into the hills.*—combe, *a valley.*

19. bêne [*Kan.*], *pain.*—pîn, pain. *L. pœn-a.*

20. bêḍ [comp. *7*], *pray, want.*—bid-dan.

21. vêr, bêr, *K.* her, *other, various.*—*L.* vari-us, 'various.'

22. puṛuthi, *mire.*—*Gael.* plod, plodach, *puddle.*

23. vatha, *fade, wither.*—fade, *Dutch* vadd-en.

24. onor-u (*Tel.*), *elegance.*—*L.* honor, orno.

25. olupu (*Tel.*), *peel;* oḷi (Tam., &c.), *hide, cover.*—hull, 'peel'—from *Goth.* hul-ian, 'cover.'

26. ollu (*Tel.*), *will.*—*L. vol*-o, will.

27. remma (*Tel.*), *a sprig.*—*L.* ram-us.

28. rêpu (*Tel.*), *a bank.*—*L.* ripa.

29. maga, *child;* magan, *son;* magaḷ, maχ (*Tud.*), *daughter.*—*A.S.* maga, *son.*

30. tâk-, *impinge upon.*—attack. [*O.N.* tak.]

31. tari, *put on.*—*O.E.* tîr; attire.

32. pâḍi, *bar.*—bar, barrier.

33. marri, *a foal.*—*O.H.G.* marah, *horse.*

34. kuḷir, *cold.*—*L.* gelid-, geḷ-u, cold.

35. têri, *a sand-plain.*—W. tra-eth.

36. teḷ, têr, *clear.*—*A.S.* têr.

37. verri, *rabies.*—*L.* furo, *Gr.* θύω-.

38. kiṛa—1, *old;* 2, *peculiar to.*—*Gr.* γεp-, 'age;' γηp-, 'reward.'

39. kiḍ, *lie.*—*Ind. Ger.* √*ki, S. si.*

40. heṭṭu (*Kan.*), *hit.*—hit.

41. hecche (*Kan.*), pacchai (*Tam.*), *badge.*—badge.

42. hejje (*Kan.*), *trace.*—vestigium.

43. heṇa (*Kan.*), piṇa (*Tam.*), *corpse.*—*L.* fun-us.

44. eṛ-u, êrru, *rise.*—*L. or*-ior, *ord*-ior. *Gr.* ὀιp-, ὀιp-, el- in *el*ementum. *Ger. ur.*

K. hêr, êl.—*Gr.* √ γpε-.

45. tarei, *earth.*—*L.* terra.

46. talam, *ground.*—*L.* tell-us, *S.* stal.

47. tuvai, *soak, steep.*—dip, steep.

48. kaṛuttu, *neck.*—*S.* grîva.

gaḷa, *throat.*—*G.* hals.

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[38] It is particularly noticeable that Burnell's Plate No. III. is taken from an inscription which Mr. Fleet has since declared to be a forgery of the 9th or 10th century, and that both the present plates belong to the 10th century.

[1] √*Vaḷ* in all Drâv. languages has the idea of *bending.*

[2] 'Cerebrals' are interchangeable in Drâv. dialects.

49. naḍ, *middle.*—*L.* med-; *S.* madhya, *A.S.* midd, *Gr.* με(δ)ς.
50. pêsu, *speak.* *S.* bhâsh.
51. tir-i, *wander.*—*S.* √ *tar*, √ *tark.*
-umbu, *return.*
-uppu, } *twist.*
-ugu, }
52. mayir, *hair;* mîśai, *moustache.*—*S.* smaśru.
53. gaḷi (*Kan.*) *gale.*—gale.
54. mûti (*Tel.*), mûnji (*Tam.* vulgar), *face, mouth.*—mouth, *A.S.* muth, *Goth.* munth.
55. chekku (*Tel.*), *cheek.*—cheek.
56. kol, *kill.*—kill.
57. aḷam, *salt.*—*Gr.* ἅλς, *L.* sal.
58. perru—1, *obtain;* 2, *bring forth;* porru, *bear, endure;* pêrru, *K.* her, *what is gained, borne.*—b e a r, *L.* f e r-, *Gr.* φερ,-*S.* √ b h a r, b a i r n.
59. în-u, *yean.*—yean.
60. vathuvai, *a wedding.*—*A.S.* wed, *pledge;* weddian, *marry.*
61. payan, *boy.*—*Gr.* παις, *L.* pus-us, pusio, pusillus.
paśukkaḷ, *children.*
62. palagai, *plank.*—*Gr.* πλακ-, *Fr.* planche. Comp. bole.
63. vethir, *fear.*—fear.
64. tag, tak, *fit, right.*—*Gr.* δικ-.
65. viḍ, *leave.*—*L.* vit-o, *avoid.*
66. vîḍ-u, *house.*—*L.* æd-es, Cornish, bod, *A.S.* bîd-an.—*bide, abide.*
67. ney, *weave.*—*Gr.* νευθ-, *S.* n a h.
68. nak, *lick.*—*Gr.* λεγχ-, *S.* lih.
nâkku, *tongue.*—*L.* lingua.
69. vilai, *price.*—*val*-ue.
70. viḷa, *shine, appear.*—*L.* fulg-, *Gr.* φλεγ-.
-ngu } *lamp.*
-kku }
71. viṛâ, *a fair or festival.*—feri-æ.
72. pai, *bag.*—bag.
vayirru, *stomach.*—balg-.
73. paḍi, *foot, bottom.*—foot, bott-om.
74. dwani (*Kan.*), toni (*Tam.*), *sound.*—tone.
75. ir, *Tuḍa* ersh, *be.*—are, er-am, *S.* √a s.
76. iḍu, *give.*—*S.* dâ, *L.* do.
77. ir, ranḍ, *two.*—*L.* re-, red-.
78. ammân, *mother's brother.*—eame, oheim.
79. kaṛu, *vulture;* kaṛu-gu, *eagle.*—*D.* geir, *S.* garuḍa.
80. kanai, *neigh.*—neigh.
81. kanru, *calf.*—*Manx,* ganin, gounagh.
82. kûr, *point.*—*L.* acer, *Manx* gearr.
83. śuṛalu, √ śu, *curl.*—curl.
84. nagar, *Ta. Tel.* creep.—*Dan.* sniger, *Sax.* snic-an, *E.* sneak, *Co.* snake, *S.* nâga.

[3] See I. Taylor's *Words and Places*, p. 144.

85. nîn-ḍu, *swim.*—*S.* snâ, *L.* no, nâto, *Gr.* νε-νιπ-, νιβ- (Bopp, I. p. 136).
86. pâl (*Ta. K. Tel. Tuḍ.* = pa-g-al), *Kan.* hâl-u,—1, *a portion;* 2, *milk.*—*S.* bhâj = divide, *bhága,* a division.—*S.* pâ, drink.
Tel. pâlu-, *turn pale.*—pale, *L.* pallidus.
87. piṛ-ai—1, *live;* 2, *fault;* 3, *escape.*—*Gr.* βι-ος *L;* vit-a, vito.
88. maru, *marriage.*—marry.
89. vangu, *bend.*—*S.* vaka, *S.* bug, E. bow, *W.* bag-u.
90. varai, *limit.*—ὅρος, ὅρος, sors.
91. viḷi (*Co.* aṛai), *hail, call.*—hail, *L.* ap-pell-o.
92. vê, *roast, bake.*—bake.
93. purul, *roll on, as a volume of water.*—purl.
94. kaḍir, ray.—*Gael.* gath.
95. eṛuḍu, *Tel.* vra, *Tam.* vari, *write.*—*Sax.* writ a n.
96. el, *all.*—all.
97. û-ḍ-u, *blow.*—*S.* vâ, vâti, vâta, vâyu.
98. aṛu, alarru, *weep.*—comp. *S.* aśra = tear.
99. âr, *river.*—ar in *L.* arar.[3]
100 senni, *head*—*Gadhelic,* kenn.
101. ûrra, *spring forth*—ura, 'water.'[4]
ûttu, *fountain.*
102. malai, *mountain.*—*Welsh* moel, *Gadh.* maol.
mulai, *breast.*—mull.
103. kulam, *tribe.*—clan.
104. taggu (Comp. 30), *declivity.*—dyke, ditch.
105. tagul (*Kan.*), *touch.*—*L.* tang-o.
106. tanaka, *until.*—*L.* donec, donicum. [tanai, *L.* dum.]
107. karai (*Ta.*). Comp. *aṛai, aṛu, Tel. aruchu, Kan. kare,* aḷu—*call.*—*Gr.* √γαρ-, garrire. γῆρυς. cry.
108. manai, *house.*—man-eo, *Gr.* √ μεν, mansion.

The list could be extended almost indefinitely. By tracing these roots through the cognate dialects the resemblance—or identity—will appear more striking; but the limits of this paper will not permit this. I may add one or two remarks in conclusion.

1. These resemblances appear most frequently in the more uncultivated dialects. In the more refined Tamiḷ they are not seen so frequently or so clearly as in the Old Kanarese.

2. The identity is most striking in names of instruments, places, and acts connected with a simple life. In a future paper I hope to consider derivative words in the Drâviḍian dialects, and to show that the prefixes and suffixes are Âryan.

[4] I. Taylor, *u.s.* p. 160.

MISCELLANEA.

BAUDDHA CAVES IN KÂBUL.

Mr. Simpson, the special artist of the *Illustrated London News*, claims to have discovered on the Besuit bank of the Kâbul river a regular *vihâra* cave, which he describes as having a central chamber about fifteen feet square, with several cells opening from it, and two windows on one side. Another cave, or rather series of caves, which he explored, consisted of a long corridor or passage, from which a large number of caves, varying in size from a small cell to a large chamber, are entered. The Rev. Mr. Swinnerton has been making similar discoveries over at Hadah, where he has examined and excavated a number of caves which contain remnants of coloured plaster on the walls. One of these has a design executed in red upon a green base, within a circle. The upper part has been wholly disfigured, but the lower part is decipherable, and represents a pair of legs seated on a throne or stool with the knees apart, and the feet crossed. Surrounding the circle there are a number of circles enclosing cinque-foils marked in red on a white ground. Major Tanner, of the Survey, has been busy in the same direction, and found some sculptured slabs, one of which appears to represent a portion of a large lotus-flower. There is no reason to doubt that all these caves are either of Buddhist origin or have been used by the Buddhists, but as yet they are only partially explored, and it is premature to attempt to decide exactly their nature until the complete series can be viewed as a whole, or definitely divided into correct groups.—*Times of India.*

THE MENGLA THUT.

Many who have been in Burma in the time of any epidemic may have witnessed a number of elderly men and women clothed in white, gathered in the evenings on a cross-road enclosed in on three sides by *kalakas*; one or two idols of Gaudama with offerings of flowers, flags, fruits, &c., on a table, or a raised platform, occupying one side of the screened space. Here the assembled devotees, in solemn chants, repeat certain religious *formulas* in Pâli which are believed to have the efficacy of driving away the evil one.

For those who may be curious to know what these chanted formulas are, we give an abridgment of one of them, called

"THE MENGLA-THUT," OR
THE BLESSED INSTRUCTIONS OF GAUDAMA.

1. Blessed are they who shun the company of the foolish; who ever seek counsel of the wise and who are worthy of receiving it.

2. Blessed are they who know their own place allotted by their condition in life; who possess the influence of good works in their previous existence; and who stedfastly maintain the performance of good deeds.

3. Blessed are they who have heard and seen much; who are learned in arts and sciences; who constantly maintain good behaviour, guarding their thoughts, words, and deeds; and who give utterance to good and holy words.

4. Blessed are they who minister to the wants of their father and mother; who instruct and support their wives and children; and who are free from the influence of evil temptation.

5. Blessed are they who bestow alms; who observe the ten precepts of the law of merit; who render assistance to their relatives and friends; and who perform no actions that are not exempt from sin.

6. Blessed are they who persevere to avoid committing an evil deed; who strictly abstain from intoxicating drinks; and who are not remiss in the performance of meritorious works.

7. Blessed are they who show respect to whom it is due; who are humble; who have contentment; who show gratitude for favours received; and who listen to the preaching of the law at proper times.

8. Blessed are they who are forbearing; who take delight in the conversation of good and holy men; who visit Rahans; and who discourse on religious subjects on all occasions.

9. Blessed are they who practise mortification; who cultivate virtues; who ever keep the four great laws of truth in sight; and who always fix their mind on the attainment of Neibban (*Nirvâna*).

10. Blessed are they who, like a Rahandah in the midst of his contemplation of the eight afflictions of this world, are firm in mind; are exempt from fear; are in amity with all; and are without danger.

11. Blessed are they who observe the thirty-eight *blessed instructions*, for they shall never be overcome by enemies, and, wherever they abide, peace and happiness shall dwell with them.

This *Mengla-Thut* in Pâli is the first book of reading a child is taught to repeat in Kyoungs and in lay schools, after he has mastered the *Than-Bon-Gyee*, or the spelling-book.—*Arakan News.*

SPECIMEN OF A DISCURSIVE GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN TERMS.

BY H. Y. AND A. C. B.

(*Continued from p. 54.*)

ANANAS, S. The Pineapple (*Ananassa sativa*). This name has, we believe, accompanied the fruit whithersoever, except in London, it has travelled from its home in South America. Its diffusion in the East was early and rapid. To one who has seen the hundreds of acres covered with pine-apples on islands adjoining Singapore, or their profusion in a seemingly wild state in the valleys of the Khâsiâ Hills in Eastern Bengal, it is hard to conceive of this fruit as introduced in modern times from another hemisphere. But, as in the case of tobacco, the name bewrayeth its true origin. They used to cost a *pardao* (say 6s. or 7s.)[1] when first introduced in Malabar, says Linschoten, but "now there are so many growen in the country, that they are very good cheape" (p. 91). Athanasius Kircher, in the middle of the 17th century, speaks of the *ananas* as produced in great abundance in the Chinese provinces of Canton, Kiangsi, and Fokien. In Ibn Muhammad Wali's *History of the Conquest of Assam*, written in 1662, the pine-apples of that region are commended for size and flavour. In the last years of the preceding century, Carletti (1599) already commends the excellent *ananas* of Malacca. But even some twenty or thirty years earlier the fruit was profusely grown in Western India, as we learn from Chr. d'Acosta (wrote 1578). And we know from the *Aîn* that about 1590 the *ananas* was habitually served at the table of Akbar, the price of one being reckoned at only four *dams*, or one-tenth of a rupee; whilst Akbar's son Jahângîr states that the fruit came from the seaports in possession of the Portuguese.—Blochmann, *Aîn-i-Akbari*, vol. I. pp. 66, 68.

In Africa, too, this royal fruit spread, and carried the American name with it: "the *Mânândzi*[2] or pine apple," says Burton, "grows luxuriantly as far as three marches from the coast (of Zanzibar). It is never cultivated, nor have its qualities as a fibrous plant been discovered." (*Jour. R. Geog. Soc.* vol. XXIX. p. 35.)

It is remarkable that the Tamil people do not relish this fruit, and think it to have a bad odour and to be unwholesome; the people of Malabar are, however, fond of it.

Abul Fazl, in the *Aîn*, mentions that the fruit was also called '*Kathal-i Safari*,' or 'the jack-fruits for travels,' because young plants put into a vessel may be taken on travels, and will yield fruits. This seems a strange pretext for the name, especially as another American fruit, the Guava, is sometimes known in Bengal by the name of *Safari âm*, or 'travel-mango.' It has been suggested that these cases may present an uncommon use of the word *Safari* in the sense of 'foreign,' 'outlandish,' just as Clusius says of the pine-apple in India, "*peregrinus* est hic fructus." Professor Blochmann in a note to one of the present authors, does not admit the possibility of such a use of the word. He calls attention to the possible analogy of the Arabic *Safar-jal* for "a quince.' In Macassar, according to Crawfurd, the *ananas* is called *Pandang*, from its strong external resemblance, as regards fruit and leaves, to the *Pandanus*. This last we, conversely, have called Screw-*pine*, from its resemblance to the *ananas*. Acosta (1578) terms it the wild *ananas*, and in Malayâlam the pine-apple is termed Pandanus Jack-fruit. The term 'pine-apple' was good English long before the discovery of America, its true meaning being what we now call pine cone; and that is the only meaning attached to the term in Minsheu's *Guide into Tongues* (2nd ed. 1627).

1565 :—"To all such as die so, the people erecteth a chappell, and to each of them a pillar and a pole made of *Pine-apple* for a perpetuall monument."—*Reports of Japan*, in Hakluyt, vol. II. p. 567.

1577 :—"In these ilandes they found no trees knowen vnto them, but Pine apple trees, and Date trees, and those of marueylous heyght, and exceedyng harde." . .—Peter Martyr in Eden's *History of Trauayle*, fol. 11.

"The greater part of the quadrangle set with savage trees, as Okes, Chesnuts, Cypresses, *Pine-apples*, Cedars."—*Certaine Reports of China*, transl. by R. Willes, Hakluyt, vol. II. p. 559.

Oviedo, in his *History of the* (Western) *Indies*, fills two and a half folio pages with an enthusiastic description of the pine-apple as first found in Hispaniola, and of the reason why it got this name (*pigna* in Ramusio's Italian, from which we quote). We may extract a few fragments :—

1556 :—"There are in this island of Spagnuola certain thistles, each of which bears a *Pine-apple*, and this is one of the most beautiful fruits that I have seen. . . . It has all these qualities in combination, viz. beauty of aspect, fragrance of odour, and exquisite flavour. The Christians gave it the name it bears (Pine-apple) because it is, in a manner, like those. But the pine-apples of the Indies of which we are speaking are much more beautiful than the pine-apples, *i.e.* pine cones, of

[1] Acosta (1578) says that the plant was introduced from Brazil into India (p. 350), and that the first cost ten ducats apiece.

[2] *M* is here a Suâheli (African) prefix: see Bleek's *Comp. Gr.* p. 189.

Europe, and have none of that hardness which is seen in those of Castille, which are in fact nothing but wood," &c. (Ramusio, vol. III. p. 135 *v.*).

1564:—"Their pines be of the bignes of two fists, the outside whereof is of the making of a *pine-apple*, but it is softe like the rinde of a cucomber, and the inside eateth like an apple, but it is more delicious than any sweet apple sugared."—Master John Haukins, Hakl. vol. III. p. 602.

"The *Ananas* or Pine, which seems to the taste to be a pleasing compound, made of strawberries, claret-wine, rose-water, and sugar, well tempered together."—Terry in Purchas, vol. II. p. 1469.

1615:—"The fruits of this Country are excellent, and farre differing from ours: among the rest there is one not vnlike a Mellon, ... and this is called Ananas, very hot of qualitie, but of taste above all things so sweete, that after having eaten of it, water will seeme to you as bitter as gall."—De Montfart's *Exact Survey*, pp. 19, 20.

1615:—"*Ananats*, et plusieurs autres fruicts."—Pyrard de la Val, tom. I. p. 236.

"The *Ananas* is esteemed, and with reason, for it is of excellent flavour, though very peculiar, and rather acid than otherwise, but having an indescribable dash of sweetness that renders it agreeable; and as even those books (Clusius, &c.) don't mention it, if I remember rightly, I will say in brief that when you regard the entire fruit externally, it looks just like one of our pine-cones, with just such scales, and of that very colour" . . . —P. della Valle, vol. II. p. 582.

1698:—"The Fruit the English call Pine-Apple (the Moors *Ananas*) because of the Resemblance."—Fryer, p. 182.

A curious question arose some time ago as to the supposed existence of the Pine-apple in the Old World, before the days of Columbus.

In Professor Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies* (vol. I. p. 578) it is stated, in reference to ancient Assyria:—"Fruits . . . . were highly prized; amongst those of most repute were pomegranates, grapes, citrons, and apparently *pine-apples*." A foot-note adds: "The representation is so exact that I can scarcely doubt the pine-apple being intended. Mr. Layard expresses himself on the point with some hesitation (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 338)." The cut given is something like the conventional figure of a pine-apple, though it seems to us by no means so exact as Professor Rawlinson thinks it. Again, in Winter-Jones's translation of Conti, *circa* 1430, the traveller, speaking of a place there called 'Panconia' (read *Pancovia*, apparently Pegu), is made to say: "they have *pine-apples*, oranges, chestnuts, melons, but small and green, white sandal-wood, and camphor."—*India in the XVth Cent.* We cannot believe that in either place the object intended was the *Ananas*, which has carried that American name with it round the world. Whatever the Assyrian representation was intended for, Conti meant by his "*pinus* habent," as it runs in Poggio's Latin, *pine-cones*, if he did not mean simply that they had *pine-trees*. If a fruit was meant, it may have been the screw-pine, the fruit of which is not eaten, but is used for certain purposes.

ÂRYAN, adj., Sanskṛit *Ârya*, 'noble.'

A term now used to include all the races (Roman, Greek, German, Celtic, Sclavonic, Indo-Persic, &c.) which speak languages belonging to the same family as Sanskṛit. Much vogue was given to the term by Pictet, in his publication of *Les Origines Indo-Européennes, ou les Aryas Primitifs* (Paris, 1859), and he seems (see quotation below) almost to claim the introduction of the name in this sense as his own, but it was certainly in use before that time. It has in great measure superseded the older term *Indo-Germanic*, proposed by F. Schlegel at the beginning of this century. The latter is, however, still sometimes used, and M. Hovelacque, especially, prefers it. The connexion which evidently exists among the several languages thus classed together is often, but erroneously, supposed to warrant a conclusion of identity of race as regards the people who speak them. See Poesche *Die Arier*, 1878.

It may be noted as curious that among the Javanese (a people so remote in blood from what we understand by Aryan) *Arya* is commonly used as an honorary prefix to the names of men of rank —a result of the ancient Hindu influence on the civilization of the island.

1851:—"We must request the patience of our readers whilst we give a short outline of the component members of the great Arian family. The first is the Sanskrit. . . . The second branch of the Arian family is the Persian. . . . There are other scions of the Arian stock which struck root in the soil of Asia before the *Arians* reached the shores of Europe". . . . . . *Edin. Review*, Oct. 1851, pp. 312, 313.

1853:—"Sur les sept premières civilizations, que sont celles de l'ancien monde, six appartiennent, en partie au moins, à la race *âriane*."—Gobineau, *De l'Inégalité des Races Humaines*, tom. I. p. 364.

1855:—"The second family of languages is the *Arian*; or, as it used to be called, Indo-European" . . . .—Prof. Max Müller, *Languages of the Seat of War*, p. 27.

1855:—"I believe all who have lived in India will bear testimony . . . that to natives of India, of whatever class or caste, Mussulman, Hindoo, or Parsee, Aryan or Tamulian, unless they

have had a special training, our European paintings, prints, drawings, and photographs, plain or coloured, if they are landscapes, are absolutely unintelligible."—Yulés *Mission to Ava*, p. 89.

1858:—"The Aryan tribes—for that is the name they gave themselves, both in their old and new homes—brought with them institutions of a simplicity almost primitive."—Whitney, *Oriental Studies*, vol. II. p. 5.

1859:—"Quoiqu'il en soit, ce qui précède me semble justifier suffisamment l'emploi du nom de *Arya* pour désigner, dans son unité, le peuple père de la grande famille appelée jusqu'à présent *indo-européenne*."—Pictet, I. 34.

1861:—"Latin, again, with Greek, and the Celtic, the Teutonic, and Slavonic languages, together with likewise the ancient dialects of India and Persia, must have sprung from an earlier language, the mother of the whole Indo-European or *Aryan* family of speech."—Max Müller, *Lectures, 1st Series*, p. 32.

The verb ARYANIZE has also been formed from this word:—

1858:—"Thus all India was brought under the sway, physical or intellectual and moral, of the alien race; it was thoroughly *Aryanized*."—Whitney, as above, p. 7.

BOBBERY-BOB! interj. The Anglo-Indian colloquial representation of an exclamation common among Hindus, when in surprise or grief—*Bâp-re!* or, redoubled, *Bâpre-bâp!* 'O father!' (We have known a friend from the north of the Tweed whose ordinary interjection was 'my great grandmother!').

Hence:—

BOBBERY, s. A noise, a disturbance, a row; and further—

BOBBERY PACK, s. A pack of hounds of different breeds, or (oftener) of no breed at all, wherewith young officers hunt jackals or the like; presumably so called from the noise and disturbance that such a pack are apt to raise. See a quotation under *Bunaw*.

1878:— . . . "on the mornings when the 'bobbera' pack went out, of which Macpherson was master and I 'whip,' we used to be up by 4 A.M." —*Life in the Mofussil*, vol. I. p. 142.

BRINJAUL, s. The name of a vegetable, more commonly called by the English in Bengal *bangun*. It is the egg-plant or *Solanum melongena*, very common in India, as it is on the shores of the Mediterranean. The word in this form is from the Portuguese (see further on). Probably one original word has seldom undergone such an extraordinary variety of modifications, whilst retaining the same meaning, as this. Sansk. *bhaṇṭákí*; Pers. *badingán*; Arab. *badinján*; Hind. *bhánṭá, baigan, baingan*; Sp. *alberengena, berengena*; Port. *beringela, bringiela, bringella*; Low Lat. *melangolus, merangolus*; Ital. *melangola melanzana, mela insana* (see P. della Valle below); Fr. *aubergine, melongène, merangène*, and provincially *belingène, albergaine, albergine, albergame*.

Melongena is no real word, but a factitious Latinizing of *melanzana*, or, as Devic says, "Latin du botaniste."

It looks as if the Sanskṛit word were the original of all. The Hind. *baingan*, again, which gives the common Bengal form, seems to be identical with the Arabic word, and the latter to be the direct original of the Spanish, and so of all the other European names. The Italian *mela insana* is the most curious of these corruptions, framed by the usual "strung-after meaning," and connects itself with the somewhat indigestible character of the vegetable as it is eaten in Italy, which is a fact. When cholera is about, it is considered an act of insanity to eat the *melanzana*. There is, however, also in Egypt a notion connecting the *badinján* with madness (see Lane, quoted below). It would seem that old Arabic medical writers also give it a bad character as an article of diet.

The word has been carried, with the vegetable, to the Archipelago, probably by the Portuguese, for the Malays call it *berinjála*.

1611:—"We had a market there, kept upon the strand, of diuers sorts of prouisions, to wit. . . . . . *Pallingenies*, cucumbers". . . . .—N. Dounton in Purchas, vol. I. p. 298.

1616:—"It seems to me to be one of those fruits which are called in good Tuscan *petronciani*, but which by the Lombards are called *melanzane*, and by the vulgar at Rome *marignani*; and, if my memory does not deceive me, by the Neapolitans in their patois *molegnane*."—P. della Valle, vol. I. p. 197.

1698:—"The Garden . . . planted with *Potatoes, Yawms, Berenjaws*, both hot plants." . . .—Fryer, p. 104.

1792:—Forrest spells *brinjalles*.—*Voyage to Mergui*, &c. p. 40.

1810:—Williamson has *bringal*.—*Vade Mecum*, vol. I. p. 133.

1812:—"I saw last night at least two acres covered with *brinjaal*, a species of *Solanum*."—Maria Graham, p. 24.

1835:—"The neighbours unanimously declared that the husband was mad . . . . One exclaimed: 'There is no strength nor power but in God! God restore thee!' Another said: 'How sad! He was really a worthy man.' A third remarked: '*Badingáns* are very abundant just now.'"—Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, ed. 1860, p. 299.

1860:—"Amongst other triumphs of the native cuisine were some singular but by no means inelegant *chefs d'œuvre*, *brinjals* boiled and stuffed with savoury meats, but exhibiting ripe and undressed fruit growing on the same branch."—Tennent's *Ceylon*, vol. II. p. 161.

This dish is mentioned in the Sanskrit Cookery Book which passes as by king Nala; it is managed by wrapping part of the fruit in wet cloths while the rest is being cooked.

Budgerow, s. A keel-less barge formerly much used by Europeans travelling on the Ganges. Two-thirds of the barge's length was occupied by cabins with venetian windows. Wilson gives the word as Hind. and Bengâli *bajrâ;* Shakspear gives *bajrá* and *bajra*, with a hypothetical derivation from *bajar*, 'hard or heavy.' Among Mr. Blochmann's extracts from Muhammadan books regarding the conquest of Assam, we find a detail of Mîr Jumlah's fleet on his expedition of 1662, in which we have mention of "4 *bajrahs*" (*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLI. pt. I. p. 73). In the same extracts we have several times mention of large Assamese vessels called *bachhâris* (pp. 57, 75, 81); but this can hardly be the same word. *Bajra* is most probably applied in the sense of 'thunderbolts,' however inappropriate to the modern budgerow.

1583:—"The barkes be light and armed with Oares, like to Foists . . . . and they call these barkes *Bazaras* and Paluas."—Cæsar Frederike in Hakluyt, vol. II. p. 358.

1727:—"In the Evening to recreate themselves in Chaises or Palankins . . . . or by water in their . . . . *Budgeroes*, which is, a convenient Boat."—A. Hamilton, vol. II. p. 12.

1794:—"By order of the Governor General in Council . . . . will be sold the Honble. Company's *Budgerow*, named the Sonamokhee . . . . The Budgerow lays in the nullah opposite to Chitpore."—Notification, in Seton-Karr, vol. II. p. 114.

METRICAL VERSIONS FROM THE *MAHÂBHÂRATA*.

BY JOHN MUIR, LL.D., &c.

(*Continued from p. 308, vol. VII.*)

After the Pâṇḍavas had been victorious in their war with the Kurus, Yudhishṭhira, instead of taking pleasure in the result, was overwhelmed with grief at the slaughter of his kinsmen with which their conflict had been attended (*Mahâbhârata* xii. 14f.),[1] and expresses an intention to retire from the world, and lead the life of an ascetic (195ff.). His brother Arjuna remonstrates with him (203ff.), and in the course of his address pronounces an eulogium on wealth, in verses of which the following is a very free translation[2]:—

Praise of Riches. *M.Bh.* xii. 213ff.

Amassing wealth with care and pains,
A man the means of action gains.
From wealth a stream of virtuous deeds,—
As copious rills from hills,—proceeds.
But action halts when affluence fails,
As brooks dry up when drought prevails.
Wealth every earthly good procures,
And heavenly bliss itself ensures.
For rich men gold, with hand profuse,
Can spend for every pious use[3].
The wealthy man has troops of friends;
A flattering crowd before him bends;
With ardour men his kinship claim;
With honour all pronounce his name;
They call him noble, learned, wise,
And all his words as maxims prize.
Men in the lap of affluence nurst
Look down upon the poor as curst.
The world deems want a crime; like bad
And guilty men, the poor are sad.
A needy man is viewed with scorn,[4]
As base and vile, though nobly born;
On earth his lot is joyless, hard,
To him the gates of heaven are barred:
The rites which open wide that gate,
The needy cannot celebrate.[5]
He merits most the name of lean
Who cattle lacks, whose garb is mean,
Whose nod no crowd of servants waits,
Whose food no hungry strangers sates.
That hapless man is truly lean,—
Not he whose frame is spare and thin.

At the end of Arjuna's speech, however, Yudhishṭhira repeats the expression of his intention to retire to the forest, and describes his proposed tranquil and dispassionate life there (246ff.). His brother Bhîma then (277ff.) blames his determination, and compares such conduct to that of a man who should dig a well,

[1] See Professor Monier Williams's *Indian Epic Poetry*, p. 124.

[2] Many of the lines occur in the *Râmâyaṇa* VI. 83, 32ff., Bomb. ed.; VI. 62, 29ff., Gorresio's ed.

[3] There is nothing in the original corresponding to these two lines: but I assume that their substance is intimated in what precedes; and this is confirmed by what is afterwards said of the poor man.

[4] Conf. Juvenal, *Sat.* I. 5, 152.

[5] A better doctrine than this is elsewhere taught. See the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III., p. 170, para. 9; p. 483; and vol. IV., p. 271, the verses numbered 38 and 39.

should find no water, and only get covered with mud; to that of another who should climb a tree to obtain honey, and should die without eating it; to that of a third who should perform a long journey, and return without attaining the object for which it was undertaken; to that of a fourth who should conquer his enemies, and then kill himself; and to that of a hungry man who should obtain food but not eat it, &c. He then goes on (in verses 293ff.) to argue against an early ascetic life in terms of which the following is a very free translation:—

FOLLY OF PREMATURE ASCETICISM.

When old and grey, when strength decays,
By foes when crushed, in evil days
From fortune's heights when downward hurled,—
Yes, then let men renounce the world;
But not in time of youth and health,
When crowned with glory, lords of wealth.
Those scripture texts which praise as best
A life ascetic, lone, unblest,
Dragged sadly on in gloomy woods,
In dreary, doleful solitudes,
Are fictions hatched in squalid schools
By needy unbelieving fools;
Which look like truth, but, proved, are found
To rest on no substantial ground.[6]

To savage beasts it is not given
By forest-life to merit heaven:
Yet this same life, by hermits led,
Their future bliss ensures, 'tis said!

When men nor pleasure feel, nor pain,
A state of stupid torpor gain,
They then have reached perfection, rise
To heaven,—so say the would-be-wise.
But should not trees,—if this be true,—
And boulders, gain perfection too?
For they are calm and torpid, feel
Nor pain nor pleasure, woe nor weal
They dread no want, they seek no ease,
Like self-denying devotees:

Abandon, then, thy vain design:
By kingly virtues seek to shine.
See how by acts all mortals strive
Their ends to gain, through effort thrive.
Inaction ne'er perfection brings;
From strenuous deeds alone it springs.

(*To be continued.*)

[6] This literally rendered runs: "The doctrine of the Vedic texts (*veda-vâdasya vijnânam*) promulgated by needy infidels (*nâstikaiḥ*), destitute of prosperity, has merely a show of truth, and is false."

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Mr. R. Cust, Hon. Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, calls attention to the following subjects:—

1. PIGMIES.—Are there any in India? The time is come when this ought to be cleared up. In the *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XXIV. 1855, p. 207, we have allusion to a monkey race of men; and again to wild jungle folk, the men 4ft. 6in. high, in *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 60; and again dwarfs—vol. VI. (August 1877), p. 230. They are mentioned in Borneo.

2. CANNIBALISM.—Does it still continue in India? In the Bengal *Census Report*, p. 196, it is stated that the Birhors approaching death invite their relations to come and feast on their bodies.

In Sumatra the Battas eat their aged relations when too old to work. The same tribe sentence desperate offenders to be killed and eaten *judicially*. Can any traces of such customs be found elsewhere?

3. INTERMARRIAGE OF HINDUS AND MUHAMMADANS.—In two localities I have come across instances of this prevailing, and it would be interesting to know of other cases, and whether the giving and receiving of brides is reciprocal.

4. ADMISSION TO CASTE PRIVILEGES.—In the Panjâb the Sarasvati Brâhmaṇs and the Khatris eat together, and I have known individuals of a lower caste admitted from childhood, as a favour, to similar privileges. Is this a common feature?

5. POLYANDRY.—This subject should be thoroughly worked out as regards *India*. We have instances of Âryan families in the Simlâ hills having the custom. We ought to know where the custom exists, why it exists, and what effect it has on the population. It is asserted that in Ladakh the woman has a right to one extra husband, beside the family of brothers to whom she belongs, and that she is as jealous of her husbands as a polygamous Muhammadan is of his wives.

6. COUVADE.—Tyler, in his *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, p. 301, says that this extraordinary custom of the husband being put to bed, and taking physic, when a baby is born, while the wife has to work as usual, prevails among people of the higher caste about Madras, Seringapatam, and the Malabar Coast. Can this be authenticated? The custom is notorious in the Basque country, and is mentioned by Marco Polo in Asia. Tyler, in his *Primitive Culture*, p. 84, says that the Hozawal (a well-known gipsy tribe in the Telugu country) have this practice.

7. NÂYAR CUSTOMS.—Pietro Pellerino (vol. II. letter vii.) mentions, from his own proper know-

ledge, the following extraordinary custom as existing two hundred years ago, which, for obvious reasons, I can only quote in Italian:—

"De Malavari poi solo sentii de notabile, che le loro donne negle atti venerei per usanza far loro ricevuta, ed universale, non vogliono mai soggiacere agli uomini." Can this be the case?

8. NAGA CUSTOMS.—Still more astounding is a Nâga custom quoted by General Fitche, vol. I. p. 350, which can only be described in Latin:—

"Annulum, a quartâ ad octavam partem unciæ latum, et ex cornu cervi factum, glandem penis et præputium arctè comprimentem, mares inducere solent: propositum est erectionem penis impedire, opinantibus iis privata membra conspiciende præbere, nisi in tali conditione, rem non indecoram esse; annulus a pubertates ævo assumitur, et ad mortem geritur."

(*To be continued*).

NOTES ON THE ABOVE.

1. PIGMIES.—Amongst the Vizianagram Mahârâja's attendants are two dwarfs, stated to pertain to the race so graphically described by Herodotus. One is said to be eighteen years old and forty inches high, and the other is sixteen and only thirty inches in height. They are also represented to us as pot-bellied, thin-limbed, knock-kneed, spherically-headed, copper-coloured, and tow-haired.—*Newspaper cutting.*

2. CANNIBALISM.—There is much reason to believe that cannibalism has always existed among some tribes in India, and some reason to believe that it yet exists. Bardesanes (ed. Hilgenfeld, pp. 94-97) expressly mentions it; this is perhaps the earliest historical notice strictly speaking; it is of about 200 A.D.

Frequent but trustworthy mention of cannibalism in India occurs in the works of the early travellers, though mostly they are in times of famine, as, *e.g.*, in the great famine in Gujarât in 1630 (Van Twist, *Gen. Beschrijvinge van Indien*, pp. 8-9, 1648). Thevenot appears to mention the use of human flesh as food as common not far from Bhroch, but I cannot now refer to his book.

In 1812 Maria Graham (*Journal*, p. 15) writes of Bombay Pariahs: "They are filthy in all their habits, and do not scruple to use as food any dead animal they find; it is even said that, in some places, they do not reject human bodies." The Madras Pariahs, are, certainly, no better.

In *Life in the Mofussil, by an ex-Civilian*, published last year, there is a full account of a case of cannibalism by a low-caste man in Bengal which is beyond doubt. Want in this case could not be the cause.

Some sixteen years ago a Nair was murdered in Malabar by some people of very low caste called there 'Cherumar'. The body was mutilated, and on my asking the accused (who freely confessed their crime) why this had been done? they answered: "Tinnâl pâpam tîrum"—"If one eats, the sin will cease." This is the only unquestionable case that has come under my notice.

Do not some of the wild and disgusting fanatics in the Bombay Presidency also practise cannibalism?

A. B.

30th January, 1879.

3. Vibhâji, the present Jâm of Navânagar, in Kâṭhiâvâḍ, married a Muhammadan wife by whom he has a son Kâlubhâ, whom he has got declared his successor on the *gâdi*. His father, Raṇamalla, had also a Muhammadan wife. The Jâḍêjâ chiefs marry Musalmân wives.

4. Among the Mêrs (or Meheras) and Rabâris the wife is regarded as the head of the house; she only can pay accounts, and transacts business with Baniyas, &c.

The Râmanujyas, or Śrî Vaishṇavas, in religious festivals, eat with people of any caste.

In the Dakhaṇ and southern India children are admitted from infancy into higher castes.

The Sarasvati Brâhmaṇs also eat with Lohâṇâs, Khatrîs, and Bansâlis.

5 POLYANDRY.—In Kamaun between the Tons and Jamunâ, about Kâlsi, the Râjputs, Brâhmaṇs, and Śûdras all practise polyandry, the brothers of a family all marrying one wife, like the Pâṇḍavas. The children are all attributed to the eldest brother alive. None of the younger brothers are allowed to marry a separate or additional wife for themselves. When there is only one or two sons in a family it is difficult to procure a wife, lest she should become a widow.

BHAGVANLAL INDRAJI PANDIT.

6. NÂYAR CUSTOMS.—This vicious practice is fully admitted in Malabar to be one of the *anâchâra* or perverse customs peculiar to that part of India. Graul mentions it (I believe) as such on Gundert's authority. It is sometimes called *upakriḍâ*; a meaning of this kind is not given to this word in any Sanskṛit Dictionary; *uparikriḍâ* and *uparisambhoga* are commonly used in this sense: see Gundert, *Malayâḷam Dictionary*, p. 135, col. *a*. From the Nâyars other castes have adopted it.

There are allusions to such habits (though not as of universal prevalence) in Sanskṛit books, but it is not possible to collect them here.

A. B.

(*To be continued*).

TWO NEW CHALUKYA GRANTS.

With comparison of the professed Grants by Janamejaya of the Sarpa Yâga.

BY LEWIS RICE, BANGALOR.

THESE two grants belong to the earliest period of the Chalukya dynasty. One professes to be of the date S.S. 366 (A. D. 444), and of the time of Vîra Noṇamba, a name which is new to the existing list of these kings. The other is without the date of the year, but is a grant by Ambera, the son of Satyâśraya, and therefore belongs to the early part of the 7th century. His name appears as Amara in the original list published by Sir Walter Elliot, but no direct evidence has, so far as I am aware, been hitherto found of his reign.

Vîra Noṇamba's grant consists of three copper plates, 10¾ inches by 6¼ inches, strung on a metal ring secured with a seal bearing the figure, in relief, one inch long, of what appears something like an elephant, though probably meant for a boar, with the sun and moon above. It was found in the Chief Commissioner's office at Bangalor, and has been there at least since 1859. It is inscribed in Nandi Nâgari characters[1] identical with those used in the Gauj agrahâra inscription claiming to be a grant by the emperor Janamejaya, which has been the subject of much controversy. Two other inscriptions similar to that of the Gauj agrahâra are in existence in the same neighbourhood, and the present grant not only resembles all three in the characters in which it is written, but corresponds in many of the details, using the same obscure terms in describing the gift, introducing the same strange mixture of Haḷe Kannaḍa and Sanskṛit, and containing the same spelling of Sanskṛit words which disgusted Colebrooke in the Gauj inscription.[2] The present grant, whether it be genuine or not, is thus of value for purposes of comparison, besides the fact of its being dated. The remarks on this inscription will be continued further on.

Ambera's grant is briefly expressed in pure and accurate Sanskṛit, well and very distinctly engraved in Haḷe Kannaḍa characters. It is on three stout plates, 9 inches by 3½, strung on a ring secured with a lump of metal on which is a small stamp of a boar. I met with this interesting inscription at Hosur, about fifty miles north of Bangalor, and there is every reason, I think, to regard it as genuine. After giving the descent of the Chalukya dynasty as usual in the early grants (except that we have Shâriti instead of Hâriti), it commences with Paulakeśi, whose second name it informs us was Raṇa Vikrama. After him it merely mentions "Satyâśraya, the conqueror of Harsha Vardhana,"[3] and then records the decree as that of "his dear son, called in his own language (*sva bhâshayâ*) Ambera." It is not clear what language is meant. Ambera does not appear to be Sanskṛit, and the same expression further on undoubtedly refers to Haḷe Kannaḍa. If formed of the Haḷe Kannaḍa *Ambe* and *era*, the name would signify 'lover of Pârvatî.' The gift he made consisted of the grant to thirty-one Brâhmaṇs of a village called Periyâḷi in its (*or ?* his) own language (*sva bhâshayâ* again, and here clearly Haḷe Kannaḍa), situated in the Koṇikal district. The only name resembling this known to me is Kuṇigal, a tâlukâ some thirty miles to the west of Bangalor.

To return to the other grant. The fact of its being in Nâgari characters is not in favour of its pretensions, for they were not in use till much later, though an exception is mentioned in an inscription at Seven Pagodas.[4] The letter *r* ꠞ has a second form, ꠞ, which I have not noticed before, and which from the places where it is used, is, I think, intended to represent the now obsolete Haḷe Kannaḍa *ṟ*, ಱ. It occurs also in the Kuppagaḍe grant.

No mention is made of any former kings of the line:—indeed, if the date be accepted,

[1] See accompanying facsimile of two sides.

[2] *As. Res.* vol. IX. p. 448.

[3] These terse and unambiguous statements seem as if expressly designed to clear up some of the existing doubts as to the identity of certain of the early kings. See *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. X. pp. 355, 358.

[4] *So. Ind. Pal.* p. 48; *Trans. R. As. Soc.* vol. II. pl. 18.

Vîra Noṇamba must have been almost next to the founder in descent. He is described as the son of the Châlukya kula, the conqueror of the elephant-riding Bhagadatta kings,[5] the terror of Kaḷiṅga and Koṅkaṇa, "the thruster out of Asvapati Râya, the slayer of Gajapati Râya, and the smiter on the head of Narapati Râya",—whoever these three sovereigns, to whom one so often hears allusions, may have been,—and as ruling in peace and security at Kalyâṇapura. In the course of a victorious expedition to the south he encamped at the village of Henjaṟa, and there in the Śaka year 366, the year Târaṇa, made the gifts recorded in the grant. The recipient was Mâro Śeṭṭi, *mûlika Gaṅgavâḍikâra*, and *vaḍḍa byavahâri* of the Châlukyas, a native of Haluhâḍi in Kundunâḍ, situated in the Gaṅgavâḍi Ninety-six Thousand. In a battle which took place at Henjaṟa he distinguished himself by cutting through the horse and bringing down Kilva Râya.[6] For this exploit he was rewarded with various honours and a landed estate near his native place, which, from the mention of *Kaḍabada kola*, I conjecture was on the river Shimsha,[7] in the neighbourhood of Kaḍaba. The grant is attested by four witnesses, one from Talakâḍu, the others from the boundary villages, and is approved by the king, who signs himself *Ari-râya-mastaka-tala-prahâri* ('smiter on the head of hostile kings').

The title *vaḍḍa byavahâri* occurs in several of the Maisûr inscriptions as that of an important officer. *Byavahâri* means 'merchant,' but of *vaḍḍa* no explanation is forthcoming. It is often met with in the phrase *vaḍḍa râvuḷa*, which was the name of some main head of the public taxes, and is generally mentioned along with the *hejjuṅka*, the principal customs dues. An inscription at Sampige, near Kaḍaba, of the 13th century, records a gift made there by a *vaḍḍa byavahâri*.

The Ninety-six Thousand province of Gaṅgavâḍi I have identified, on abundant evidence, as the southern half of Maisûr. The large body of Gaṅgaḍikâra raiyats I have conjectured to have been its subjects, and this opinion is satisfactorily borne out by the title of "chief (or original) Gaṅgavâḍikâra" assumed by Mâro Śeṭṭi, as this form of the name supplies the necessary link connecting Gaṅgavâḍi with Gaṅgaḍikâra.

As regards Kilva Râya I find an inscription of the 12th century at Dâvangere speaks of the *haḷeya bîḍu*, or old ruins, of the royal city Hiriya Betûru, in the kingdom of the warrior Kilvog-oḍeyarasa Deva. Betur is close to Dâvangere, a little to the west of Harihara on the Tuṅgabhadra.

The name Vîra Noṇamba calls for some remarks. The whole of the north of Maisûr, now the Chitaldrug District, formed from an early period, as we know from numerous inscriptions, a province called the Noṇambavâḍi or Noḷambavâḍi Thirty-two Thousand. The considerable body of Noṇamba or Noṇaba raiyats I suppose to have been its subjects, just as the Gaṅgaḍikâra raiyats were of Gaṅgavâḍi. Acknowledged descendants of the hereditary chief of the Noṇaba Wokligas are still to be found near Gubbi, which is close to Kaḍaba, and claims to have been founded by their ancestor. The name also occurs in other connections. An inscription at Nandi of perhaps the 8th century gives us Noḷambâdhirâja as the name of a Pallava king; while, coming still nearer, an inscription at Anantapur of A.D. 1079 gives the titles of Jaya Siṁha, the younger brother of the Châlukya king Vikramâṅka, who was appointed Governor of the Banavase Twelve Thousand, and who rebelled against him,[8] as Trayalokya Malla Vîra Noḷamba Pallava Permmânaḍi Jaya Singha Deva.

In order to exhibit the correspondence of the present grant with those of the Begur, Kuppagaḍe, and Gauj agrahâras, their respective contents are here given in parallel columns. Those parts which are identical in all are carried across the columns, only those parts in which they differ being shown separately.[9]

[5] The Gaṅga kings of Southern Maisûr had the elephant as their crest, and the Merkara plates (*Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 363) describe Avinita as a Bhadatta. The *Mahâbhârata* mentions Bhagadatta as a Yavana king: see Wilson's *Works*, vol. X. p. 54.

[6] The expression used in this place is obscure, but the meaning must be equivalent to this.

[7] A tributary of the Kâverî. It is also called the Kaḍaba, the Kaḍamba, and the Shimshupa.

[8] *Vik. Dev. Char.* Introd. pp. 38, 43.

[9] Of the Begur grant I have only a copy, given to me at the place. Of the other two I have photographs.

<table>
<tr><th>Begur.</th><th>Kuppagade.</th><th>Ganj.</th><th>Noṇamba.</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Jayaty âvishkrîtam Vishṇor vârâham kshobhitârṇṇavam dakshinonnata-damshṭrâgra-viśrânta-bhuvanam vapuh ||[10]</td><td>Namah śasi-kalâ-koṭi-kalpamânânkura . . . . . . kalpa-vrikshâya Sambhave ||</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Svasti samasta-bhuvanâśraya sri-prithvi-vallabham mahârâjâdhirâja paramesvara parama-bhaṭṭâraka . . . . . .</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Hastinâ-pura-varâdhisvara ârohaka-</td><td>Kalyaṇa pura-varadhisvara gajârohaka-</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Bhagadatta-ripu-râya-kântâ-datta-vairi-vaidhavvya . . .</td></tr>
<tr><td>Pâṇḍava-</td><td>Pâṇḍava-</td><td>Pâṇḍava-</td><td>Châlukya-</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">kula-kamala-mârttaṇḍa kadana-prachaṇḍa Kalinga-kodaṇḍa gaṇḍa-mârttaṇḍa ekânga-vira raṇa-ranga-dhîra Asvapati-Râya-disâpaṭṭa Gajapati-Râya-samhâraka Narapati-Râya-mastaka-tala-prahâri . . . . .</td></tr>
<tr><td>...[11]</td><td>...[11]</td><td>hayârudha-prauḍha-rekha-revanta</td><td>...[11]</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">sâmmantâ-mriga-chamâra Konkaṇa-châtur-disa-bhayankara- . . . .</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">chachcha-puṭa-châcha-puṭa Îsvara-mukha-kamala-vinirgata-suḍhasâlanga-brahma viṇâdi-bharata-śâstra-prasidham aneka-śâstra-pravi-ṇam Koranṭaka-Byali-Nâgârjuṇâdi-mantra-jaya-siddha-prasidha samudaya-namita-pâdâra-vrinda ari-râya-kula-vilaya-kâlânala-</td><td>...[11]</td><td>...[11]</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">nityakara parânganâ-putra suvarṇṇa-varâha-lânchhana-dhvaja samasta-râjâvali-virâjita-samâlankrita[12] sri-Soma-vamsodbhava</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">sri-Parokshiti-chakravrartti tasya putra[13] Janamejaya-chakravrartti Hastinâpura</td><td>sri-Vira-Noṇamba-chakravrartti Kalyaṇa-pura</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">sukha-sankathâ-vinodena râjyam karoti dakshiṇa-disâvare digvijaya-yâtram[14] bijayam-karomi</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Tungabhadra-Haridrâ-sangame sri-Harihara-Deva-sannidhau kaṭakam-utkalîta Chaitra-mâse</td><td rowspan="2">Henjaṛa-grâmâtu kaṭakam utulitam śaka-varusha 366 Târaṇa-samvachhare Phâlguṇa-mâse krishṇa-pakshe Bihavâra-amavâsyayâm tithau</td></tr>
<tr><td>krishṇa-pakshe Bhauma-dine tritiyâyâm Indra-bha-nakshatre san-krânta vyati-pâṭa tan nimitta</td><td>krishṇa-pakshe Soma-dine Bharaṇi-mahâ-nakshatre sankrânti vyatî-pâta-nimitte</td><td>krishṇa. . . . . . .karaṇâ uttarâyaṇa sa. . .vyatî-pâta-nimitte suryya-parbaṇi ardhdha-grâsa-grahita-samae</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">sarppa-yâgan karomi Banavâse-panichchhâhasra-madhye</td><td rowspan="2">Gangavâḍi-chhânnavati-sahasra-madhya khampaṇa-Kundu-nâḍu eppattara tatu-madhye Haluhâdi-grâma</td></tr>
<tr><td>pravishṭa badagaṇa-Eḍe-nâḍu-eppatara tan-madhye anâdy-agra-hâra sri-Beguru-grâmâtu Brâhmaṇâtu</td><td>khampaṇa-Eḍe-nâḍu-eppataṛa tatu madhya Puspageḍḍeya-grâma-Brâhmaṇa</td><td>khampaṇa-Śântalige sâhasra-madhye Gautama-grâmâtu Brâhmaṇa</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">(Here come the names, &c. of four chief Brâhmaṇs.)</td><td>(Description of Mâro Śaṭṭi and his exploit.)</td></tr>
<tr><td>chaügha-mukhya nânâ-gotrada sâhasra-munnûra-vara-Brâhmaṇâtu sarppa-yâga ârambha-samae âsirvâda-purvakam chakravartti mechchi</td><td>chaüghamaksha nânâ-gotrada sahasra-dvaya-Brâhmaṇa sarppa-yâga-purṇṇâhuti samae âsirvâda-purbakam chakravartti mechchi</td><td>chatur-mukha nânâ-gotrebhyo dvâtrimsatu sahasra Brâhmaṇa sarppa-yâga-purṇṇâhuti tad-anga-samae mantrânga pranâman karoti chakravratti mechchi</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">panchânga-pasâya chhatra sukhâsana balada-gaddige[15] anka-daṇḍa-khaṇḍane . .</td></tr>
<tr><td>...</td><td>...</td><td>nâḍu-bittig-aliya-sunka</td><td>...</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">ushṭa-bhoga-teja-sâmya . . . .</td></tr>
</table>

10 Part of this verse is broken off in G.
11 No corresponding passage here.
12 *Samâmâlankrita* in N.
13 *Tat-putra* in B and K.
14 *Yâtreyam* in G. This and two or three preceding words broken off in K.
15 *Bala gaddi* in N.

Begur.	Kuppagade.	Gauj.	Nonamba.
sarba-namaskritanâgi	sarba-namasyavâgi	...	sarba-namasya datta bhumi
	(*Names of the villages.*)		
evam dasa grâmâtu dhâra-purvakam datta		evam dvâdasa grâmâtu sarba namasya dhârâpûrbakam datta	(*Description and area of the land.*)
			isânya simântarâṇi katham
tasya grâmasya simâṇtarâṇi katham			
(*Then follow the boundaries, which are described in all in a similar manner. The imprecatory verses vary in each.*)			
(*Conclusion broken off.*)			*Witnessed and signed* (see transcript).

The foregoing comparison will show that these four grants were all inscribed after one model, though the present one is referred to the Châlukya dynasty, and the three others to the Pâṇḍava dynasty. The characters in which they are engraved, as before stated, are identical. It seems impossible, therefore, to avoid the conclusion that they belong to the same period. What that period was it is not so easy to determine. The present grant very positively declares it to be S. Śaka 366. How far this can be received as a genuine date the learned will be able to decide. Regarding the dates of the three other grants, proceeding upon the well-known rule which gives a certain numerical value to the several letters of the alphabet, the owners have attempted to find a date from the letters *ka ṭa kam* in the phrase *kaṭakam utkalitam*, and have thus arrived at 111 of the Kali yuga, or 2991 B.C. But it is very doubtful whether the phrase in question, which may be translated "having halted the army," was meant to embody any date. Another theory is that it refers to Kaṭaka or Cuttack in Utkala or Orissa, which is stated to have been founded by Janamejaya at the time of the *sarpa yâga*, for officiating at which these grants were made to the Brâhmaṇs of the three *agrahâras*. Now Kaṭaka Chaudwâra, as it was called, appears to have been a flourishing capital city before the end of the 5th century.[16] According to local tradition the *sarpa yâga* was performed at the village of Hiremagalur, at the south-eastern base of the Baba Budan or Chandra Drona mountains in the west of Maisûr. A curious stone pillar with a spear-shaped head is still shown there as the *yûpa stambha* or sacrificial post used on the occasion. It is said to be efficacious in curing from the bite of a serpent any one who circumambulates it. Inscriptions at the place show that it was an *agrahâra* in the time of Trailokya Malla (? 1150-82).

The Gauj agrahâra grant was certainly in existence before 1807, when Col. Mackenzie, who brought it to light, finished the Maisûr Survey. It is further said to be mentioned in a *sannad* by Chinnammâji, queen of Bednur, given in A. D. 1746. The grant calls the village the Gautama agrahâra. Gautama was the name of one of the distinguished line of *munis* who were *âchâryâs* of the celebrated Kedâreśvara temple at Baḷḷigrâme. Inscriptions show that Gautama was officiating from A.D. 1130-50. As regards Kuppageḍe I find mention of the "mahâjanaṅgaḷu of Kuppageḍe" in an inscription at Baḷḷigrâme, also about A.D. 1150, recording, it may be incidentally noticed, the foundation of a temple a hundred years before by a *vaḍḍa byavahâri*. Kuppageḍe was therefore an *agrahâra* at the former time.

Calculations are stated to have been made by the Astronomer Royal, Sir George Airy, from the astronomical data in the Gauj inscription, resulting in the discovery that Sunday the 7th of April 1521 was the date on which the solar eclipse mentioned in it took place.[17] That this cannot be the correct date is at once evident from the fact that the eclipse is stated in the grant to have happened on Monday, and not on Sunday. It is easy to show how the mistake has arisen. Colebrooke, in commenting on the grant, attributed it to "the time of a partial eclipse of the sun which fell on a Sunday in the month of Chaitra, when the sun was entering the northern hemisphere, the moon being in the *nakshatra* Aśvini." A note adds, "Such is the deduction from the text, which states a half-eclipse of the sun in Chaitra, on the sun's entrance into the *uttarâyaṇa*, or northern path,

[16] *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 60.

[17] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. X. p. 81.

at the moment of *vyatipâta* (which imports new moon on a Sunday in any one of the under-mentioned *nakshatras*, viz. Aśvini, Śrâvaṇa, Dhanishṭha, Ardrâ, Aslesha, and Mṛigasiras, the first of which is the only one compatible with the month). The words of the text are *Chaitramâse kṛishṇapakshe so . . . . . . &c.*"[18] Now this *so* (which, together with the preceding *pakshe*, being at the edge of the plate, has since got broken off) was the commencement of the words *Soma-dine*, or Monday, as clearly appears from the Kuppagaḍe inscription. It is, of course, no impeachment of the sagacity of Colebrooke that he could not guess this, but pronounced that the astronomical data, "however consistent with Indian notions of astronomy, would hardly bear the test of a critical examination." Sir George B. Airy, very naturally, calculated from the date as interpreted by Colebrooke.

The date arrived at by Sir George B. Airy, together with those of the three *agrahâra* inscriptions as stated in the originals, were given by me for examination to a well-known local astronomer, Siddhânti Subrahmaṇya Śâstri, and the following is a summary of the result of his calculations. He first shows that Monday, 7th April 1521, being equivalent to *Śâlivâhana Śaka* 1444, *Śukla-saṁvatsara Mîna-mâsa*, 27 *tedi*, cannot be the right date, for the reason that Chaitra in that year was an *adhika-mâsa*, or intercalary month, during which there was no *sûrya-râśi-sankramaṇa*; and not only so, but the performance then of such a rite as the *sarpa yâga* is forbidden, the month being a *mala-mâsa*.

He then proves that the astronomical conjunctions stated in the inscriptions accord with no other year than 36 of the Kali yuga, or B.C. 3066. Only on Somavâra, or Monday, of the month Chaitra kṛishṇa amâvâsya of that year is there a conjunction of *sûrya-grahaṇa*, or eclipse of the sun, with *Bharaṇi nakshatra* and *mahâ vyatipâta*.[19]

The dates found he next shows to be consistent with the received accounts regarding Parikshit, Janamejaya, and the *sarpa yâga*.[20]

According to the *Mahâbhârata*, (*Âdiparva* 42-124), the Pâṇḍavas ruled for thirty-six years, and that was the age of Parikshit at the commencement of the Kali yuga. He reigned for twenty-four years, and at the age of sixty died from the bite of a serpent. Janamejaya, then a minor, was crowned by the ministers, and when he grew up performed the *sarpa yâga*. It follows that Janamejaya was crowned at the age of twelve, and that he performed the serpent sacrifice when he was twenty-four, which accord very well with the statements of the *Bhârata*.

It is no matter for surprise that the Brâhmaṇs or others who prepared the inscriptions, supposing them to be forgeries, should have had the same ability that the pandit has to make the astronomical calculations necessary to support their pretended date.

There appears to me much reason to regard the inscriptions as connected with the Chalukyas. The present one not only directly claims to be a Chalukya grant, but in all of them the five introductory titles of the king are distinctively Chalukyan. But it is not, I think, till after the revival of the dynasty under Tailapa, in the 10th century, that this succession of titles is uniformly applied to the Chalukya kings, and at the close of the 12th century the dynasty came to an end.

The history of the line in A.D. 444, the alleged date of the present grant, is somewhat uncertain. The latest attempt to clear up the matter[21] gives us the following succession:—

1. Jaya Siṁha.
2. Buddha Varmma or Raṇa Râga.
3. Vijaya Râja or Vijayâditya, A.D. 472.
4. Pulakeśi ... ... 489.

Vîra Noṇamba's date would make him Vijaya Râja's predecessor, who, according to the above list, was Raṇa Râga, the son of Jaya Siṁha. Sir Walter Elliot's statement is that Jaya Siṁha was slain in attempting to subdue the Pallavas, but that this Raṇa Râga, his posthumous son, renewed

[18] *As. Res.* vol. IX. p. 447.

[19] It is necessary for the calculations that the *vyatipâta* of the inscriptions should be understood as meaning *mahâpâta*.

[20] These calculations being made by the Tables of the *Siddhantas*, must give the same result as they did when the plates were forged; but as the tables themselves are inaccurate, the results are utterly worthless, and afford no proof that an eclipse did occur in B.C. 3066 under the given conditions, unless these tables could be shown to be of equal accuracy with the best European Tables, which they are not.—Ed.

[21] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. X. p. 354. This was the latest at the time I wrote, but Mr. Fleet has since published some remarks on the subject in *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII. p. 247.

the contest, in which he was successful, and married a Pallava princess. Now the Pallavas down to a certain period were Buddhists, and this would account for the prince's other name of Buddha Varmma.[22] But his name Raṇa Râga also bears a resemblance to Raṇa Jaya, the name of a Pallava king mentioned in one of their inscriptions on a temple at Seven Pagodas.[23] We have further seen that the name Noḷamba or Noṇamba (ḷ and ṇ being interchangeable) appears as that of a Pallava king, and also among the designations of a Chalukya prince in immediate connection with the name Pallava. These coincidences do not perhaps amount to very much, but looking to the common practice of perpetuating names in a house, they may perhaps suffice to raise a conjecture whether Vîra Noṇamba may not have been an offspring of the Chalukya and Pallava matrimonial alliance.

If, on the other hand, it is considered that the grants, from the characters in which they are engraved, may with greater probability be assigned to the 12th century, we have the coincidences previously mentioned in names and allusions at about that period in support of the view. Moreover, there were not wanting special reasons for then falsifying the dates. It was a time of commotion in both the political and the religious worlds. The Chalukya throne had been usurped by Bijjala the Kalachurya, and the Chalukya king, retiring to the south of his dominions, was maintaining a doubtful authority in the Banavase country, shortly to end in the extinction of the dynasty; while the supremacy of the Brâhmaṇs was threatened by the reforms of Basava and the rise of the Lingâyets. There was thus every motive to put back the dates of grants made by the Chalukya king at this time to the period of the early triumphs and glory of his ancestors, as in the case of the grant to the merchant, or, as perhaps seemed safer to the Brâhmaṇs in the case of those made to the *agrahâras*, to a remote and vague antiquity. In the former the merchant had no objection to ascribe his grant to a prince of Buddhist associations. But this would not suit the Brâhmaṇs in the *agrahâra* grants; they therefore went back to an orthodox prince as the donor in their case.

Moreover, it may be observed that even if neither of the grants was actually made by Vîra Noṇamba, and in the Śaka year 366, yet this name and date are not therefore necessarily fictitious. They may nevertheless have been real historical facts preserved in the annals of the house, and be thus of value for chronological purposes. A very simple method, if admissible, of accounting for the apparently modern characters in which the grants are inscribed, although the terms and details are decidedly more antique, is to suppose that they are copies, on perhaps a more durable substance, in a current character, or one better understood or more highly esteemed, of genuine ancient grants, no longer in existence, written or engraved in an obsolete character known only to antiquarians.

I.

Transcript.

I. 1. Namah sasi-kalâ-koṭi-kalpamânânkura . . . . . .
lpa-kalpa-vrikshâya Sambhave || Svasti samasta-bhuvanâsraya sri-prithvi . . .
bham mahârâjâdhirâja paramesvara parama-bhaṭṭâraka Kalyaṇa-pura-varâ=
dhîsvara gajârohaka-Bhagadatta-ripu-râya-kântâ-datta-vairi-vaidhavvya Châ=
lukya-kula-kamala-mârttanḍa kadana-prachanḍa Kalinga-kodanḍa ganḍa-mâ=
rttanḍa ekânga-vira raṇa-ranga-dhîra Asvapati-Râya-disâpaṭṭa Gajapa=
ti-Râya-sâmhâraka Narapati-Râya-mastaka-tala-prahâri
sâmmanta-mriga-chamâra Konkaṇa-châtru-disa-bhayankara-nityakara
parânganâ-putra suvarṇṇa-varâha-lânchhana-dhvaja samasta-râjâva=
li-virâjita-samâmâlankrita sri-Soma-vamsodbhava Sri Vira Noṇamba cha=
kravrartti Kalyaṇa-pura susha[sukha]-sankathâ-vinodena râjyam karoti dakshiṇa-
disâvare-digvijaya-yâtrâm-bijaya-karemi Henjaṛa-grâmâtu kaṭa=

[22] Compare Pota Varmma of the inscription published by me in Ind. Ant. vol. VIII. p. 23.

[23] Major Carr's *Seven Pagodas*, p. 224.

A GRANT, PURPORTING TO BE W. CHALUKYA, OF ONE VIRA - NONAMBA, ŚAKA 366. — PLATE I.

W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH. PECKHAM

SCALE ¾ OF THE ORIGINAL.

A GRANT, PURPORTING TO BE W. CHALUKYA, OF ONE VIRA - NONAMBA, ŚAKA 366. PLATE II.

W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH. PECKHAM

SCALE ¾ OF THE ORIGINAL.

II. *a.* kam utulîtam Saka-varusha 366 Târaṇa-samvachhare Phâlguna-mâ=
se krishṇa-pakshe Bihavâra-amavâsyayâm-tithau Gangavâḍi-chhâ=
nnavati-sahasra-madhya khampana-Kundu-nâḍu-eppattara tatu-madhye
Haluhâḍi-grâmâ mûlikâ-Gangavâḍikâra Chalukiyara-vaḍḍa-byava=
hâri Mâro Saṭṭi Henjaṟa-bbavaradalu turakav-iṟidu Ki=
lva Râya manna una panchânga-pasâya chhatra sukhâsana bbala ga=
ddi anka-daṇḍa-khaṇḍane ashṭa-bhoga-teja-sâmya sarba-namasya datta
bhumi 4[0]00 gadde salage 'griha hasta 100 Mûlasthâna-deva-bhumi
500 gadde salage 2 Bhalâri-bhumi gadde 500 suvarṇṇakâ-bhumî 200 ksha=
. . baḍagî-bhumi 200 disâkirtti bhumi 100 dvârapâli-bhumi 100 ana=
. . kâ-bhumi 100 îsânya-simântarâṇi katham Beluhurada-Haluhâ=
II. *b.* ḍiya-dve-sandhi-simâtu Kembbareya-srota tathâ dakshiṇa Bbeluhurada-
Haluhâḍiya-dve-sime vaṭa-vriksha tathâ dakshiṇa Bbeluhurada-Kaḍilavâ=
gila-Haluhâḍiya. evam-ti-grâmâ-tri-sandhi-simâtu kshira-kola ta=
thâ dakshiṇa Kaḍilavâgila-Haluhâḍiya dve-sime Maḍuka-ko=
la tathâ dakshiṇa dve-sime Chanchari-srota tathâ dakshiṇa Kaḍilavâ=
gila-Haluhâḍiya dve-sime Parala-dinne prâpya tathâtu dakshiṇa
grâmâ âgneya Kaḍivâgila-Karavâḍiya-Haluhâḍi=
ya evam-tri-grâmâ-tri-sandhi-sîmâtu Svayambhu-vritta-pâsâṇa tathâ
paschima Kaṟavâḍiya-Haluhâḍiya dve-sime Chanchari-srota-prâpya ta=
thâ paschima dve-sime navanita-pâsâṇa tathâ paschima-grâmâ nairitya
Koṟavâḍiya-Mangalura-Haluhâḍiya eva-ti-grâmâ-tri-sandhi-simâ=
tu Parala keṟe tathâ uttara Mangalura-Haluhâḍiya dve-sime Chancha=
III. 3 ri prâpya tathâ uttara Mangalura-Hanemavâḍiya-Haluhâ=
ḍiya evam-ti-grâmâ-tri-sandhî-simâtu Kaḍabada-kola tathâ u=
ttara Hanamevâḍiya-Haluhâḍiya dve-sime misra-pâsâna-pun=
ji tathâ uttara grâmâ vâyâbya Hanemavâḍiya-Bbellura-Haluhâ-
ḍiya evam-ti-grâmâ-tri-sandhî-simâtu vaṭa-vriksha-kola tathâ purba Bbe=
llura-Haluhâḍiya dve-sime dine prâpya tathâ purbba dve-si=
me sveta taṭâka tathâ purbba Bbellura-Haluhâḍiya dve-sima khâlu
prâpya tathâ purba Bbellura-Bbeluhura-Haluhâḍiya evam-ti-grâmâ-tri-san=
dhî-simâtu Kembaraya diṇe tathâ purbba Beluhura-Haluhâḍiya dve-sime ka=
lpa vriksha tathâ purba isânya samâptah || Sri sâkshinâm Talakâḍu Hanuvanu
Mangalura Negavanu Bbellura Kachchuvara Kaḍilavâgila Vasyara atikusala Odvâchâri
likhita || gâ=
m ekâm ratnikâm ekâm bhumer appy ekam angulam haran narakam âpnoti yâvad âbhuta
samplavam || O=
ppa Ari-Râya-Mastaka-Tala-Prahâri.

Translation.

Adored be Śambhu, adorned with the points of the rays of the moon, ... a tree of bounty!

May it be well! The protector of all lands, favourite of earth and fortune, great king of kings, supreme ruler, first of monarchs, lord of the city of Kalyâṇa, bestower of widowhood on the hostile elephant-riding Bhagadatta kings, sun to the lotus of the Châlukya race, terrible in war, a bow to Kalinga, a sun among males, unsurpassed hero, invincible champion in the field of battle, thruster out of Aśvapati Râya, slayer of Gajapati Râya, smiter on the head of Narapati Râya, tanner of the deer of the tributary kings, the daily terror of the four quarters of Koṅkaṇa, a son to the wives of others, having

a flag with the device of a golden boar, adorned with the glory of all lines of kings, born in the auspicious Soma vaṁśa, the emperor Śrî Vîra Noṇamba, while ruling the kingdom in Kalyâṇapura in the enjoyment of peace and wisdom, making a victorious expedition to the south, having encamped his army at the village of Henjara; in the Śaka year 366, the year Târaṇa, the month Phâlguṇa, the dark fortnight, Thursday, at the time of new-moon:—

The chief (*or* original) Gangavâḍikâra, the *vaḍḍu byavahâri* of the Châlukyas, Mâro Śeṭṭi, of the village of Haluhâḍi, situated in the district of the Kundu-nâḍ Seventy, within the Gaṅgavâḍi Ninety-six Thousand, having in the battle of Henjara pierced the horse and brought down Kilva Râya;—

Gave (*to that Mâro Śeṭṭi*) five manner of gifts—an umbrella, a palanquin, an escort, a throne, and with the faults, fines, and divisions, with the eight rights of full possession, (*presented*) with every ceremony the following land:—4,000 of rice land [? at the rate of 100 cubits . . . . . .], land of the Mûlasthâna god 500 of rice land . . . . , Bhalâri land 500 of rice land, the goldsmith's land 200 . . . , the carpenter's land 200, the barber's land 100, the doorkeeper's land 100, the . . . . land 100.

The boundaries from the north-east are as follows:—The Kembbare stream at the common boundary of Beluhûr and Haluhâḍi; thence south, the banyan tree at the common boundary of Beluhûr and Haluhâḍi; thence south, the Kshîra pond at the common boundary of Beluhûr, Kaḍilavâgila, and Haluhâḍi; thence south, the Maḍuku pond at the joint boundary of Kaḍilavâgila and Haluhâḍi; thence south, the Chanchari stream at the common boundary; thence south, as far as the Parala hill at the common boundary of Kaḍilavâgila and Haluhâḍi.

Thence the southern villages:—South-east, the rocks in the land of the god Svayambhu, at the common boundary of Kaḍilavâgila, Karavâḍi, and Haluhâḍi; thence west, as far as the Chanchari stream at the common boundary of Karavâḍi and Haluhâḍi; thence west, the Navanîta rocks at the joint boundary. Thence the western villages:—South-west, the Parala tank at the common boundary of Karavâḍi, Mangalûr, and Haluhâḍi; thence north, as far as the Chanchari at the joint boundary of Mangalûr and Haluhâḍi; thence north, the Kaḍaba kola at the common boundary of Mangalûr, Hanemavâḍi, and Haluhâdi; thence north, the group of mixed rocks at the common boundary of Hanemavâḍi and Haluhâḍi. Thence the northern villages:—North-west, the banyan tree and pond at the common boundary of Hanemavâḍi, Bellûr, and Haluhâḍi; thence east, as far as the mound at the common boundary of Bellûr and Haluhâḍi; thence east, the white pond at the joint boundary; thence east, as far as the ford at the common boundary of Bellûr and Haluhâḍi; thence east, the Kembare hill at the common boundary of Bellûr, Beluhûr, and Haluhâḍi; thence east, the wishing-tree at the common boundary of Beluhûr and Haluhâḍi; thence east it ends at the north-east.

Witnesses:—Talakâḍu Hanuvanu.
Mangalûr Negavanu.
Bellûr Kachchuvara.
Kaḍilavâgila Vasyara.

Written by the accomplished Odvâchâri. Whoso seizes upon a span-breadth of land, or so much as a finger's breadth, shall linger in hell till the deluge.

Approved, *Ari-Râya-Mastaka-Tala-Prahâri* ('smiter on the heads of hostile kings').

II.

Transcript.

I. Svasti śrî-Mânavya-sa-gotrâṇâm Shâritî-putrâṇâm mâtṛi-gaṇa-samvarddhitânâm Svâmi-Mahâsena-pâdânudhyâtânâm iva

Chalu ( ) kyânâm samṛiddhimad-râjya-paramparâyâta-vamśa-

tilakośvamedhâvabhṛitha-snâna-pavitrîkṛitottamângah Paulikeśîty abhikhyâta-nâmadheyo Raṇa-Vikrama-dvitîya

II. *a.* nâmadheyah tadanântaram Harsha-Varddhana-jita-Satyâśrayam sva-priya-sutâ sva-bhâshayâ Amberety âvijñâpita san mahâ ◯ Mâgha-paurṇṇamâsyâyâ sanngama-tîrthe soma-grahaṇe sa-hiraṇya-sodakam Âtreya-gotrebhyo trayodaśebhyah Kauśika-gotrebhyo pañchebhyah Kâśyapa-gotrebhyas tribhyah Kaundinya-gotre triḥ

II. *b.* Kauśika-gotrebhyas tribhyah Śâvaṇṇika-gotrâbhyâ dvâbhyâm Bhâra=dvâja-gotrah eka Śaunaka-gotra ekah etebhyo mahâ-Brâhmaṇe=bhyah ◯ vidita-vedavidbhyah shaṭ-karmma-niratebhyah eka-trim=śadbhyo Brâhmaṇebhyah Koṇikal-vishayi sva-bhâshayâ Periyâ=ḷa-nâma-grâmman dattam Manu-gîtâ-ślokam udâharanti

III. bahubhir vvasudhâ-bhuktâm-râjabhis Sagarâdibhih yasya yasya yadâ bhûmih tasya tasya tadâ phalam sva ◯ dattâm paradattâm vâ yo hareta vasundharâm shashṭir vvarsha sahasrâṇi vishṭhâyâ jâyate krimih.

Translation.

May it be well! Of the auspicious Mânavya *gotra,* sons of Shâriti, nursed by the group of mothers, worshippers of the feet of Svâmi Mahâsena, were the Chalukyas; an ornament to which race the regular successors of a prosperous kingdom, purified by the final ablutions on the completion of the *aśvamedha,* was the renowned P a u l a k e ś i, whose second name was R a ṇ a V i k r a m a. After him was the conqueror of Harsha Varddhana, S a t y â ś r a y a. By his dear son, called in his own language, A m b e r a, it is thus commanded:—

On the full-moon day of Mahâ Mâgha, at the time of the sun's passage, during an eclipse of the moon, with (*presentation of*) a coin and (*pouring of*) water, to thirteen of the Âtreya *gotra,* five of the Kauśika *gotra,* three of the Kâśyapa *gotra,* three of the Kaundinya *gotra,* three of the Kauśika *gotra,* two of the Śâvannika *gotra,* one of the Bhâradvâja *gotra,* one of the Śaunaka *gotra,*—to these thirty-one Brâhmaṇs, versed in the Vedas, daily performers of the six rites, has been given the village called in its own language Periyâḷi, situated in the Koṇikal district.

Let the verses spoken by Manu be an example:—The earth has been enjoyed by Sagara and many kings: according to their (*gifts of*) land so was their reward. Whoso usurps a gift made by himself or by another shall be born a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years.

Postscript.—Since the above was written I have found a reference to the unusual title of *Tala Prahâri,* which makes it probable that it was first granted after the middle of the 11th century to a Noḷamba. It occurs in a Châlukya and Hoysala inscription at Heggere, a village between Bûdihâl and Huliyara, in the south of the Chitaldrug District, around which are numerous Jain ruins. In describing Śrî Bhaṭṭa Deva Sâmanta, lord of the city of Huliyara, &c., a dependent of the Hoysala king Narasiṁha (1142 to 1191), it begins his genealogy as follows, in Haḷe Kannaḍa:—

Int enisi negaḷda Biṭṭi Dev-ânvay ad ent endoḍe || *Sthira Gambhîra Noḷamban agra mahishî Śrî Devîyam tad vishotkaramam tâgade bandu bandi viḍiyalu tad vairi sanghâtamam baradir eydita prahâradoḷê kondand ittan â bhûpan-âdaradi Vîra-Tala-Prahâri vesaraṁ dhâtrî taḷam baṇṇisalû* || *Châluky-Âhava Malla nṛipâlana kaṭakadoḷ doḍḍ ankamumam lileyoḷ paḍedan adaṭam pâlisi Doḍḍ anka baḍivan emb î birudam* ||

which may be translated—

To describe the descent of Biṭṭi Deva thus glorious:—The chief queen of Sthira Gambhîra Noḷamba was Śrî Devî, whom when, unable to endure the alliance, laying an ambush they came to make prisoner, from his destroying at one blow the confederation of his enemies, so that they should not unite together, he obtained from the king for his boldness the title of Vîra Tala Prahâri; and while thus

praised in the world, displaying in the army of the Châlukya king Ahava Malla the valour of the great, he received thence the title of Great.

Now Âhava Malla's reign was from 1040 to 1069, and the title of *Vîra*-Tala-Prahâri given to Sthira Gambhîra Noḷamba is evidently related to the *Ari-Râya-Mastaka*-Tala-Prahâri of Vîra Noṇamba. Moreover, Jaya Siṁha, the son of Âhava Malla and younger brother of Vikrama, who, as we have seen, in 1079 had the name Vîra Noḷamba, describes himself both as "prince of the world-renowned Pallava race" and "head jewel of the Châlukyas." It seems clear, therefore, that his mother, Âhava Malla's queen, must have been a Pallava princess. And from other evidence I conjecture that the alliance thus entered into between the Châlukya and Pallava families may have been coincident with the formation of the Noḷambavâḍi or Noṇambavâḍi province as a barrier against the encroachments of the Choḷas; who, I take it, had overrun that part of the country, then in possession of the Pallavas, but which the Western Châlukyas recovered, and while retaining it gave it a name of distinctively Pallava connection.

These considerations seem to support the view that the grants are not older than the end of the 11th century. But reasons have been given for assigning them to the 12th century. Falling back upon *ka ṭa ka m* as containing the date, and taking the letters in the direct order, though this is not the rule, we have (Śaka) 1115, or, as usual, reckoning that year as completed, A.D. 1194. This would apply to each of the three agrahâra grants. But Vîra Noṇamba's, in addition to *ka ṭa ka m*, has Śaka 366, which might be reconciled by taking the sum of these figures, 15, as the year expressed without the centuries, a mode of dating of which there are examples. Of course this is a violation of ordinary rules, but the inscriptions being confessedly irregular may perhaps be dealt with accordingly, provided that probability is not violated. From Struyk's *Catalogue of Eclipses* there appears to have been a partial solar eclipse on the 22nd April 1194.

Should A.D. 1194 be admitted as the probable date of these grants I conceive they were made by a common descendant of the Châlukya and Pallava families, so long rivals in power, but now both alike bereft of sovereignty and kingdom. Furthermore, as previously suggested, the date 366, or A.D. 444, may have been a true one preserved in the annals of the two houses as that when the first matrimonial alliance had been entered into between them, and which period of their early glory they thus regretfully recalled.

ON SOME EARLY REFERENCES TO THE VEDAS BY EUROPEAN WRITERS.

BY A. C. BURNELL, PH. D.

During the Middle Ages there existed a belief in a mythical, blasphemous treatise termed *De tribus impostoribus*,[1] which, (if I recollect correctly,) was supposed to have been written by Averroes, the typical misbeliever. In the seventeenth century, a Latin treatise of this name again came to notice; a few copies printed (according to the title page) in 1598 have attracted much attention from bibliographers, and the book has been, twice at least, reprinted in modern times. It has been assumed to be a fabrication of the seventeenth century—after about 1651—because it refers to the Vedas, and this information (it has been wrongly assumed) could only have been taken from the well-known work of Rogerius, *De Open Deure*, which was printed in that year.

This assumption is, however, impossible for reasons I shall now give; what the real date of the book is, must be settled by bibliographers on other grounds.

The Vedas are referred to more than once in this book, and this name appears as '*Veda*' and '*Vedae*' (plural). It is important to note that the writer knew the correct form of the word according to the Benares (or received) pronunciation of Sanskrit.

The first explicit account of the Vedas is in the valuable work of A. Rogerius, *De Open Deure*, which is still, perhaps, the most complete account of S. Indian Hinduism, though by far the earliest. The author was a native of Holland, and went to India as a chaplain in the service of the Dutch East India Company. He was at Pulicat in this capacity from 1631 to near the end of 1641, and while there made the acquaint-

[1] *i. e.* Moses, Christ, and Muhammad.

ance of a Brâhmaṇ named Padmanâbhan, who had some knowledge of Portuguese. By his aid, Rogerius made the earliest complete translation from Sanskrit into a European tongue, in the shape of a Dutch version of the *Śataka* attributed to Bhartṛihari. The learned author went to Batavia on leaving Pulicat, returned to his native country in 1647, and died at Gouda in 1649; his widow brought out his book at Leyden in 1651.[2]

This account of the Vedas is as follows (p. 26): "The third privilege of the Brâhmaṇs is that they can read the *Vedam*. The *Vedam* is the law-book of the heathen, which contains all they must believe and all the ceremonies they must do. This book is in verse in Sanskrit. In this language are written all the secrets of heathendom, and it is studied by the Brâhmaṇs, who do not intend to busy themselves with trade. This *Vedam* is divided into four parts: the first part is called *Roggowedam*; the second *Issourewedam*; the third *Samawedam*; the fourth *Adderawanawedam*. The first part treats of the first cause, of the first matter, of the angels, of souls, of the reward of the good and punishment of the bad, of the generation of creatures and their corruption, what are sins, those that may be forgiven, and who can do it, and wherefor. The second part treats of the Regents to which they ascribe lordship over all things. The third part is entirely moral, which exhorts to virtue and obliges to the hatred of the contrary. The fourth part treats of the ceremonies of the temple, of offerings and of festivals: but this fourth part cannot be any longer found as it has long been lost. The Brâhmaṇ Padmanaba said that if this part existed, the Brâhmaṇs would be higher than kings in power and consideration, and that by the loss of this *Adderawanawedam* they had lost much of their power and position."

It will be remarked that Rogerius always[3] writes '*Vedam*,' and this is the Tamiḷ-Malayâḷam form of the word; in Telugu it is '*Vedamu*.' For this reason it is impossible to suppose that the author of *De tribus impostoribus* got the information from this source. Though Rogerius could not get a satisfactory and complete account of the *Vedas*,[4] what he says is sufficiently striking to attract much notice, and the author of the *De tribus impostoribus* merely refers to the 'Veda' and 'Vedas'.

Some Christian poems in Sanskrit verse were written by a European Missionary in Bengal early in the XVIIth century, which he termed '*Veda*': but these, again, cannot be the source from which the anonymous author got the word, for the Bengali pronunciation is '*bedo*,' as we find in these poems which were written in Roman characters, *e.g.* '*Chama-Bedo*' for *Sâmaveda*.[5]

As then, neither the South-Indian nor Bengali forms of the word, which are the earliest that we now find, can have been in the source of information followed, it is necessary to assume that the writer in question had access to some other source of information not yet come to light. The correct form of the word that he uses—'*Veda*'—would point to North West or Central India, probably to Goa, as the great resort of Europeans in the XVIth century: in Marâṭhî and Koṅkaṇî the form 'Veda' or 'Ved' is actually the only one used.

I have not, as yet, found the word 'Veda' in any printed Portuguese book of the XVIth century, but I have collected much information to show that the Jesuits must have had full information about the *Vedas* long before the end of that century. For example: Couto (*Dec.* v. 6, 3, printed in 1602 in Europe, but written some years before) mentions the 'Vedâos' as consisting of four parts. Couto was long at Goa.

The Portuguese bibliographer Barbosa Machado mentions (in his voluminous compilation, the *Bibliotheca Lusitana*) several treatises on Hinduism written before the end of the XVIth century,[6] and some of these were by converted natives, or written with their help. Sassetti, an Italian traveller, who was at Goa in 1586, was able to gain a very fair notion of the Sanskrit language and literature.[7] Again, in a *constitutio* of Pope Gregory XV. (*Romanae Sedis Antistes*, 1623), which forbids to Indian Christians the use of

[2] I give these details because the notice of the author in the *Biographie Universelle* (vol. XXXVIII.) is full of errors. My authorities are the preface to the *Open Deure*, and Havart's *Open Ondergang* (p. 132).

[3] *Cfr.* pp. 3, 34, 47, 51, 52, 70, 83, 87, 105 and 209, where this word occurs.

[4] This account is, in reality, based on the contents of the Tamiḷ Vaishnava hymns which profess to give the contents of the *Vedas*!

[5] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XIV. p. 13.

[6] See (*e.g.*) *Antonio de S. Bernardino* (vol. I. p. 219); *Francisco de S. Antonio* (vol. II. p. 107); *Manoel Barradas* (vol. III. p. 193).

[7] De Gubernatis has printed his letters in his *Storia dei Viaggiatori Italiani*. See especially pages 220-1.

some Hindu rites and customs, the following words occur:—ritus omnes et ceremoniae ac preces quæ, ut fertur, *Haiteres* et *Tandicæ* vocantur." It is hardly possible to doubt that *Aitareya* and *Tâṇḍya* are the words here intended, and that, therefore, a considerable knowledge of the Vedic literature must have been current at Rome in ecclesiastical circles, for some time before the XVIIth century, for ecclesiastical processes took a long time in those days, especially when they related to so distant a country as India.

There is, then, no reason to suppose that the author of the *De tribus impostoribus* antedated his book; and there is every reason to suppose that information regarding the *Vedas* was available before 1598. He alone, however, saw what use could be made of it.

A curious notice of the *Vedas*, but in comparatively recent times, occurs in the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and Dalembert, vol. XXX. p. 32 of the Swiss edition of 1781 (Berne). As it has not, I believe, been noticed, I may say that it states that the *Vedas* are written in a language more ancient than Sanskrit, and that the first copy received in Europe was sent by a missionary who got it from a convert.[8] The earlier missionaries did not, however, disdain to abet theft in order to get Hindu books, as the curious story of such a deed in 1559, told by Sousa (*Oriente Conquistado*, 1. pp. 151-2) proves; but the converts furnished many such (San Roman, *Historia de la India Oriental*, p. 47, 1603).

What the earlier missionaries really knew of Hinduism it would be hard now to discover, for the libraries of the great religious houses have been broken up and lost, but their knowledge must have been very considerable.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES ON A MARCH BETWEEN CAWNPORE AND MAINPURI, N. W. PROVINCES, DURING THE CAMPING SEASON OF 1879.

BY H. RIVETT-CARNAC, Esq., B.C.S., C.I.E., F.S.A., M.R.A.S., &c.

This year my tour has taken me through the Doab, and the inspection of opium cultivation has afforded some opportunities for antiquarian enquiry. My rough notes are now sent in the hope that they may be of some use to those who have to travel over the same ground, and who may be glad of some hints of what to look for.

The line of country on either side of the grand trunk road lying between Cawnpore and Fatehgaṛh is perhaps one of the best known in India, and has doubtless been described by many writers. For many years before the opening of the railway, and even since the completion of the line from Calcutta to Lahor, thousands of European travellers have made the journey along the high road which passes within a mile and a-half of the once celebrated city of Kanauj. Since Conolly delighted James Prinsep with the result of his finds there, not only coin hunting, but I fear also coin manufacturing, has become a trade with the inhabitants of the old city, and many a traveller, who might have passed by in ignorance of the existence of the ruins, has had his attention called to them by the brokers who besiege dâk ghaṛis and camps, with collections of coins, genuine and spurious, which are still found or fabricated at Kanauj.

Kanauj was the first place of any considerable interest that we passed on our journey north. It is just within the limits of the Fatehgaṛh district, at 50 miles from Cawnpore, and about a mile and a-half from the camping ground of Mira-ka-Serai, a good-sized bazaar with a large serai of the Muhammadan Emperors, and a tehsîl, munsifi, and other institutions of British rule.

As all of our party were more or less interested in Kanauj and its remains, we had purposed camping at Kanauj itself, knowing from experience that to see a place really well, and to collect and purchase what really is to be found there, one must be actually on the spot. But we found that at Kanauj itself there was no shade and no camping ground, and we were reluctantly obliged to make the journey backwards and forwards along the track which leads from Mira-ka-Serai to the old city. What yet remains of old Kanauj will not take the visitor long to see. From the camping ground to the bazaar, the route passes between ranges of mounds of brick and fragments of pottery, marking old building sites long deserted. Numerous narrow deep wells still remain, and these are fully utilised by the cultivators for the rich crops of potatoes and tobacco which

[8] This information was, probably, copied from a letter by P. Calmette (1737), "Lettres E'difiantes," XIV. p. 6.

now cover the ancient sites. One of the chief points of interest in the city is the ruins of the palace, or Rang Mahâl, supposed to have been built by A j a y a P â l, in whom General Cunningham recognises the Tomar Prince Jaya Pâl, conquered by Mahmud of Ghazni.[1] The palace is placed on the kankar bed, here almost deserving of the name of a hill, and which as the only rising ground to be met with for a great distance in the flat plain of the Ganges, evidently suggested Kanauj as a site for a citadel and a city. The blocks of kankar quarried for the construction of the town and the improvement of the defences of the fort are to be found all over Kanauj and its neighbourhood, where they were apparently freely used in earlier times in the absence of finer stone, not only for foundations but also for the superstructures of the temples and buildings. Many pillars and capitals and panels of block kankar are to be seen, on which figures have been carved, and considering the roughness of material, the execution of some of these was fairly good. These seem to have been used at an early period before sandstone, which had to be brought from a great distance, was available. Later on, kankar blocks appear to have been used for foundations and walls; whilst for the finer carvings, of which numerous fragments are to be seen, sandstone was employed. The other buildings, the Jâma' Masjid and the Makhdûm Jahaniya, are Muhammadan structures raised with the masonry of the Jain, Buddhist, and Hindu buildings which the Muhammadans found ready to hand, and of which they readily availed themselves.

Not only has Kanauj itself been stripped of nearly every vestige of the splendour of its former temples, but the whole of the country for many miles round would seem to have been denuded of the sandstone blocks imported by the Buddhists and Hindus, and laid under contribution for the Muhammadan masjids and serais.

It is not my intention to attempt a description of these Muhammadan buildings which are noticed by General Cunningham in his account of Kanauj, published in Vol. I. *Archæological Survey Reports*, already mentioned, and with which every visitor to the old city should provide himself, and to which reference is also made by Mr. Fergusson in his *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 525. Those, however, who have seen the same re-arrangement of Buddhist and Jaina remains which the Sharki kings made at J a u n p u r will be disappointed with the Muhammadan buildings at Kanauj which certainly cannot approach those of Jaunpur in size and grandeur. This is doubtless to be accounted for by the fact that at Kanauj, situated at a much greater distance from stone quarries than Jaunpur, the material to hand was comparatively scanty.

What interested us most were the mounds covered with fragments of pottery and brick with which the city is surrounded, and on which at the time of our arrival considerable activity was to be noticed. It at first suggested itself that the Archæological Survey were at work here, and that the excavations were being conducted under the orders of some one of General Cunningham's staff. This view, however, turned out to be incorrect, and we ascertained that the large mound to the south of the *Serai* on which the labourers were at work, was being opened by the Pathân proprietor for the supply of stone ballast to the state railway which is now under course of construction between Cawnpore and Fatehgarh.

Sandstone broken into pieces of about 2 inches long makes the very best ballast for railway purposes. In this vast alluvial tract no stone save kankar is to be met with, save at the distant and well known points which for centuries have provided the quarries for all creeds in the erection of their temples and other buildings. But the *khéras* or mounds, the ruined sites of villages and temples, and pits common throughout the country side are known to contain blocks of stone and fragments of stone as well as brick. Save to those who lived in the immediate neighbourhood, and who required building materials, these mounds were of little use, and have for centuries remained undisturbed. The contracts for ballasting the railway, however, have given these *khéras* a new importance, and they are now being opened out in all directions. In some places blocks of stone which either escaped the attention or were hardly worth notice of the Muhammadan builders, have been unearthed, with them too

[1] See Cunningham's *Archæological Reports* vol. I., p. 286.

have been found in enormous quantities fragments of sandstone. For these it is not easy to account save under the supposition that they have been chipped off from carved blocks, and that the Muhammadans, on destroying a temple to utilize the masonry for their own buildings, commenced by stripping off the blocks of carved figures and other ornamentations with which, as the remains show, the Hindu temples were richly adorned. This work of destruction could most conveniently be performed on the spot. The block to be carried from the temple to the Muhammadan masjid or serai in course of construction would be the lighter when stripped of its ornamentation, and it was thus desirable to perform the process on the spot. And the religious duty of smashing the images and that of adapting the stones to the stern simplicity of the Muhammadan buildings went hand in hand. This is the only way that the enormous number of sandstone chips,—enormous in comparison with the blocks and figures found in the same quarter, is to be accounted for. These chips make excellent ballast, and there can be no sort of objection to their being utilised for this purpose. But unfortunately in these *khéras*, and amongst the dêbris, figures, more or less complete, which have escaped the Muhammadan iconoclasts, are to be found. The zeal of the Hindu residents of the locality have, in days gone by, preserved many of these, and they are to be seen piled up and daubed with red paint under neighbouring trees. Unfortunately, however, in the eyes of a Muhammadan contractor, and even of Hindu subordinates, a sandstone figure makes as good ballast as anything else, and hundreds of figures and fragments of figures dug out of the *khéras* of Kanauj and the neighbourhood have been broken up for ballast, which, inasmuch as the dimensions of ballast metal are strictly limited to two inches, ensures the utter destruction of any carving that might be utilised for this purpose. Some damage had been done, for although the Muhammadans had smashed more or less completely all carvings found on the spot, still some had escaped, and even some of the fragments possessed considerable merit as indicating the state of art, the costumes, and even the habits of the people in whose time they were made. Harm too has been done by the opening out of these old remains without care and system, and it is obviously desirable that some effort should be made to prevent the destruction of any carvings of merit that may be unearthed. The Collector of the District, Mr. C. P. Watts, C.S., on the subject being brought to his notice, was good enough to take a warm interest in the preservation of these relics, and now contemplates the establishment of a local museum at Kanauj. In this he has received valuable support from Mr. Laing, the contractor for the ballast, who has now given strict orders to the workmen to put aside for inspection every piece of sculptured stone that may be dug up. Before leaving the spot I had the satisfaction during a forty mile drive with Mr. Laing of visiting the chief points where his ballast sub-contractors were at work, and of seeing that his orders were being carefully attended to.

It is hoped that in this manner the excavation of these *khéras* will be as valuable to the antiquarian interests as they are likely to prove remunerative to contractors. But the opening out of these ancient sites, and the destruction which, unless some measures are taken to prevent it, may result, has suggested the absolute necessity of some simple administrative rules being framed by which such operations will be conducted with due regard to the protection of any antiquarian treasures that may be unearthed. As already noticed, the prompt action of the Collector, and the interest taken in the subject by Mr. Laing, the contractor, has ensured the ballast operations of the future in the Fatehgaṛh district being conducted to the benefit of those who are interested in the remains of former dynasties. But similar action cannot always be depended on in other parts of India, and it seems most desirable that some action should be taken by Government to impress upon the local officers, engineers and others the necessity of excavations being carried on under some sort of intelligent supervision. A representation to this effect, with a statement of the circumstances above noticed, has therefore been made by me to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and it is hoped that the Government of India may be willing to adopt some simple measures which, I am sure, would have the support of all intelligent persons, European and native, whether directly interested in Antiquarian research or not.

Having thus noticed what we found going on at the Kanauj mounts at the date of our visit

in February last, I now give a short list of some of the fragments of more or less interest found on the spot, and which we had little difficulty in saving from the ballast hammers.

Perhaps the most interesting of all the fragments was indeed a mere fragment,—part of the body of a woman carved in red sandstone. The lower part of the body and left hand remained. The hand itself was most delicately chiselled, and the fingers and proportions of what remained of the body were excellent. The drapery was graceful and elaborate, the idea of the transparency of the garments being admirably rendered. The bracelets on the wrist and the jewelled girdle around the waist are minutely carved, all indicating not only a high state of art, but also great taste and progress in manufactures of garments and jewellery at the period prior to the Muhammadan iconoclasts, to which age the statue may be attributed. I mention all this in order to insist on the importance of preserving even *fragments* of sculptures, for so much does even this very fragment of a statue reveal to us of the condition of the people of the period to which it belongs.

A slab of lightish coloured sandstone, quite different in its texture, was lying close to the red sandstone fragment above described. It contained the head of a Buddha, with the well-known crisp negro-like curls. On either side is an attendant figure of the conventional type in Buddhist sculptures. The carving possesses considerable merit, and has been handed over by me to the Collector for the local museum. I also rescued and carried off a lion in red sandstone, about 3 feet in length, and which looked as if it had formed one of a pair flanking the steps of some old building. The tail and head had been smashed, but the curls of the mane were carefully and elaborately rendered, something after the manner of an Assyrian bull. The front paws of the lion were placed on the head of an elephant, the trunk of which had been broken. This also was made over to the Collector, for although the sculpturing cannot be considered to possess any great merit, it may be so far useful as assisting to indicate the style of the buildings and ornamentation of which Kanauj at one time could boast.

Near the Kâlâ Nadi on the road leading down to the southern ghâṭ is a still larger lion, which may possibly have surmounted a stone pillar such as both Chinese pilgrims mention as having existed at Sankissa. The style and treatment of both of these lions resemble those of the Bakhra and Lauraya pillars in Tirhût,[1] save that the Kanauj lions appear to have had their tails well curled over their backs, instead of placed in an undignified manner between their legs as in Cunningham's plates.

It was suggested at Kanauj that these lions were Jaina emblems, the lion being a symbol of one of the Tirthankars. But later on at Behar (Fatehgaṛh District) I found a seated statue of Buddha, the base supported by two lions, each of which again was crouched on the head of an elephant after the manner of the first of the two lions above mentioned.

Our search for fragments of images took us to the temple of Ajaya Pâl. There we noticed the fragments of two female figures; in each case the woman was carrying a child in the well-known position in which the Virgin and infant Jesus are generally represented. Here we again came upon the remains of lions of different sizes. Their heads and tails had been easily broken, but the thick trunks seem to have defied Muhammadan destruction. The Hindus had therefore utilised them, and we found two doing duty outside the shrine as Śiva's Nandis in front of a cylindrical Mahâdeva.

The Yoni, or what did duty for the Yoni, had evidently formed part of the capital of a Buddhist pillar, being of the same type as the capitals of the well known pillars found in many parts of India. It was of light-coloured sandstone and 22 inches in diameter. In the circular hole where the shaft had once fitted the *liṅga* had been placed. So that the Buddhist lion and the capital of the pillar had both been utilised in the later worship of Śiva.

Just as we were leaving, the light falling on the base of the Yoni revealed the traces of an inscription, and a copy of this was obtained after some little difficulty. It has been sent to Dr. Rajendra Lâla Mittra, C. I. E., Calcutta, and if it contains anything of interest, will, I hope, be made public by that learned authority.

Further on, to the left hand side of the road leading to the Râj ghâṭ, and not far from the

[1] See Cunningham, *Reports* vol. I. plate xxii.

tomb of Haji Harmayan, is a well executed figure of the boar incarnation of Vishṇu. The carving is in sandstone, and is in excellent preservation. We were told that, like the figures in Singh Bhawânî, a suburb of Kanauj, to be noticed later; it had been found by some pious Hindus buried many feet below the ground whilst they were digging a well. The figure appeared to be very old, and it seems probable that like those found in the neighbouring village it formed a principal feature in some Hindu temple before the invasion of Muhammadans, and had been carefully hidden away to escape their iconoclastic fury. The mali and his brethren, who were fortunate enough to discover the sacred image, have built for it a little shrine close to their homestead, and within a few yards of the mound in which it was found. Besides the merit of the execution the figure will, I am sanguine, be considered of interest from other points of view. Mr. Laing, the Railway contractor already referred to, has been good enough to promise to photograph it. The group is carved on a slab of close grey sandstone 34 inches in height by 20 inches in breadth. The principal figure itself is 29 inches high, and represents Varâha—a man's figure with the head of a boar. The dress and drapery and ornaments are elaborate and handsome, and the hair or mane, or whatever it is, falls in masses of curls which have been arranged with great care and nicety. On his left knee Vishṇu supports a small female figure, and another similar figure stands in an attitude of adoration at the base. What is the most peculiar part of the group are two other figures, the one with the head and body of a man, the other with that of a woman, which from the waist downwards are scaled and coiled like snakes. The male head is surmounted by a canopy of seven hooded snakes, the female by three such cobra heads. The male figure supports the left foot of the boar incarnation. The female figure has its hands folded in the attitude of adoration or supplication. There is something particularly striking in the chief figure, with all its incongruity of a man's body with a boar's head. The attitude, the set of the head, and even the expression are full of dignity, and the whole effect instead of being ludicrous is really fine. After looking for a while at what, from my imperfect description, may appear to be an incongruous and grotesque representation, but which in reality has little of the ludicrous about it, one begins to realize how, in the old story, Beauty fell really in love with the Beast. And for the first time an excuse was advanced for Walter Crane, who, without license, has substituted, in his otherwise admirable illustrations of the old legend, a boar's head for the bear's head, as it certainly stood in the nursery tradition of thirty years ago. The above is the ordinary form in which the boar incarnation of Vishṇu is represented at Bâdâmi, Elurâ, and elsewhere. The attitude of the figure is very like that on the silver coins, which James Prinsep and Thomas have figured and described, and which may be found in Vol. I. pl. xxiv. of Thomas's edition of Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities*. I have several of these coins in different states of preservation. In one of them the boar supports on his left knee a female figure, perhaps Prithvi, as represented in the carving above noticed. In others the head has got blurred from constant use during the many years that the coin has been in circulation, and my dignified boar might not unfairly be pronounced to be a donkey. I took these at first to be the Gadhia-ka-paisa of Elphinstone,[3] but a reference to Thomas's Prinsep will show that the Ghadia-ka-paisa is of quite a different character. The boar-headed coins are found in some numbers in Kanauj, and I believe also in Malwa. I should be interested to know if there is any reason to suppose that this boar *avatâra* of Vishṇu was particularly adopted by any King or race of early tradition,[4] and whether this figure and the coins can in any way be connected with any of the early rulers of Kanauj. And what do the Nâga figures represent at the bottom? They are common to this *avatâra* (though I cannot find them in Moor's *Pantheon*); do they represent some people or some religion subdued by the deity or his representative? And is not the boar incarnation a prominent one in ruins of Bhopal and the Malwa country, and would the prominence of a similar *avatâra* at Kanauj assist in any way to link the history of the old City with the western kingdom, of whose wars and alliance we have some little information?

(*To be continued.*)

[3] See his *History*, p. 158, and *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1835.

[4] The boar was the crest of the Chalukyas of the Dekhan, and Varâha their favourite or patron divinity.—Ed.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

MR. RICE'S WESTERN CHALUKYA GRANT OF KÎRTTIVARMÂ II.

To the Editor of the "Indian Antiquary."

SIR,—In Mr. Rice's treatment of the interesting Western Chalukya grant of Kîrttivarmâ II., which he has published at p. 23 above, there are a few points, of an important nature, which call for remark.

1.—In line 5 of his transcription, he gives the name of the dynasty as *Chaulukya;* and he endorses this reading in his translation, and even emphasizes it in his introductory remarks. But, on referring to the original plates,—which are now in London, for the purpose of preparing a facsimile to accompany his paper,—I find that here, as everywhere else in the early grants of this dynasty, the vowel of the first syllable is *a*, not *au*. His transcription is *mahîbhṛitâṁ Chaulukyânâm*, but the original has *mahîbhṛitâñ=Chalukyânâṁ*. There is no *anusvâra* over the *tâ*; much less any final *m* after it, which would be entirely opposed to rule in such a place. And, what he has taken for the vowel *au*, is really the nasal *ñ*. Exactly the same compound letter, *ñcha*, occurs again in *=uktañ=cha* at the end of l. 71, and is there transcribed by him correctly.

2.—In l. 6 of his transcription, he gives the name of the first king mentioned in this grant as *Paulakêśi;* and he repeats this in his translation, and in his introductory remarks. But, in the original, the vowel of the first syllable is *o*, not *au*, (compare the *pô* of *pôta*, ll. 39 and 45, and contrast the *ḥpau* of *ḥ=pautrâya*, l. 66); and the second syllable is *le*, not *la*, (compare the *lê* of *Bâlênduśêkharasya*, l. 17, and contrast the *la* of *kulam=*, l. 5, and everywhere else throughout the inscription). The correct transcription, in short, is *Polekêśi*.

3.—In his translation, he intimates, in brackets, that the epithet *Kârttikêya-parirakshaṇa-prâpta-kalyâṇa-paramparâṇâm=* (transcr. l. 3) is to be understood as applying, secondarily, to the succession to (the throne of the city of) Kalyâṇa. How the mistake first arose, I do not know; but it is not an uncommon thing to find the early Chalukyas called 'the Chalukyas of Kalyâṇapura.' This is nothing but a mistake. Kalyâṇa is nowhere mentioned in the early Chalukya inscriptions; and, even if it existed as a city at that time, it certainly was not a Chalukya capital. The earliest mention of it that I have obtained, is in a stone-tablet inscription of the Western Châlukya king Trailôkyamalla, or Sômêśvara I., at Kembhâvi in the Surâpûr or Śôrâpûr Ilâkhâ, (Elliot, *MS. Collection*, Vol. I. p. 117); it is dated Śaka 975 (A.D. 1053-4), the Vijaya *saṁvatsara*, and the preamble of it is *Śrîmat-Trailôkyamalla-dêvar=Kkalyâṇada nele-vîḍinolu sukha-saṅkathâ-vinôdadiṁ râjyaṁ-geyyuttam-ire*. Other inscriptions show that it was about the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. that the Western Châlukyas were gradually extending their power northwards, or, rather, were reconquering the early Chalukya dominions towards the north; and it was probably not long, if at all, before Śaka 975, that Kalyâṇa fell into their hands. This point, as to the exact date, depends chiefly upon whether the Canarese *nele-vîḍu* corresponds to the Sanskṛit *râjadhânî*, 'capital,' or to *vijaya-skandhâvâra*, 'victorious camp.' Moreover,—*paramparâ* does mean 'succession' in the sense of 'a row of things which follow one after another; a continuous arangement; an uninterrupted series.' But, to translate it, even secondarily, by 'succession' in the sense of 'the act of coming to the inheritance of ancestors,' is entirely opposed to the etymological meaning of the word, and to its use. If Kalyâṇa had but existed as an early Chalukya capital, we might possibly interpret *kalyâṇa-paramparâ* as containing a hidden allusion to the fact, by translating it by 'an uninterrupted continuity of *kalyâṇa*, or prosperity, of various kinds, including *Kalyâṇâ* as the proper name of a city,'—or by 'the line (of kings) at (the city of) Kalyâṇa.'[1] But Mr. Rice's translation of 'succession to Kalyâṇa' could be be justified only if, instead of *kalyâṇa-paramparâ*, we had in the text *kalyâṇa-siṁhâsan-ârûhaṇa*, or some such expression.

J. F. FLEET.

London, 27th February 1879.

PROTECTION OF ANTIQUARIAN REMAINS.

Mr. H. Rivett-Carnac, C. I. E., has submitted two memoranda to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, urging that Society to appeal to the Government of India with a view to the issue of some simple administrative rules for the better protection of Antiquarian Remains in the various provinces of the country, from destruction by tourists and

[1] These two possible translations were suggested to me by Dr. Bühler. He, however, adds "But I should not care to assume that the Paṇḍit, who wrote the inscription, intended a pun, if I were not *quite* certain that Kalyâṇa actually was, in his time, the capital of the Châlukyas. That is really the point on which the explanation depends. So doubtful a compound by itself cannot be used as an argument."

the still more dangerous class of philistine guides which the tourist creates, as well as from railway ballast contractors. He instances the excavations for ballast for the Fathegaṛh and Kâṇhpur railway. "Miles of sandstone clips," he says, "have been stacked along the roadside, and it is not too much to say that perhaps a good mile of this excellent ballast has been supplied by figures and carvings, some of which, had they been preserved, might have proved of interest." Mr. Rivett-Carnac rescued some pieces of undoubted merit on the spot, and sent them to Calcutta. Another of the evils he complains of is the dilettante excavator for coins and relics, who, if he find anything, is almost certain to keep it to himself and never publish it, at least satisfactorily: and when he dies it is lost. The philistine class of guides is well illustrated by the Peśkar of Ajaṇṭâ, who for years past has been cutting pieces out of the wonderful wall-paintings in the Bauddha Caves there, and presenting them to visitors in hopes of a larger *inâm*. We do trust Government will take up the whole matter, and try to devise some means of stopping the vandalism that is daily going on both in our own and Native States.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

COUVADE, *ante* p. 87.—In vol. III. p. 151 of the *Indian Antiquary* will be found an account of the Couvade as practised round about Dummagudem. That account was given by a woman of the Erakalavandhu caste, and when a by-stander rather incredulously laughed, she pointed to her two boys who were standing, by, and exclaimed—'Well, when these two boys were born, I and my husband followed that custom, and so also after the birth of all my other children.'

On p. 188 vol. V. is another allusion to these people. I ought to have added there that the women are called 'hens' by their husbands, and the male and female children 'cock children,' and 'hen children' respectively.—JOHN CAIN.

GHOST-WORSHIP.—A collection of facts regarding the remnant of Nature-worship underlying Brâhmaṇism and Muhammadanism would be most interesting. How far is this connected with Shamanism?

CESSATION OF CASTE AT CERTAIN PLACES.—In the temple of Jagannâth all caste ceases: is this the case in any other place of sanctity?—R. CUST, *Lib. R. As. Soc.*

BOOK NOTICES.

PAPERS relating to the Collection and Preservation of the Records of ANCIENT SANSKRIT LITERATURE in INDIA. Edited by order of the Government of India by A. E. GOUGH, B.A., Professor in the Presidency College and Principal of the Madrasa, Calcutta. [Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Govt. Printing, 1878].

In this handsome volume of 234 pages Mr. Gough has collected the principal records relating to the search for, and cataloguing of, Sanskrit Manuscripts, so wisely and liberally undertaken by the Government of India on the basis of the Note prepared on the subject in 1868 by Mr. Whitley Stokes. This search has been most successful in the discovery of new and important codices, and it is to be hoped it will still be continued, and that the further object originally aimed at, of publishing the rarer works discovered will now be also steadily carried out. To all interested in the work and its results Mr. Gough's compilation will be found of value and interest.

NOTES on MUHAMMADANISM, being OUTLINES of the RELIGIOUS SYSTEM of ISLAM By the Rev. T. P. HUGHES, M.R.A.S., C.M.S., Missionary to the Afghans, Peshawar.—Second edition, revised and enlarged. [London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1877.]

The first edition of this very interesting and really scholarly accurate work appeared in 1875, and was intended by the author as the notes of a 'Dictionary of Islâm' which he has in course of compilation. This second edition has undergone most careful revision and important additions. It contains fifty-five notes or chapters on such subjects as Islâm, the Quran, Allah, Prayer, Zakat, Nikah Janaza, the Wahhabis, Sufiism, Zikr, Tahrif, &c. &c., all treated in a brief, clear, popular style, and yet with a comprehensive scholarship that omits little of importance. The book (282 pp. 12mo) may be confidently recommended to all who wish for accurate information on a most interesting subject.

THE BIRTH OF THE WAR GOD. A poem by Kâlidâsa, translated from the Sanskrit into English Verse. By Ralph T.H. Griffith, M.A., Principal of Benares College. [London: Trübner & Co., 1879].

Mr. Griffith's very spirited rendering of the *Kumârasambhava*, first published twenty-six years ago, is well known to most who are at all interested in Indian literature, or enjoy the tenderness of feeling and rich creative imagination of its author. The first edition having for long been out of print, Messrs. Trübner & Co. have done well in presenting it again to the English reader as a volume of their very handy and nicely got up 'Oriental Series.'

ANONYMI [ARRIANI UT FERTUR] PERIPLUS MARIS ERYTHRÆI.

Translated from the text as given in the *Geographi Græci Minores*, edited by C. Müller, Paris, 1855. With Introduction and Commentary.[1]

BY J. W. McCRINDLE, M.A., PRINCIPAL OF THE PÂṬNÂ COLLEGE.

INTRODUCTION.

The *Periplûs of the Erythræan Sea* is the title prefixed to a work which contains the best account of the commerce carried on from the Red Sea and the coast of Africa to the East Indies during the time that Egypt was a province of the Roman empire. The Erythræan Sea was an appellation given in those days to the whole expanse of ocean reaching from the coast of Africa to the utmost boundary of ancient knowledge on the East—an appellation in all appearance deduced from the entrance into it by the Straits of the Red Sea, styled Erythra by the Greeks, and not excluding the Gulf of Persia.

The author was a Greek merchant, who in the first century of the Christian era had, it would appear, settled at Berenîkê, a great seaport situated in the southern extremity of Egypt, whence he made commercial voyages which carried him to the seaports of Eastern Africa as far as Azania, and to those of Arabia as far as Kanè, whence, by taking advantage of the south-west monsoon, he crossed over to the ports lying on the western shores of India. Having made careful observations and inquiries regarding the navigation and commerce of these countries, he committed to writing, for the benefit of other merchants, the knowledge which he had thus acquired. Much cannot be said in praise of the style in which he writes. It is marked by a rude simplicity, which shows that he was not a man of literary culture, but in fact a mere man of business, who in composing restricts himself to a narrow round of set phrases, and is indifferent alike to grace, freedom, or variety of expression. It shows further that he was a Greek settled in Egypt, and that he must have belonged to an isolated community of his countrymen, whose speech had become corrupt by much intercourse with foreigners. It presents a very striking contrast to the rhetorical diction which Agatharkhidês, a great master of all the tricks of speech, employs in his description of the Erythræan. For all shortcomings, however, in the style of the work, there is ample compensation in the fulness, variety, accuracy, and utility of the information which it conveys. Such indeed is its superiority on these points that it must be reckoned as a most precious treasure: for to it we are indebted far more than to any other work for most of our knowledge of the remote shores of Eastern Africa, and the marts of India, and the condition of ancient commerce in these parts of the world.

The name of the author is unknown. In the Heidelberg MS., which alone has preserved the little work, and contains it after the *Periplûs* of Arrian, the title given is Ἀρριανοῦ περίπλους τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης. Trusting to the correctness of this title, Stuckius attributed the work to Arrian of Nikomedia, and Fabricius to another Arrian who belonged to Alexandria. No one, however, who knows how ancient books are usually treated can fail to see what the real fact here is, viz. that since not only the *Periplûs Maris Erythræi*, but also the *Anonymi Periplûs Ponti Euxini* (whereof the latter part occurs in the Heidelberg MS. before Arrian's *Ponti Periplûs*) are attributed to Arrian, and the different Arrians are not distinguished by any indications afforded by the titles, there can be no doubt that the well-known name of the Nikomedian writer was transferred to the books placed in juxtaposition to his proper works, by the arbitrary judgment of the librarians. In fact it very often happens that short works written by different authors are all referred to one and the same author, especially if they treat of the same subject and are published conjointly in the same volume. But in the case of the work before us, any one would have all the more readily ascribed it to Arrian who had heard by report anything of the *Paraplûs* of the Erythræan Sea described in that author's *Indika*. On this point there is the utmost unanimity of opinion among writers.

That the author, whatever may have been his name, lived in Egypt, is manifest. Thus he says in § 29: "Several of the trees *with us* in Egypt weep gum," and he joins the names of the Egyptian months with the Roman, as may be seen by referring to §§ 6, 39, 49, and 56. The place in which he was settled was probably Berenîkê, since it was from that port he embarked on his voyages to Africa and Arabia, and since he speaks of the one coast as on the right from Berenîkê, and the other on the left. The whole tenor of the work proclaims that he must have been a merchant. That the entire work is not a mere compilation from the narratives or journals of other merchants

[1] The Introduction and Commentary embody the main substance of Müller's Prolegomena and Notes to the *Periplûs*, and of Vincent's *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients* so far as it relates specially to that work. The most recent authorities accessible have, however, been also consulted, and the result of their inquiries noted.

and navigators, but that the author had himself visited some of the seats of trade which he describes, is in itself probable, and is indicated in § 20, where, contrary to the custom of the ancient writers, he speaks in his own person :—" In sailing south, therefore, *we* stand off from the shore and keep *our* course down the middle of the gulf." Compare with this what is said in § 48: *τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐμπορίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν.*

As regards the age to which the writer belonged: it is first of all evident that he wrote after the times of Augustus, since in § 23 mention is made of the Roman Emperors. That he was older, however, than Ptolemy the Geographer, is proved by his geography, which knows nothing of India beyond the Ganges except the traditional account current from the days of Eratosthenês to those of Pliny, while it is evident that Ptolemy possessed much more accurate information regarding these parts. It confirms this view that while our author calls the island of Ceylon Palaisimoundou, Ptolemy calls it by the name subsequently given to it—Salikê. Again, from § 19, it is evident that he wrote before the kingdom of the Nabathæans was abolished by the Romans. Moreover Pliny (VI. xxvi. 104), in proceeding to describe the navigation to the marts of India by the direct route across the ocean with the wind called Hippalos, writes to this effect :—" And for a long time this was the mode of navigation, until a merchant discovered a compendious route whereby India was brought so near that to trade thither became very lucrative. For, every year a fleet is despatched, carrying on board companies of archers, since the Indian seas are much infested by pirates. Nor will a description of the whole voyage from Egypt tire the reader, since now for the first time correct information regarding it has been made public." Compare with this the statement of the *Periplûs* in § 57, and it will be apparent that while this route to India had only just come into use in the time of Pliny, it had been for some time in use in the days of our author. Now, as Pliny died in 79 A.D., and had completed his work two years previously, it may be inferred that he had written the 6th book of his *Natural History* before our author wrote his work. A still more definite indication of his date is furnished in § 5, where **Zoskalês** is mentioned as reigning in his times over the Auxumitæ. Now in a list of the early kings of Abyssinia the name of **Za-Hakale** occurs, who must have reigned from 77 to 89 A.D. This Za-Hakale is doubtless the **Zoskalês** of the *Periplûs*, and was the contemporary of the emperors Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. We conclude, therefore, that the *Periplûs* was written a little after the death of Pliny, between the years A.D. 80-89.

Opinions on this point, however, have varied considerably. Salmasius thought that Pliny and our author wrote at the same time, though their accounts of the same things are often contradictory. In support of this view he adduces the statement of the *Periplûs* (§ 54), "Muziris, a place in India, is in the kingdom of Kêprobotres;" when compared with the statement of Pliny (VI. xxvi. 104), "Cœlobothras was reigning there when I committed this to writing ;" and argues that since Kêprobotras and Cœlobothras are but different forms of the same name, the two authors must have been contemporary. The inference is, however, unwarrantable, since the name in question, like that of Pandîôn, was a common appellation of the kings who ruled over that part of India.

Dodwell, again, was of opinion that the *Periplûs* was written after the year A. D. 161, when Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus were joint emperors. He bases, in the first place, his defence of this view on the statement in § 26: "Not long before our own times the Emperor (Καῖσαρ) destroyed the place," viz. Eudaimôn-Arabia, now Aden. This emperor he supposes must have been Trajan, who, according to Eutropius (VIII. 3), reduced Arabia to the form of a province. Eutropius, however, meant by Arabia only that small part of it which adjoins Syria. This Dodwell not only denies, but also asserts that the conquest of Trajan embraced the whole of the Peninsula—a sweeping inference, which he bases on a single passage in the *Periplûs* (§ 16) where the south part of Arabia is called *ἡ πρώτη Αραβία*, "the First Arabia." From this expression he gathers that Trajan, after his conquest of the country, had divided it into several provinces, designated according to the order in which they were constituted. The language of the *Periplûs*, however, forbids us to suppose that there is here any reference to a Roman province. What the passage states is that Azania (in Africa) was by ancient right subject to the kingdom, *τῆς πρώτης γινομένης* (*λεγομένης* according to Dodwell) *'Αραβίας*, and was ruled by the despot of Mapharitis.

Dodwell next defends the date he has fixed on by the passage in § 23, where it is said that Kharibaël sought by frequent gifts and embassies to gain the friendship of the emperors (*τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων*). He thinks that the time is here indicated when M. Aurelius and L. Verus were reigning conjointly, A.D. 161-181. There is no need, however, to put this construction on the words, which may without any impropriety be taken to mean '*the emperors for the time being*,' viz. Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian.

Vincent adopted the opinion of Salmasius regarding the date of the work, but thinks that the Kaisar mentioned in § 26 was Claudius. "The Romans," he says, "from the time they first entered Arabia under Ælius Gallus, had always maintained a footing on the coast of the Red Sea. They had a garrison at Leukê Kômê, in Nabathæa, where they collected the customs; and it is apparent that they extended their power down the gulf and to the ports of the ocean in the reign of Claudius, as the freedman of Annius Plocamus was in the act of collecting the tributes there when he was carried out to sea and over to Taprobanê. If we add to this the discovery of Hippalus in the same reign, we find a better reason for the destruction of Aden at this time than at any other." The assertion in this extract that the garrison and custom-house at Leukê Kômê belonged to the Romans is not warranted by the language of the *Periplûs*, which in fact shows that they belonged to Malikhos the king of the Nabathæans. Again, it is a mere conjecture that the voyage which the freedman of Plocamus (who, according to Pliny, farmed the revenues of the Red Sea) was making along the coast of Arabia, when he was carried away by the monsoon to Taprobanê, was a voyage undertaken to collect the revenues due to the Roman treasury. With regard to the word *Καῖσαρ*, which has occasioned so much perplexity, it is most probably a corrupt reading in a text notorious for its corruptness. The proper reading may perhaps be ΕΛΙΣΑΡ. At any rate, had one of the emperors in reality destroyed Aden, it is unlikely that their historians would have failed to mention such an important fact.

Schwanbeck, although he saw the weakness of the arguments with which Salmasius and Vincent endeavoured to establish their position, nevertheless thought that our author lived in the age of Pliny and wrote a little before him, because those particulars regarding the Indian navigation which Pliny says became known in his age agree, on the whole, so well with the statement in the *Periplûs* that they must have been extracted therefrom. No doubt there are, he allows, some discrepancies; but those, he thinks, may be ascribed to the haste or negligence of the copyist. A careful examination, however, of parallel passages in Pliny and the *Periplûs* show this assertion to be untenable. Vincent himself speaks with caution on this point:—"There is," he says, "no absolute proof that either copied from the other. But those who are acquainted with Pliny's methods of abbreviation would much rather conclude, if one must be a copyist, that his title to this office is the clearest."

From these preliminary points we pass on to consider the contents of the work, and these may be conveniently reviewed under the three heads Geography, Navigation, Commerce. In the commentary, which is to accompany the translation, the Geography will be examined in detail. Meanwhile we shall enumerate the voyages which are distinguishable in the *Periplûs*,[3] and the articles of commerce which it specifies.

I. VOYAGES MENTIONED IN THE PERIPLUS.

I. A voyage from *Berenîkê*, in the south of Egypt, down the western coast of the Red Sea through the Straits, along the coast of Africa, round Cape Guardafui, and then southward along the eastern coast of Africa as far as Rhâpta, a place about six degrees south of the equator.

II. We are informed of two distinct courses confined to the Red Sea: one from Myos Hormos, in the south of Egypt, across the northern end of the sea to Leukê Kômê, on the opposite coast of Arabia, near the mouth of the Elanitic Gulf, whence it was continued to Mouza, an Arabian port lying not far westward from the Straits; the other from Berenikê directly down the gulf to this same port.

III. There is described next to this a voyage from the mouth of the Straits along the southern coast of Arabia round the promontory now called Ras-el-Had, whence it was continued along the eastern coast of Arabia as far as Apologos (now Oboleh), an important emporium at the head of the Persian Gulf, near the mouth of the river Euphrates.

IV. Then follows a passage from the Straits to India by three different routes: the first by adhering to the coasts of Arabia, Karmania, Gedrosia, and Indo-Skythia, which terminated at Barugaza (Bharôch), a great emporium on the river Nammadios (the Narmadâ), at a distance of thirty miles from its mouth; the second from Kanê, a port to the west of Suagros, a great projection on the south coast of Arabia, now Cape Fartaque; and the third from Cape Guardafui, on the African side—both across the ocean by the monsoon to Mouziris and Nelkunda, great commercial cities on the coast of Malabar.

V. After this we must allow a similar voyage performed by the Indians to Arabia, or by the Arabians to India, previous to the performance of it by the Greeks, because the Greeks as late as the reign of Philomêtôr met this commerce in Sabæa.

VI. We obtain an incidental knowledge of a voyage conducted from ports on the east coast of

[3] The enumeration is Vincent's altered and abridged.

Africa over to India by the monsoon long before Hippalos introduced the knowledge of that wind to the Roman world. This voyage was connected, no doubt, with the commerce of Arabia, since the Arabians were the great traffickers of antiquity, and held in subjection part of the sea-board of Eastern Africa. The Indian commodities imported into Africa were rice, ghee, oil of sesamum, sugar, cotton, muslins, and sashes. These commodities, the *Periplûs* informs us, were brought sometimes in vessels destined expressly for the coast of Africa, while at others they were only part of the cargo, out of vessels which were proceeding to another port. Thus we have two methods of conducting this commerce perfectly direct; and another by touching on this coast with a final destination to Arabia. This is the reason that the Greeks found cinnamon and the produce of India on this coast, when they first ventured to pass the Straits in order to seek a cheaper market than Sabæa.

II. Articles of Commerce mentioned in the Periplus.

I. Animals:—

1. Παρθένοι εὐειδεῖς πρὸς παλλακίαν—Handsome girls for the haram, imported into Barugaza for the king (49).[3]

2. Δοῦλικα κρείσσονα—Tall slaves, procured at Opônê, imported into Egypt (14).

3. Σώματα θηλυκὰ—Female slaves, procured from Arabia and India, imported into the island of Dioskoridês (31).

4. Σώματα.—Slaves imported from Omana and Apologos into Barugaza (36), and from Moundou and Malaô (8, 9).

5. Ἵπποι—Horses imported into Kanê for the king, and into Mouza for the despot (23, 24).

6. Ἡμίοναι νωτηγοὶ—Sumpter mules imported into Mouza for the despot (24).

II. Animal Products:—

1. Βούτυρον—Butter, or the Indian preparation therefrom called *ghî*, a product of Ariakê (41); exported from Barugaza to the Barbarine markets beyond the Straits (14). The word, according to Pliny (xxviii. 9), is of Skythian origin, though apparently connected with Βοῦς, τυρὸς. The reading is, however, suspected by Lassen, who would substitute Βόσμορον or Βόσπορον, *a kind of grain*.

2. Δέρματα Σηρικὰ—Chinese hides or furs. Exported from Barbarikon, a mart on the Indus (39). Vincent suspected the reading δέρματα, but groundlessly, for Pliny mentions the Sêres sending their iron along with vestments and hides (*vestibus pellibusque*), and among the presents sent to Yudhishṭhira by the Śaka, Tushâra and Kaṅka skins are enumerated.—*Mahâbh.* ii. 50, quoted by Lassen.

3. Ἐλέφας—Ivory. Exported from Adouli (6), Aualitês (8), Ptolemaïs (3), Mossulon (10), and the ports of Azania (16, 17). Also from Barugaza (49), Mouziris and Nelkunda (56); a species of ivory called Βωσαρὴ is produced in Desarênê (62).

4. Ἔριον Σηρικὸν—Chinese cotton. Imported from the country of the Thînai through Baktria to Barugaza, and by the Ganges to Bengal, and thence to Dimurikê (64). By Ἔριον Vincent seems to understand silk in the raw state.

5. Κέρατα—Horns. Exported from Barugaza to the marts of Omana and Apologos (36). Müller suspects this reading, thinking it strange that such an article as *horns* should be mentioned between *wooden beams* and *logs*. He thinks, therefore, that Κέρατα is either used in some peculiar sense, or that the reading Κορμῶν or Κορμίων should be substituted—adding that Κορμοὺς ἐβένου, *planks of ebony*, are at all events mentioned by Athênaios (p. 201*a*) where he is quoting Kallixenos of Rhodes.

6. Κοράλλιον—Coral. (Sans. *pravâla*, Hindi *mûngâ*.) Imported into Kanê (28), Barbarikon on the Indus (39), Barugaza (49), and Naoura, Tundis, Mouziris, and Nelkunda (56).

7. Λάκκος χρωμάτινος—Coloured lac. Exported to Adouli from Ariakê (6). The Sanskṛit word is *lâkshâ*, which is probably a later form of *râkshâ*, connected, as Lassen thinks, with *râga*, from the root *rañj*, to dye. The vulgar form is *lâkkha*. Gum-lac is a substance produced on the leaves and branches of certain trees by an insect, both as a covering for its egg and food for its young. It yields a fine red dye.[4] Salmasius thinks that by λάκκος χρωμάτινος must be understood not lac itself, but vestments dyed therewith.

8. Μαργαρίτης—Pearl. (Sans. *mukta*, Hindi, *motî*.) Exported in considerable quantity and of superior quality from Mouziris and Nelkunda (56). Cf. πινικόν.

9. Νῆμα Σηρικόν—Silk thread. From the country of the Thinai: imported into Barugaza and the marts of Dimurikê (64). Exported from Barugaza (49), and also from Barbarikon on the Indus (39). "It is called μέταξα by Procopius and all the later writers, as well as by the *Digest*, and was known without either name to Pliny"—Vincent.

[3] The numerals indicate the sections of the *Periplûs* in which the articles are mentioned.

[4] Bhagvânlâl Indraji Pandit points out that the colour is called *alaktaka*, Prakrit *alito*: it is used by women for dyeing the nails and feet,—also as a dye. The *gulâlî* or pill-like balls used by women are made with arrowroot coloured with *alito*, and cotton dipped in it is sold in the bazars under the name of *pothi*, and used for the same purposes. He has also contributed many of the Sanskrit names, and other notes.—Ed.

10. Πινίκιος κόγχος—the Pearl-oyster. (Sans. *śukti.*) Fished for at the entrance to the Persian Gulf (35). Pearl (πίνικον) inferior to the Indian sort exported in great quantity from the marts of Apologos and Omana (36). A pearl fishery (Πινικοῦ κολύμβησις) in the neighbourhood of Kolkhoi, in the kingdom of Pandiôn, near the island of Epiodôros; the produce transported to Argalou, in the interior of the country, where muslin robes with pearl inwoven (μαργαρίτιδες σινδόνες) were fabricated (59). The reading of the MS. is σινδόνες, ἐβαργαρείτιδες λεγόμεναι, for which Salmasius proposed to read μαργαρίτιδες. Müller suggests instead αἱ 'Αργαρίτιδες, as if the muslin bore the name of the place *Argarou* or *Argulou*, where it was made.

Pearl is also obtained in Taprobanê (61); is imported into the emporium on the Ganges called Gangê (63).

11. Πορφύρα—Purple. Of a common as well as of a superior quality, imported from Egypt into Mouza (24) and Kanê (28), and from the marts of Apologos and Omana into Barugaza (36).

12. 'Ρινόκερως—Rhinoceros (Sans. *khadgad*)—the horn or the teeth, and probably the skin. Exported from Adouli (16), and the marts of Azania (7). Bruce found the hunting of the rhinoceros still a trade in Abyssinia.

13. Χελώνη—Tortoise (Sans. *kachchhapa*) or tortoise-shell. Exported from Adouli (6) and Analitês (7); a small quantity of the genuine and land tortoise, and a white sort with a small shell, exported from Ptolemaïs (3); small shells (Χελωνάρια) exported from Mossulon (10); a superior sort in great quantity from Opônê (13); the mountain tortoise from the island of Menouthias (15); a kind next in quality to the Indian from the marts of Azania (16, 17); the genuine, land, white, and mountain sort with shells of extraordinary size from the island of Dioskoridês (30, 31); a good quantity from the island of Serapis (33); the best kind in all the Erythræan—that of the Golden Khersonêsos (63), sent to Mouziris and Nelkunda, whence it is exported along with that of the islands off the coast of Dimurikê (probably the Laccadive islands) (56); tortoise is also procured in Taprobanê (61).

III.—Plants and their products:—

1. Ἀλόη—the aloe (Sans. *agaru*). Exported from Kanê (28). The sort referred to is probably the bitter cathartic, not the aromatic sort supposed by some to be the sandalwood. It grows abundantly in Sokotra, and it was no doubt exported thence to Kanê. "It is remarkable," says Vincent, "that when the author of the *Periplûs* arrives at Sokotra he says nothing of the aloe, and mentions only Indian cinnabar as a gum or resin distilling from a tree: but the confounding of cinnabar with dragon's-blood was a mistake of ancient date and a great absurdity" (II. p. 689).

2. 'Αρώματα—aromatics (εὐωδία, θυμιάματα.) Exported from Analitês (7), Mossulon (10). Among the spices of Tabai (12) are enumerated ἀσύβη καί ἄρωμα καί μάγλα, and similarly among the commodities of Opônê κασσία καὶ ἄρωμα καὶ μότω; and in these passages perhaps a particular kind of aromatic (cinnamon?) may by preëminence be called ἄρωμα. The occurrence, however, in two instances of such a familiar word as ἄρωμα between two outlandish words is suspicious, and this has led Müller to conjecture that the proper reading may be ἀρηβὼ, which Salmasius, citing Galen, notes to be a kind of cassia.

3. Ασύβη—Asuphê, a kind of cassia. Exported from Tabai (12). "This term," says Vincent, "if not Oriental, is from the Greek ἀσύφηλος, signifying *cheap* or *ordinary*; but we do not find ἀσύφη used in this manner by other authors: it may be an Alexandrian corruption of the language, or it may be the abbreviation of a merchant in his invoice." (*Asafœtida*, Sans. *hingu* or *bâhlika*, Mar, *hing*.)

4. Βδέλλα, (common form Βδέλλιον). Bdella, Bdellium, produced on the sea-coast of Gedrosia (37); exported from Barbarikon on the Indus (39); brought from the interior of India to Barugaza (48) for foreign export (49). Bdella is the gum of the *Balsamodendron Mukul*, a tree growing in Sind, Kâṭhiâvâḍ, and the Dîsâ district.[5] It is used both as an incense and as a cordial medicine. The bdellium of Scripture is a crystal, and has nothing in common with the bdellium of the *Periplûs* but its transparency. Conf. Dioskorid. i. 80; Plin. xii. 9; Galen, *Therapeut. ad Glauc.* II. p. 106; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. I. p. 290; Vincent, vol. II. p. 690; Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. II. p. 387. The etymology of the word is uncertain. Lassen suspects it to be Indian.

5. Γίζειρ—Gizeir, a kind of cassia exported from Tabai (12). This sort is noticed and described by Dioskoridês.

6. Δόκος—Beams of wood. Exported from Barugaza to the marts of Omana and Apologos (36). (? Blackwood.)

7. Δούακα—Douaka, a kind of cassia.—Exported from Malao and Moundou (8, 9). It was probably that inferior species which in Dioskorid. i. 12, is called δάκαρ or δακάρ or δάρκα.

8. 'Εβένιναι φάλαγγες—Logs of ebony (*Diospyros melanoxylon.*) Exported from Barugaza to the marts of Omana and Apologos (36).

[5] Sans. *Guggula*, Guj. *Gûgal*, used as a tonic and for skin and urinary diseases.—B. I. P.

9. Ελαιον—Oil (*tila*). Exported from Egypt to Adouli (6); *ἔλαιον σησάμινον*, oil of sêsamê, a product of Ariakê (41). Exported from Barugaza to the Barbarine markets (14), and to Moskha in Arabia (32).[6]

10. Ἰνδικὸν μελαν—Indigo. (Sans. *nîlî*, Guj. *gulî*.) Exported from Skythic Barbarikon (39). It appears pretty certain that the culture of the indigo plant and the preparation of the drug have been practised in India from a very remote epoch. It has been questioned, indeed, whether the Indicum mentioned by Pliny (xxxv. 6) was indigo, but, as it would seem, without any good reason. He states that it was brought from India, and that when diluted it produced an admirable mixture of blue and purple colours. *Vide* McCulloch's *Commer. Dict.* s. v. *Indigo*. Cf. Salmas. in *Exerc.* Plin. p. 181. The dye was introduced into Rome only a little before Pliny's time.

11. Κάγκαμον—Kankamon. Exported from Malao and Moundou (8, 10). According to Dioskoridês i. 23, it is the exudation of a wood, like myrrh, and used for fumigation. Cf. Plin. xii. 44. According to Scaliger it was gum-lac used as a dye. It is the "dekamalli" gum of the bazars.

12. Κάρπασος—Karpasus (Sans. *kârpâsa*; Heb. *karpas*,) *Gossypium arboreum*, fine muslin—a product of Ariakê (41). "How this word found its way into Italy, and became the Latin *carbasus*, fine linen, is surprising, when it is not found in the Greek language. The Καρπάσιον λίνον of Pausanias (*in Atticis*), of which the wick was formed for the lamp of Pallas, is asbestos, so called from Karpasos, a city of Crete—Salmas. Plin. *Exercit.* p. 178. Conf. Q. Curtius viii. 9:—'Carbaso Indi corpora usque ad pedes velant, eorumque rex lecticâ margaritis circumpendentibus recumbit distinctis auro et purpurâ carbasis quâ indutus est.'" Vincent II. 699.

13. Κασσία or Κασία (Sans. *kuta*, Heb. *kiddah* and *keziah*). Exported from Tabai (12); a coarse kind exported from Malao and Moundou (8, 9); a vast quantity exported from Mossulon and Opônê (10, 13).

"This spice," says Vincent, "is mentioned frequently in the *Periplûs*, and with various additions, intended to specify the different sorts properties, or appearances of the commodity. It is a species of cinnamon, and manifestly the same as what we call cinnamon at this day; but different from that of the Greeks and Romans, which was not a bark, nor rolled up into pipes, like ours. Theirs was the tender shoot of the same plant, and of much higher value." "If our cinnamon," he adds, "is the ancient casia, our casia again is an inferior sort of cinnamon." Pliny (xii. 19) states that the cassia is of a larger size than the cinnamon, and has a thin rind rather than a bark, and that its value consists in being hollowed out. Dioskoridês mentions cassia as a product of Arabia, but this is a mistake, Arabian cassia having been an import from India. Herodotos (iii.) had made the same mistake, saying that cassia grew in Arabia, but that cinnamon was brought thither by birds from the country where Bacchus was born (India). The cassia shrub is a sort of laurel. There are ten kinds of cassia specified in the *Periplûs*.[7] Cf. Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* I. 279, 283; Salmas. Plin. *Exercit.* p. 1304; Galen, *de Antidotis*, bk. i.

14. Κιννάβαρι Ἰνδικὸν—Dragon's-blood, *damu'l akhawein* of the Arabs, a gum distilled from *Pterocarpus Draco*, a leguminous tree[8] in the island of Dioskoridês or Sokotra (30). Cinnabar, with which this was confounded, is the red sulphuret of mercury. Pliny (lib. xxix. c. 8) distinguishes it as 'Indian cinnabar.' Dragon's-blood is one of the concrete balsams, the produce of *Calamus Draco*, a species of rattan palm of the Eastern Archipelago, of *Pterocarpus Draco*, allied to the Indian Kino tree or *Pt. marsupium* of South India, and of *Dracœna Draco*, a liliaceous tree of Madeira and the Canary Islands.

15. Κόστος (Sansk. *kushṭa*, Mar. *choka*, Guj. *kaṭha* and *pushkara mûla*,)—Kostus. Exported from Barbarikon, a mart on the Indus (39), and from Barugaza, which procured it from Kâbul through Proklaïs, &c. This was considered the best of aromatic roots, as nard or spikenard was the best of aromatic plants. Pliny (xii. 25) describes this root as hot to the taste and of consummate fragrance, noting that it was found at the head of Patalênê, where the Indus bifurcates to form the Delta, and that it was of two sorts) black and white, black being of an inferior quality. Lassen states that two kinds are found in India—one in Multân, and the other in Kâbul and Kâśmîr. "The Costus of the ancients is still exported from Western India, as well as from Calcutta to China, under the name of *Putchok*, to be burnt as an incense in Chinese temples. Its identity has been ascertained in our own days by Drs. Royle and Falconer as the root of a plant which they called *Aucklandia Costus*. . . . . . Alexander Hamilton, at the beginning of last century, calls it *ligna dulcis* (sic), and speaks of it as an export from Sind, as did the author of the *Periplûs* 1600 years earlier." Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. II. p. 388.

[6] Mahuwâ oil (Guj. *doliuṅ*, Sans. *madhuka*) is much exported from Bharoch.—B. I. P.

[7] May not some of these be the fragrant root of the *kusâ* grass, *Andropogon calamus—aromaticus*?—Ed.

[8] A similar gum is obtained from the *Pâlâśa* (Guj. *khâkhara*), the *Dhâka* of Râjputâna.—B. I. P.

16. Κρόκος—Crocus, Saffron. (Sans. *kaśmîraja*, Guj. *kesir*, Pers. *zafrân.*) Exported from Egypt to Mouza (24) and to Kanê (28).

17. Κύπερος—Cyprus. Exported from Egypt to Mouza (24). It is an aromatic rush used in medicine (Pliny xxi. 18). Herodotos (iv. 71) describes it as an aromatic plant used by the Skythians for embalming. Κύπερος is probably Ionic for Κύπειρος—Κύπειρος ἰνδικὸς of Dioskoridês, and *Cypria herba indica* of Pliny.—Perhaps Turmeric, *Curcuma longa*, or Galingal possibly.

18. Λέντια, (Lat. *lintea*)—Linen. Exported from Egypt to Adouli (6).

19. Λίβανος (Heb. *lebonah*, Arab. *luban*, Sans. *śrîvâsa*)—Frankincense. Peratic or Libyan frankincense exported from the Barbarine markets—Tabai (12), Mossulon (10), Malaô and Moundou, in small quantities (8, 9); produced in great abundance and of the best quality at Akannai (11); Arabian frankincense exported from Kanê (28). A magazine for frankincense on the Sakhalitic Gulf near Cape Suagros (30). Moskha, the port whence it was shipped for Kanê and India (32) and Indo-Skythia (39).

Regarding this important product Yule thus writes:—"The coast of Hadhramaut is the true and ancient Χώρα λιβανοφόρος or λιβανωτοφόρος, indicated or described under those names by Theophrastus, Ptolemy, Pliny, Pseudo-Arrian, and other classical writers, *i.e.* the country producing the fragrant gum-resin called by the Hebrews *Lebonah*, by the Arabs *Luban* and *Kundur*, by the Greeks *Libanos*, by the Romans *Thus*, in mediæval Latin *Olibanum* (probably the Arabic *al-luban*, but popularly interpreted as *oleum Libani*), and in English frankincense, *i.e.* I apprehend, 'genuine incense' or 'incense proper.'[9] It is still produced in this region and exported from it, but the larger part of that which enters the markets of the world is exported from the roadsteads of the opposite Sumâlî coast. Frankincense when it first exudes is milky white; whence the name *white incense* by which Polo speaks of it, and the Arabic name *luban* apparently refers to milk. The elder Niebuhr, who travelled in Arabia, depreciated the Libanos of Arabia, representing it as greatly inferior to that brought from India, called Benzoin. He adds that the plant which produces it is not native, but originally from Abyssinia."—*Marco Polo*, vol. II. p. 443, &c.

20. Λύκιον—Lycium. Exported from Barbarikon in Indo-Skythia (39), and from Barugaza (49). Lycium is a thorny plant, so called from being found in Lykia principally. Its juice was used for dying yellow, and a liquor drawn from it was used as a medicine (Celsus v. 26, 30, and vi. 7) It was held in great esteem by the ancients. Pliny (xxiv. 77) says that a superior kind of Lycium produced in India was made from a thorn called also *Pyxacanthus* (box-thorn) *Chironia*. It is known in India as *Ruzot*, an extract of the *Berberis lycium* and *B. aristata*, both grown on the Himâlayas. Conf. the λύκιον ἰνδικὸν of Dioskor. i. 133. (? Gamboge.)

21. Μάγλα—Magla—a kind of cassia mentioned only in the *Periplûs*. Exported from Tabai (12).

22. Μάκειρ—Macer. Exported from Malaô and Moundou (8, 9). According to Pliny, Dioskoridês, and others, it is an Indian bark—perhaps a kind of cassia. The bark is red and the root large. The bark was used as a medicine in dysenteries. Pliny xii. 8; Salmasius, 1302. (? The *Karachâlâ* of the bâzârs, *Kutajatvak*).

23. Μαλάβαθρον (Sans. *tamâlapattra*, the leaf of the *Laurus Cassia*), Malabathrum, Betel. Obtained by the Thinai from the Sesatai and exported to India[10] (65); conveyed down the Ganges to Gangê near its mouth (63); conveyed from the interior of India to Mouziris and Nelkunda for export (56). That Malabathrum was not only a masticatory, but also an unguent or perfume, may be inferred from Horace (*Odes*, II. vii. 89):—

. . . "coronatus nitentes
Malabathro Syrio capillos",

and from Pliny (xii. 59): "Dat et Malabathrum Syria, arborum folio convoluto, arido colore, ex quo exprimitur oleum ad unguenta: fertiliore ejusdem Egypto: laudatius tamen ex India venit." From Ptolemy (VII. ii. 16) we learn that the best Malabathrum was produced in Kirrhadia—that is, Rangpur. Dioskoridês speaks of it as a masticatory, and was aware of the confusion caused by mistaking the nard for the betel.

24. Μέλι τὸ καλάμινον, τὸ λεγόμενον σάκχαρ (Sans. *śarkarâ*, Prâkṛit *sâkara*, Arab. *sukkar*, Latin *saccharum*)—Honey from canes, called Sugar. Exported from Barugaza to the marts of Barbaria (14). The first Western writer who mentions this article was Theophrastos, who continued the labours of Aristotle in natural history. He called it a sort of honey extracted from reeds. Strabo states, on the authority of Nearkhos, that reeds in India yield honey without bees. Ælian (*Hist. Anim.*) speaks of a kind of honey pressed from reeds which grew among the Prasii. Seneca (Epist. 84) speaks of sugar as a kind of honey found in India on the leaves of reeds, which had either been dropped on them from the sky as dew,

[9] What the Brâhmans call *kunḍaru* is the gum of a tree called the *Dhûpa-salai*; another sort of it, from Arabia, they call *Isêsa*, and in Kâṭhiâvâḍ it is known as *Sesagundar*.—B. I. P.

[10] More likely from Nepâl, where it is called *tejapât*.—B. I. P.

or had exuded from the reeds themselves. This was a prevalent error in ancient times, *e.g.* Dioskoridês says that sugar is a sort of concreted honey found upon canes in India and Arabia Felix, and Pliny that it is collected from canes like a gum. He describes it as white and brittle between the teeth, of the size of a hazel-nut at most, and used in medicine only. So also Lucan, alluding to the Indians near the Ganges, says that they quaff sweet juices from tender reeds. Sugar, however, as is well known, must be extracted by art from the plant. It has been conjectured that the sugar described by Pliny and Dioskoridês was sugar candy obtained from China.

25. Μελίλωτον—Melilot, Honey-lotus. Exported from Egypt to Barugaza (49). Melilot is the Egyptian or Nymphæa Lotus, or Lily of the Nile, the stalk of which contained a sweet nutritive substance which was made into bread. So Vincent; but Melilot is a kind of clover, so called from the quantity of honey it contains. The nymphæa lotus, or what was called the Lily of the Nile, is not a true lotus, and contains no edible substance.

26. Μοκρότου. Exported from Moundou (9) and Mossulon (10). It is a sort of incense, mentioned only in the *Periplûs*.

27. Μότω—Motô—a sort of cassia exported from Tabai and Opônê (13).

28. Μύρον—Myrrh. (Sans. *bola.*) Exported from Egypt to Barugaza as a present for the king (49). It is a gum or resin issuing from a thorn found in Arabia Felix, Abyssinia, &c., *vide* σμύρνη *inf.*

29. Νάρδος (Sans. *nalada*, 'kaskas,' Heb. *nerd*) Nard, Spikenard.[11] Gangetic spikenard brought down the Ganges to Gangê, near its mouth (63), and forwarded thence to Mouziris and Nelkunda (56). Spikenard produced in the regions of the Upper Indus and in Indo-Skythia forwarded through Ozênê to Barugaza (48). Imported by the Egyptians from Barugaza and Barbarikon in Indo-Skythia (49, 39).

The *Nardos* is a plant called (from its root being shaped like an ear of corn) νάρδου στάχυς, also ναρδόσταχυς, Latin *Spica nardi*, whence 'spikenard.' It belongs to the species *Valeriana*. "No Oriental aromatic," says Vincent, "has caused greater disputes among the critics or writers on natural history, and it is only within these few years that we have arrived at the true knowledge of this curious odour by means of the inquiries of Sir W. Jones and Dr. Roxburgh. Pliny describes the nard with its *spica*, mentioning also that both the leaves and the *spica* are of high value, and that the odour is the prime in all unguents; the price 100 denarii for a pound. But he afterwards visibly confounds it with the Malabathrum or Betel, as will appear from his usage of *Hadrosphærum*, *Mesosphærum*, and *Microsphærum*, terms peculiar to the Betel"—II. 743-4. See Sir W. Jones on the spikenard of the ancients in *As. Res.* vol. II. pp. 416 *et seq.*, and Roxburgh's additional remarks on the spikenard of the ancients, vol. IV. pp. 97 *et seq.*, and botanical observations on the spikenard, pp. 433. See also Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. I. pp. 288 *et seq.*

30. Ναύπλιος—Nauplius. Exported in small quantity from the marts of Azania (17). The signification of the word is obscure, and the reading suspected. For ΝαΥΠλιος Müller suggests ΝαΡΓΙλιος, the Indian cocoanut, which the Arabians call *Nargil* (Sansk. *nárikêla* or *nâlikêra*, Guj. *nâliyêr*, Hindi *nâliyar*). It favours this suggestion that cocoanut oil is a product of Zangibar, and that in four different passages of Kosmas Indikopleustês nuts are called ἀργέλλια, which is either a corrupt reading for ναργέλλια, or Kosmas may not have known the name accurately enough.

31. Ὀθόνιον—Muslin. Sêric muslin sent from the Thînai to Barugaza and Dimurikê (64). Coarse cottons produced in great quantity in Ariakê, carried down from Ozênê to Barugaza (48); large supplies sent thither from Tagara also (51); Indian muslins exported from the markets of Dimurikê to Egypt (56). Muslins of every description, Seric and dyed of a mallow colour, exported from Barugaza to Egypt (49); Indian muslin taken to the island of Dioskoridês (31); wide Indian muslins called μοναχή, *monâkhê*, i. e. of the best and finest sort; and another sort called σαγματογήνη, *sagmatogênê*, i. e. coarse cotton unfit for spinning, and used for stuffing beds, cushions, &c., exported from Barugaza to the Barbarine markets (14), and to Arabia, whence it was exported to Adouli (6). The meanings given to *monâkhê* and *sagmatogênê* (for which other readings have been suggested) are conjectural. Vincent defends the meaning assigned to *sagmatogênê* by a quotation from a passage in Strabo citing Nearkhos:—"Fine muslins are made of cotton, but the Makedonians use cotton for flocks, and stuffing of couches."

32. Οἶνος—Wine. Laodikean and Italian wine exported in small quantity to Adouli (6); to Aualitês (7), Malaô (8), Mouza (24), Kanê (28), Barbarikon in Indo-Skythia (39); the same sorts, together with Arabian wine, to Barugaza (49); sent in small quantity to Mouziris and Nelkunda (56); the region inland from Oraia bears the vine (37), which is found also in the district of Mouza (24), whence wine is exported to the marts of Azania, not for sale, but to gain the good will of the natives (17). Wine is exported also from

[11] Obtained from the root of *Nardostachys jatamansi*, a native of the eastern Himâlayas.—Ed.

the marts of Apologos and Omana to Barugaza (36). By Arabian wine may perhaps be meant palm or toddy wine, a great article of commerce.

33. Ὄμφακος Διοσπολιτικῆς χυλός—the juice of the sour grape of Diospolis. Exported from Egypt to Analitês (7). This, says Vincent, was the *dipse* of the Orientals, and still used as a relish all over the East. *Dipse* is the rob of grapes in their unripe state, and a pleasant acid.—II. 751. This juice is called by Dioskoridês (iv. 7) in one word Ὀμφάκιον, and also (v. 12) Οἶνος Ὀμφακίτης. Cf. Plin. xii. 27.

34 Ὄρυζα (Sansk. *vrîhi*)—Rice. Produced in Oraia and Ariakê (37, 41), exported from Barugaza to the Barbarine markets (14), and to the island of Dioskoridês (31).

35. Πέπερι (Sansk. *pippalî*,) long pepper—Pepper. Kottonarik pepper exported in large quantities from Mouziris and Nelkunda (56); long pepper from Barugaza (49). *Kottonara* was the name of the district, and *Kottonarikon* the name of the pepper for which the district was famous. Dr. Buchanan identifies Kottonara with Kadattanâdu, a district in the Calicut country celebrated for its pepper. Dr. Burnell, however, identifies it with Kolatta-Nâdu, the district about Tellicherry, which, he says, is the pepper district.

36. Πυρὸς—Wheat. Exported in small quantity from Egypt to Kanê (28), some grown in the district around Mouza (24).

37. Σάκχαρι—Sugar: see under Μέλι.

38. Σανδαρακη—Sandarakê (*chandrasa* of the bazars); a resin from the *Thuja articulata* or *Callitris quadrivalvis*, a small coniferous tree of North Africa; it is of a faint aromatic smell and is used as incense. Exported from Egypt to Barugaza (49); conveyed to Mouziris and Nelkunda (56).[12]

Sandarakê also is a red pigment—red sulphuret of arsenic, as orpiment is the yellow sulphuret. Cf. Plin. xxxv. 22, Hard. "Juba informs us that sandarace and ochre are found in an island of the Red Sea, Topazas, whence they are brought to us."

39. Σαντάλινα and σασάμινα ξύλα—Logs of Sandal and Sasame (*santalum album*). Exported from Barugaza to the marts of Omana and Apologos (36). Σαντάλινα is a correction of the MS. reading σαγάλινα proposed by Salmasius. Kosmas Indikopleustes calls sandalwood τζαδάνα. For σασάμινα of the MS. Stuckius proposed σησάμινα—a futile emendation, since sesame is known only as a leguminous plant from which an oil is expressed, and not as a tree. But possibly Red Saunders wood (*Pterocarpus Santalinus*) may be meant.

40. Σησάμινον ἔλαιον. See Ἔλαιον.

41. Σινδόνες διαφορώταται αἱ Γαγγητικαί. The finest Bengal muslins exported from the Ganges (63); other muslins in Taprobanê (61); Μαργαρίτιδες (?), made at Argalou and thence exported (59); muslins of all sorts and mallow-tinted (μολόχιναι) sent from Ozênê to Barugaza (48), exported thence to Arabia for the supply of the market at Adouli (6).

42. Σῖτος—Corn. Exported from Egypt to Adouli (7), Malaô (8); a little to Mouza (24), and to Kanê (28), and to Muziris and Nelkunda for ships' stores (56); exported from Dimurikê and Ariakê into the Barbarine markets (14), into Moskha (32) and the island of Dioskoridês (31); exported also from Mouza to the ports of Azania for presents (17).

43. Σμύρνη—Myrrh (vide μύρον). Exported from Malaô, Moundou, Mossulon (8, 9, 10); from Analitês a small quantity of the best quality (7); a choice sort that trickles in drops, called *Abeirminaia* (ἐκλεκτὴ καὶ στακτὴ ἀβειρμιναία), exported from Mouza (24). For Ἀβειρμιναία of the MS. Müller suggests to read γαβειρμιναία, inclining to think that two kinds of myrrh are indicated, the names of which have been erroneously combined into one, viz. the Gabiræan and Minæan, which are mentioned by Dioskoridês, Hippokratês, and Galen. There is a *Wadi Gabir* in Omân.

44. Στύραξ—Storax (Sans. *turuska*, *selarasa* of the bazars),—one of the balsams. Exported from Egypt to Kanê (28), Barbarikon on the Indus (39), Barugaza (40). Storax is the produce of the tree *Liquidambar orientale*, which grows in the south of Europe and the Levant.[13] The purest kind is storax in grains. Another kind is called *styrax calamita*, from being brought in masses wrapped up in the leaves of a certain reed. Another kind, that sold in shops, is semi-fluid.

45. Φοῖνιξ—the Palm or Dates. Exported from the marts of Apologos and Omana to Barugaza (36, 37).

IV.—Metals and Metallic Articles:—

1. Ἀργυρᾶ σκεύη, ἀργυρώματα—Vessels of silver. Exported from Egypt to Mossulon (10), to Barbarikon on the Indus (39). Silver plate chased or polished (τορνευτὰ or τετορνευμένα) sent as presents to the despot of Mouza (24), to Kanê for the king (28). Costly (βαρύτιμα) plate to Barugaza for the king (49). Plate made according to the Egyptian fashion to Adouli for the king (6).

2. Ἀρσενικὸν—Arsenic (*somal*). Exported from Egypt to Mouziris and Nelkunda (56).

3. Δηνάριον—Denary. Exported in small quantity from Egypt to Adouli (6). Gold and silver denarii sent in small quantity to the marts of

[12] It is brought now from the Eastern Archipelago.—B. I. P.

[13] In early times it was obtained chiefly from *Styrax officinalis*, a native of the same region.—Ed.

Barbaria (8, 13); exchanges with advantage for native money at Barugaza (49).

The *denary* was a Roman coin equal to about $8\frac{1}{2}d.$, and a little inferior in value to the Greek drachma.

4. Κάλτις—Kaltis. A gold coin (νομισμὰ) current in the district of the Lower Ganges (63); Benfey thinks the word is connected with the Sanskṛit *kalita*, i.e. *numeratum*.

5. Κασσίτερος (Sans. *baṅga, kathila*)—Tin. Exported from Egypt to Aualitês (7), Malaô (8), Kanê (28), Barugaza (49), Mouziris and Nelkunda (56). India produced this metal, but not in those parts to which the Egyptian trade carried it.

6. Μόλυβδος—Lead (Sansk. *nâga*, Guj. *sîsuṁ*). Exported from Egypt to Barugaza, Muziris, and Nelkunda (49, 56).

7. 'Ορείχαλκος—Orichalcum (Sans. *tripus*, Prak. *pîtala*)—Brass. Used for ornaments and cut into small pieces by way of coin. Exported from Egypt to Adouli (6).

The word means 'mountain copper.' Ramusio calls it white copper from which the gold and silver have not been well separated in extracting it from the ore. Gold, it may be remarked, does not occur as an export from any of the African marts, throughout the *Periplûs*.

8. Σίδηρος, σιδηρᾶ σκεύη—Iron, iron utensils. Exported from Egypt to Malaô, Moundou, Tabai, Opônê (8, 9, 12, 13). Iron spears, swords and adzes exported to Adouli (6). Indian iron and sword-blades (στόμωμα) exported to Adouli from Arabia (Ariakê?). Spears (λόγχαι) manufactured at Mouza, hatchets (πελύκια), swords (μάχαιραι), awls (ὀπέτια) exported from Mouza to Azania (17).

On the Indian sword see Ktêsias, p. 80, 4. The Arabian poets celebrate swords made of Indian steel. Cf. Plin. xxxiv. 41:—"Ex omnibus autem generibus palma Serico ferro est." This iron, as has already been stated, was sent to India along with skins and cloth. Cf. also Edrisi, vol. I. p. 65, ed. Joubert. Indian iron is mentioned in the Pandects as an article of commerce.

9. Στίμμι—Stibium (Sans. *sauvîrânjana*, Prâk. *surmâ*). Exported from Egypt to Barugaza (49), to Mouziris and Nelkunda (56).

Stibium is a sulphuret of antimony, a dark pigment, called *kohol*, much used in the East for dyeing the eyelids.

10. Χαλκὸς—Copper (Sans. *tâmra*) or Brass. Exported from Egypt to Kanê (28), to Barugaza (49), Mouziris and Nelkunda (56). Vessels made thereof (Χαλκουργήματα) sent to Mouza as presents to the despot (24). Drinking-vessels (ποτήρια) exported to the marts of Barbaria (8, 13). Big and round drinking-cups to Adouli (6). A few (μελίεφθα ὀλίγα) to Malaô (8); μελίεφθα χαλκᾶ for cooking with, and being cut into bracelets and anklets for women to Adouli (6).

Regarding μελίεφθα Vincent says: "No usage of the word occurs elsewhere; but metals were prepared with several materials to give them colour, or to make them tractable, or malleable. Thus χολόβαφα in Hesychius was brass prepared with ox's gall to give it the colour of gold, and used, like our tinsel ornaments or foil, for stage dresses and decorations. Thus common brass was neither ductile nor malleable, but the Cyprian brass was both. And thus perhaps brass, μελίεφθα was formed with some preparation of honey." Müller cannot accept this view. "It is evident," he says, "that the reference is to ductile copper from which, as Pliny says, all impurity has been carefully removed by smelting, so that pots, bracelets, and articles of that sort could be fabricated from it. One might therefore think that the reading should be περίεφθα or πυρίεφθα, but in such a case the writer would have said περίεφθον χαλκόν. In vulgar speech μελίεφθα is used as a substantive noun, and I am therefore almost persuaded that, just as molten copper, ὁ χαλκὸς ὁ χυτὸς, *cuprum caldarium*, was called τρόχιος, from the likeness in shape of its round masses to hoops, so *laminæ* of ductile copper (*plaques de cuivre*) might have been called μελίεφθα, because shaped like thin honey-cakes, πέμματα μελίεφθα."

11. Χρυσὸς—Gold. Exported from the marts of Apologos and Omana to Barugaza (36). Gold plate—χρυσώματα—exported from Egypt to Mouza for the despot (24), and to Adouli for the king (6).

V. Stones:—

1. Λιθία διαφανὴς—Gems (carbuncles?) found in Taprobanê (63); exported in every variety from Mouziris and Nelkunda (56).

2. Ἀδάμας—Diamonds. (Sans. *vajra, pîraka*). Exported from Mouziris and Nelkunda (56).

3. Καλλεανὸς λίθος—Gold-stone, yellow crystal, chrysolith? Exported from Barbarikon in Indo-Skythia (39).

It is not a settled point what stone is meant. Lassen says that the Sanskṛit word *kalyâṇa* means *gold*, and would therefore identify it with the chrysolith or gold-stone. If this view be correct, the reading of the MS. need not be altered into καλλαϊνὸς, as Salmasius, whom the editors of the *Periplûs* generally follow, enjoins. In support of the alteration Salmasius adduces Pliny, xxxvii. 56:—"Callais sapphirum imitatur, candidior et litoroso mari similis. Callainas vocant e turbido Callaino", and other passages. Schwanbeck, however, maintaining the correctness of the MS. reading, says that the Sanskṛit word *kalyâṇa* generally signifies *money*, but in a more general sense *anything beautiful*, and might therefore have

been applied to this gem. *Kalyâṇa*, he adds, would appear in Greek as καλλιανὸς or καλλεανὸς rather than καλλαϊνός. In like manner *kalyâṇî* of the Indians appears in our author not as καλλάϊνα, but, as it ought to be, καλλίενα.

4. Λύγδος—Alabaster. Exported from Mouza (24). Salmasius says that an imitation of this alabaster was formed of Parian marble, but that the best and original *lygdus* was brought from Arabia, that is, Mouza, as noted in the *Periplus*. Cf. Pliny (xxxvi. 8):— "Lygdinos in Tauro repertos . . . antea ex Arabia tantum advehi solitos candoris eximii."

5. Ὀνυχινὴ λίθια—Onyx (*akika*—agate). Sent in vast quantities (πλείστη) from Ozênê and Paithana to Barugaza (48, 51), and thence exported to Egypt (49). Regarding the onyx mines of Gujarât *vide* Ritter, vol. VI. p. 603.

6. Μουρρίνη, sup. λιθία—Fluor-spath. Sent from Ozênê to Barugaza, and exported to Egypt (49). Porcelain made at Diospolis (μουρρίνη λιθία ἡ γενομένη ἐν Διοσπόλει) exported from Egypt to Adouli (6).

The reading of the MS. is μοῤῥίνης. By this is to be understood *vitrum murrhinum*, a sort of china or porcelain made in imitation of cups or vases of *murrha*, a precious fossil-stone resembling, if not identical with, *fluor-spath*, such as is found in Derbyshire. Vessels of this stone were exported from India, and also, as we learn from Pliny, from Karmania, to the Roman market, where they fetched extravagant prices.[14] The "cups baked in Parthian fires" (*pocula Parthis focis cocta*) mentioned by Propertius (IV. v. 26) must be referred to the former class. The whole subject is one which has much exercised the pens of the learned. "Six hundred writers," says Müller, "emulously applying themselves to explain what had the best claim to be considered the *murrha* of the ancients, have advanced the most conflicting opinions. Now it is pretty well settled that the murrhine vases were made of that stone which is called in German *flusspath* (*spato-fluore*)". He then refers to the following as the principal authorities on the subject:—Pliny—xxxiii. 7 *et seq.*; xxxiii. *procem.* Suetonius—*Oct.* c. 71; Seneca—*Epist.* 123; Martial—iv. 86; xiv. 43; *Digest*—xxxiii. 10, 3; xxxiv. 2. 19; Rozière—*Mémoire sur les Vases murrhins*, &c.; in *Description de l'Égypt*, vol. VI. pp. 277 *et seq.*; Corsi—*Delle Pietre antiche*, p. 106; Thiersch—*Ueber die Vasa Murrhina der Alten*, in *Abhandl. d. Munchn. Akad.* 1835, vol. I. pp. 443-509; A learned Englishman in the *Classical Journal* for 1810, p. 472; Witzsch in Pauly's *Real Encycl.* vol. V. p. 253; See also Vincent, vol. II. pp. 723-7.

7. Ὀψιανὸς λίθος—the Opsian or Obsidian stone, found in the Bay of Hanfelah (5). Pliny says,—"The opsians or obsidians are also reckoned as a sort of glass bearing the likeness of the stone which Obsius (or Obsidius) found in Ethiopia, of a very black colour, sometimes even translucent, hazier than ordinary glass to look through, and when used for mirrors on the walls reflecting but shadows instead of distinct images." (Bk. xxxvi. 37). The only Obsius mentioned in history is a M. Obsius who had been Prætor, a friend of Germanicus, referred to by Tacitus (*Ann.* IV. 68, 71). He had perhaps been for a time prefect of Egypt, and had coasted the shore of Ethiopia at the time when Germanicus traversed Egypt till he came to the confines of Ethiopia. Perhaps, however, the name of the substance is of Greek origin—ὀψιανός, from its reflecting power.

8. Σάπφειρος—the Sapphire. Exported from Barbarikon in Indo-Skythia (39). "The ancients distinguished two sorts of dark blue or purple, one of which was spotted with gold. Pliny says it is never pellucid, which seems to make it a different stone from what is now called sapphire."—Vincent (vol. II. p. 757), who adds in a note, "Dr. Burgess has specimens of both sorts, the one with gold spots like lapis lazuli, and not transparent."[15]

9. Ὑάκινθος—Hyacinth or Jacinth. Exported from Mouziris and Nelkunda (56). According to Salmasius this is the Ruby. In Solinus xxx. it would seem to be the Amethyst (Sansk. *pushkarâja.*)

10. Ὕαλος ἀργή—Glass of a coarse kind. Exported from Egypt to Barugaza (49), to Mouziris and Nelkunda (56). Vessels of glass (ὑαλὰ σκεύη) exported from Egypt to Barbarikon in Indo-Skythia (39). Crystal of many sorts (λιθίας ὑαλῆς πλεῖστα γένη) exported from Egypt to Adouli, Aualitês, Mossulon (6, 7, 10); from Mouza to Azania (17).

11. Χρυσόλιθος—Chrysolite. Exported from Egypt to Barbarikon in Indo-Skythia (39), to Barugaza (43), to Mouziris and Nelkunda (56). Some take this to be the topaz (Hind. *pîrojâ*).

VI. Wearing Apparel:—

1. Ἱμάτια ἄγναφα—Cloths undressed. Manufactured in Egypt and thence exported to Adouli (6). These were disposed of to the tribes of Barbaria—the Troglodyte shepherds of Upper Egypt, Nubia and Ethiopia.

2. Ἱμάτια βαρβαρικὰ σύμμικτα γεγναμμένα—Cloths for the Barbarine markets, dressed and

[14] Nero gave for one 300 talents = £58,125. They were first seen at Rome in the triumphal procession of Pompey.

[May these not have been of emerald, or even ruby?—Ed.]

[15] Possibly the Lapis Lazuli is meant.—Ed.

dyed of various colours. Exported to Malaô and Aualitês (8, 7).

3. 'Ιματισμὸς 'Αραβικὸς—Cloth or coating for the Arabian markets. Exported from Egypt (24). Different kinds are enumerated:—Χειριδωτὸς, with sleeves reaching to the wrist; "Οτε ἁπλοῦς καὶ ὁ κοινὸς, with single texture and of the common sort; σκοτουλάτος, wrought with figures, checkered; the word is a transliteration of the Latin *scutulatus*, from *scutum*, the checks being lozenge-shaped, like a shield: see Juvenal, Sat. ii. 79; διάχρυσος, shot with gold; πολυτελὴς, a kind of great price sent to the despot of Mouza; Κοινὸς καὶ ἁπλοῦς καὶ ὁ νόθος, cloth of a common sort, and cloth of simple texture, and cloth in imitation of a better commodity, sent to Kanê (28); Διάφορος ἁπλοῦς, of superior quality and single texture, for the king (28); 'Απλοῦς, *of single texture*, in great quantity, and νόθος, an inferior sort imitating a better, in small quantity, sent to Barbarikon in Indo-Skythia (39), 'απλοῦς καὶ νόθος παντοῖος, and for the king ἁπλοῦς πολυτελὴς, sent to Barugaza (49); 'Ιματισμὸς οὐ πολύς—cloth in small quantity sent to Muziris and Nelkunda (56); ἐντόπιος, of native manufacture, exported from the marts of Apologos and Omana to Barugaza (36).

4. 'Αβόλλαι—Riding or watch cloaks. Exported from Egypt to Mouza (34), to Kanê (28). This word is a transliteration of the Latin *Abolla*. It is supposed, however, to be derived from Greek: ἀμβόλλη, i. e. ἀμφιβολή. It was a woollen cloak of close texture—often mentioned in the Roman writers: *e.g.* Juven. *Sat.* iii. 115 and iv. 76; Sueton. *Calig.* c. 35. Where the word occurs in sec. 6 the reading of the MS. is ἄβολοι, which Müller has corrected to ἀβόλλαι, though Salmasius had defended the original reading.

5. Δικρόσσια (Lat. *Mantilia utrinque fimbriata*)—Cloths with a double fringe. Exported from Egypt to Adouli (6). This word occurs only in the *Periplûs*. The simple Κρόσσιον, however, is met with in Herodian, *Epim.* p. 72. An adjective δίκροσσος is found in Pollux vii. 72. "We cannot err much," says Vincent, "in rendering the δικρόσσια of the *Periplûs* either *cloth fringed*, with Salmasius, or *striped*, with Apollonius. Meursius says λεντία ἄκροσσα are *plain linens not striped*.

6. Ζῶναι πολύμιτοι πηχυαῖοι—Flowered or embroidered girdles, a cubit broad. Exported from Egypt to Barugaza (49). Σκιωταὶ—girdles (*kácha*) shaded of different colours, exported to Mouza (24). This word occurs only in the *Periplûs*.

7. Καυνάκαι—Garments of frieze. Exported from Arabia to Adouli (6); a pure sort—ἁπλοῖ—exported to the same mart from Egypt (6). In the latter of these two passages the MS. reading is γαυνάκαι. Both forms are in use: conf. Latin *gaunace*—Varro, *de L. L.* 4, 35. It means also *a fur garment* or *blanket—vestis stragula*.

8. Λώδικες—Quilts or coverlids. Exported in small quantity from Egypt to Mouza (24) and Kanê (28).

9. Περιζώματα—Sashes, girdles, or aprons. Exported from Barugaza to Adouli (6), and into Barbaria (14).

10. Πολύμιτα—Stuffs in which several threads were taken for the woof in order to weave flowers or other objects: Latin *polymita* and *plumatica*. Exported from Egypt to Barbarikon in Indo-Skythia (39), to Mouziris and Nelkunda (56).

11. Σάγοι 'Αρσινοητικοὶ γεγναμμένοι καὶ βεβαμμένοι—Coarse cloaks made at Arsinoê, dressed and dyed. Exported from Egypt to Barbaria (8, 13).

12. Στολαὶ 'Αρσινοητικαὶ—Women's robes made at Arsinoê. Exported from Egypt to Adouli (6).

13. Χιτῶνες—Tunics. Exported from Egypt to Malaô, Moundou, Mossulon (8, 9, 10).

VII. In addition to the above, works of art are mentioned.

'Ανδριάντες—Images, sent as presents to Kharibaël (48). Cf. Strabo (p. 714), who among the articles sent to Arabia enumerates τόρευμα, γραφὴν, πλάσμα, pieces of sculpture, painting, statues.

Μουσικὰ—Instruments of music, for presents to the king of Ariakê (49).

ANONYMI [ARRIANI UT FERTUR] PERIPLUS MARIS ERYTHRÆI.

1. The first of the important roadsteads established on the Red Sea, and the first also of the great trading marts upon its coast, is the port of Myos-hormos in Egypt. Beyond it at a distance of 1800 stadia is Berenîkê, which is to your right if you approach it by sea. These roadsteads are both situate at the furthest end of Egypt, and are bays of the Red Sea.

Commentary.

(1) Myos Hormos.—Its situation is determined by the cluster of islands now called Jifâtîn [lat. 27° 12′ N., long. 33° 55′ E.] of which the three largest lie opposite an indenture of the coast of Egypt on the curve of which its harbour was situated [near Ras Abu Somer, a little north of Saffâjah Island]. It was founded by Ptolemy Philadelphos B. C. 274, who selected it as

2. The country which adjoins them on the right below Berenîkê is **B a r b a r i a.** Here the sea-board is peopled by the **I k h t h y o p h a g o i,** who live in scattered huts built in the narrow gorges of the hills, and further inland are the **B e r b e r s,** and beyond them the **A g r i o p h a g o i** and **M o s k h o p h a g o i,** tribes under regular government by kings. Beyond these again, and still further inland towards the west [is situated the metropolis called Meroê].

3. Below the **M o s k h o p h a g o i,** near the sea, lies a little trading town distant from Bere-

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the principal port of the Egyptian trade with India in preference to Arsinoe,[16] N. N. E. of Suez, on account of the difficulty and tediousness of the navigation down the Heroöpolite Gulf. The vessels bound for Africa and the south of Arabia left its harbour about the time of the autumnal equinox, when the North West wind which then prevailed carried them quickly down the Gulf. Those bound for the Malabar Coast or Ceylon left in July, and if they cleared the Red Sea before the 1st of September, they had the monsoon to assist their passage across the ocean. **M y o s H o r m o s** was distant from **K o p t o s** [lat. 26° N.], the station on the Nile through which it communicated with Alexandria, a journey of seven or eight days along a road opened through the desert by Philadelphos. The name **M y o s H o r m o s** is of Greek origin, and may signify either the Harbour of the Mouse, or, more probably, of the Mussel, since the pearl mussel abounded in its neighbourhood. **A g a t h a r k h i d ê s** calls it **A p h r o d i t ē s H o r m o s,** and Pliny **V e n e r i s P o r t u s.** [Veneris Portus however was probably at Sherm Sheikh, lat. 24° 36′ N. Off the coast is Wade Jemâl Island, lat. 24° 39′ N., long. 35° 8′ E., called Iambe by Pliny, and perhaps the Aphroditês Island of Ptolemy IV. v. 77.] Referring to this name Vincent says: "Here if the reader will advert to Aphroditê, the Greek title of Venus, as springing from the foam of the ocean, it will immediately appear that the Greeks were translating here, for the native term to this day is *Suffange-el-Bahri*, 'sponge of the sea'; and the vulgar error of the sponge being the foam of the sea, will immediately account for Aphroditê."

The rival of Myos-Hormos was **B e r e n i k ê,** a city built by Ptolemy Philadelphos, who so named it in honour of his mother, who was the daughter of Ptolemy Lagos and Antigonê. It was in the same parallel with Syênê and therefore not far from the Tropic [lat. 23° 55′ N.]. It stood nearly at the bottom of *Foul Bay* (ἐν βάθει τοῦ 'Ακαθάρτου Κόλπου), so called from the coast being foul with shoals and breakers, and not from the impurity of its water, as its Latin name, *Sinus Immundus*, would lead us to suppose. Its ruins are still perceptible even to the arrangement of the streets, and in the centre is a small Egyptian temple adorned with hieroglyphics and bas-reliefs of Greek workmanship. Opposite to the town is a very fine natural harbour, the entrance of which has been deep enough for small vessels, though the bar is now impassable at low water. Its prosperity under the Ptolemies and afterwards under the Romans was owing to its safe anchorage and its being, like Myos-Hormos, the terminus of a great road from Koptos along which the traffic of Alexandria with Ethiopia, Arabia, and India passed to and fro. Its distance from **K o p t o s** was 258 Roman miles or 11 days' journey. The distance between Myos-Hormos and Berenikê is given in the *Periplûs* at 225 miles, but this is considerably above the mark. The difficulty of the navigation may probably have made the distance seem greater than it was in reality.

(2) Adjoining **B e r e n i k ê** was **B a r b a r i a** (ἡ Βαρβαρικὴ χώρα)—the land about Ras Abû Fatima [lat. 22° 26′ N.—Ptol. IV. vii. 28]. The reading of the MS. is ἡ Τισηβαρικὴ which Müller rejects because the name nowhere occurs in any work, and because if **B a r b a r i a** is not mentioned here, our author could not afterwards (Section 5) say ἡ ἄλλη Βαρβαρία. The **A g r i o p h a g o i** who lived in the interior are mentioned by Pliny (vi. 35), who says that they lived principally on the flesh of panthers and lions. Vincent writes as if instead of Αγριοφάγων the reading should be Ακριδοφάγων locust-eaters, who are mentioned by Agatharkhidês in his *De Mari Erythraeo*, Section 58. Another inland tribe is mentioned in connection with them—the **M o s k h o p h a g o i,** who may be identified with the **R i z o p h a g o i** or **S p e r m a t o p h a g o i** of the same writer, who were so named because they lived on roots or the tender suckers and buds of trees, called in Greek μόσχοι. This being a term applied also to the young of animals, Vincent was led to think that this tribe fed on the brinde or flesh cut out of the living animal as described by Bruce.

(3) To the south of the Moskhophagoi lies **P t o l e m a ï s T h e r ô n,** or, as it is called by Pliny, **P t o l e m a ï s E p i t h e r a s.** [On Er-rih island, lat. 18° 9′ N., long 38° 27′ E., are the ruins of an ancient town—probably Ptolemaïs Therôn,—Müller however places Suche here.—Ptol. I.

[16] There was another Arsinoe between Ras Dh'ib and Ras Shukhair, lat. 28° 3′ N. The few geographical indications I have added to these comments as they passed through the press are enclosed in brackets. [ ]—Ed.

nîkê about 4000 stadia, called Ptolemaïs Thêrôn, from which, in the days of the Ptolemies, the hunters employed by them used to go up into the interior to catch elephants. In this mart is procured the true (or marine) tortoise-shell, and the land kind also, which, however, is scarce, of a white colour, and smaller size. A little ivory is also sometimes obtainable, resembling that of Adouli. This place has no port, and is approachable only by boats.

4. Leaving Ptolemaïs Thêrôn we are conducted, at the distance of about 3000 stadia, to Adouli, a regular and established port of trade situated on a deep bay the direction of which is due south. Facing this, at a distance seaward of about 200 stadia from the inmost recess of the bay, lies an island called Oreinê (or 'the mountainous'), which runs on either side parallel with the mainland. Ships, that come to trade with Adouli, now-a-days anchor here, to avoid

viii. 1.; IV. vii. 7; VIII. xvi. 10]. It was originally an Ethiopian village, but was extended and fortified by Ptolemy Philadelphos, who made it the depôt of the elephant trade, for which its situation on the skirts of the great Nubian forest, where these animals abounded, rendered it peculiarly suitable. The Egyptians before this had imported their elephants from Asia, but as the supply was precarious, and the cost of importation very great, Philadelphos made the most tempting offers to the Ethiopian elephant-hunters (Elephantophagoi) to induce them to abstain from eating the animal, or to reserve at least a portion of them for the royal stables. They rejected however all his solicitations, declaring that even for all Egypt they would not forego the luxury of their repast. The king resolved thereupon to procure his supplies by employing hunters of his own.

(4) Beyond Ptolemaïs Therôn occur Adoulê, at a distance, according to the *Periplus*, of 3000 stadia—a somewhat excessive estimate. The place is called also Adoulei and more commonly Adoulis by ancient writers (Ptol. IV. vii. 8; VIII. xvi. 11). It is represented by the modern Thulla or Zula [pronounced Azule,—lat. 15° 12′—15° 15′ N., long. 39° 36′ E.] To the West of this, according to Lord Valentia and Mr. Salt, there are to be found the remains of an ancient city. It was situated on the Adoulikos Kolpos (Ptol. I. xv. 11.; IV. vii. 8), now called Annesley Bay, the best entrance into Abyssinia. It was erroneously placed by D'Anville at Dokhnau or Harkiko, close to Musawwâ [lat. 15° 35′ N.]. There is much probability in the supposition that it was founded by a party of those Egyptians who, as we learn from Herodotos (II. 30), to the number of 240,000 fled from their country in the days of Psammetikhos (B. C. 671—617) and went to as great a distance beyond Meroë, the capital of Ethiopia, as Meroë is beyond Elephantinê. This is the account which Pliny (VI. 34) gives of its foundation, adding that it was the greatest emporium of the Troglodytes, and distant from Ptolemaïs a five days' voyage, which by the ordinary reckoning is 2,500 stadia. It was an emporium for rhinoceros' hides, ivory and tortoise-shell. It had not only a large sea-borne traffic, but was also a caravan station for the traffic of the interior of Africa. Under the Romans it was the haven of Auxumê (Ptol. IV. vii. 25,—written also Auxumis, Axumis), now Axum, the capital of the kingdom of Tigre in Abyssinia. Auxumê was the chief centre of the trade with the interior of Africa in gold-dust, ivory, leather, hides and aromatics. It was rising to great prosperity and power about the time the *Periplus* was written, which is the earliest work extant in which it is mentioned. It was probably founded by the Egyptian exiles already referred to. Its remaining monuments are perfectly Egyptian and not pastoral, Troglodytik, Greek, or Arabian in their character. Its name at the same time retains traces of the term Asmak, by which, as we learn from Herodotos, those exiles were designated, and Heeren considers it to have been one of the numerous priest-colonies which were sent out from Meroë.

At Adouli was a celebrated monument, a throne of white marble with a slab of basanite stone behind it, both covered with Greek characters, which in the sixth century of our era were copied by Kosmas Indikopleustês. The passage in Kosmos relating to this begins thus: "Adulê is a city of Ethiopia and the port of communication with Axiômis, and the whole nation of which that city is the capital. In this port we carry on our trade from Alexandria and the Elanitik Gulf. The town itself is about a mile from the shore, and as you enter it on the Western side which leads from Axiômis, there is still remaining a chair or throne which appertained to one of the Ptolemeys who had subjected this country to his authority." The first portion of the inscription records that Ptolemy Euergetês (247-222 B.C.) received from the Troglodyte Arabs and Ethiopians certain elephants which his father, the second king of the Makedonian dynasty, and himself had taken in hunting in the region of Adulê and trained to

being attacked from the shore; for in former times when they used to anchor at the very head of the bay, beside an island called Diodôros, which was so close to land that the sea was fordable, the neighbouring barbarians, taking advantage of this, would run across to attack the ships at their moorings. At the distance of 20 stadia from the sea, opposite Oreinê, is the village of Adouli, which is not of any great size, and inland from this a three days' journey is a city, Kolöê, the first market where ivory can be procured. From Kolöê it takes a journey of five days to reach the metropolis of the people called the Auxumitai, whereto is brought, through the province called Kyêneion, all the ivory obtained on the other side of the Nile, before it is sent on to Adouli. The whole mass, I may say, of the elephants and rhinoceroses which are killed *to supply the trade* frequent the uplands *of the interior*, though at rare times they are seen near the coast, even in the neighbourhood of Adouli. Besides the islands already mentioned, a cluster consisting of many small ones lies out in the sea to the right of this port. They bear the name of Alalaiou, and yield the tortoises with which the Ikhthyophagoi supply the market.

5. Below Adouli, about 800 stadia, occurs another very deep bay, at the entrance of which on the right are vast accumulations of sand, wherein is found deeply embedded the Opsian stone, which is not obtainable anywhere else. The king of all this country, from the Moskhophagoi to the other end of Barbaria, is Zôskalês, a man at once of penurious habits and of a grasping disposition, but otherwise honourable in his dealings and instructed in the Greek language.

6. The articles which these places import are the following:—

Ἱμάτια βαρβαρικὰ, ἄγναφα τὰ ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ γινόμενα —Cloth undressed, of Egyptian manufacture, for the Barbarian market.

Στολὰι Ἀρσινοητικὰι—Robes manufactured at Arsinoê.

Ἀβόλλαι νόθοι χρωμάτιναι—Cloaks, made of a poor cloth imitating a better quality, and dyed.

Λέντια—Linens.

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war in their own kingdom. The second portion of the inscription commemorates the conquests of an anonymous Ethiopian king in Arabia and Ethiopia as far as the frontier of Egypt. Adouli, it is known for certain, received its name from a tribe so designated which formed a part of the Danakil shepherds who are still found in the neighbourhood of Annesley Bay, in the island of Diset [lat. 15° 28′, long. 39° 45′, the Diodôros perhaps of the *Periplûs*] opposite which is the town or station of Masawâ (anc. Saba) [lat. 15° 37′ N., long. 39° 28′ E.], and also in the archipelago of Dhalak, called in the *Periplûs*, the islands of Alalaiou. The merchants of Egypt, we learn from the work, first traded at Masawwâ but afterwards removed to Oreine for security. This is an islet in the south of the Bay of Masawwâ, lying 20 miles from the coast; it is a rock as its name imports, and is of considerable elevation.

Aduli being the best entrance into Abyssinia, came prominently into notice during the late Abyssinian war. Beke thus speaks of it, "In our recent visit to Abyssinia I saw quite enough to confirm the opinion I have so long entertained, that when the ancient Greeks founded Adule or Adulis at the mouth of the river Hadâs, now only a river bed except during the rains, though a short way above there is rain all the year round, they knew that they possessed one of the keys of Abyssinia."

(5) At a distance of about 100 miles beyond Adouli the coast is indented by another bay now known as Hanfelah bay [near Râs Hanfelah in lat. 14° 44′, long. 40° 49′ E.] about 100 miles from Annesley Bay and opposite an island called Daramsas or Hanfelah. It has wells of good water and a small lake of fresh water after the rains; the coast is inhabited by the Dummoeta, a tribe of the Danakil]. This is the locality where, and where only, the Opsian or Obsidian stone was to be found. Pliny calls it an unknown bay, because traders making for the ports of Arabia passed it by without deviating from their course to enter it. He was aware, as well as our author, that it contained the Opsian stone, of which he gives an account, already produced in the introduction.

(6, 7) From this bay the coast of the gulf, according to our author, has a more easterly direction to the Straits, the distance to which from Adouli is stated at 4,000 stadia, an estimate much too liberal. In all this extent of coast the *Periplûs* mentions only the bay of the Opsian-stones and conducts us at once from thence to Aualites at the straits. Strabo however, and Juba, and Pliny, and Ptolemy mention several places in this tract, such as Arsinoê, Berenîkê, Epideires, the Grove of Eumenês, the Chase of Puthangelos, the Territory of the Elephantophagoi, &c. The straits are called by Ptolemy Deirê or Dêrê (*i. e.* the neck), a word

Δικρόσσια—(Striped cloths and fringed.) Mantles with a double fringe.

Λιθίας ὑαλῆς πλείονα γένη καὶ ἄλλης μορρίνης, τῆς γινομένης ἐν Διοσπόλει—Many sorts of glass or crystal, and of that other transparent stone called Myrrhina, made at Diospolis.

Ὀρείχαλκος—Yellow copper, for ornaments and cut into pieces to pass for money.

Μελίεφθα χαλκᾶ—Copper fused with honey: for culinary vessels and cutting into bracelets and anklets worn by certain classes of women.

Σίδηρος—Iron. Consumed in making spear-heads for hunting the elephant and other animals and in making weapons of war.

Πελύκια—Hatchets.

Σκέπαρνα—Adzes.

Μάχαιραι—Swords.

Ποτήρια χαλκᾶ στρογγύλα μεγάλα—Drinking vessels of brass, large and round.

Δηνάριον ὀλίγον—A small quantity of denarii: for the use of merchants resident in the country.

Οἶνος Λαοδικηνὸς καὶ Ἰταλικὸς οὐ πολὺς—Wine, Laodikean, *i.e.* Syrian, from Laodike, (now Latakia) and Italian, but not much.

Ἔλαιον οὐ πολύ—Oil, but not much.

Ἀργυρώματα καὶ χρυσώματατοπικῷ κατεσκευασμέναι—Gold and silver plate made according to the fashion of the country for the king.

Ἀβόλλαι—Cloaks for riding or for the camp.

Καυνάκαι ἁπλοῖ—Dresses simply made of skins with the hair or fur on. These two articles of dress are not of much value.

These articles are imported from the interior parts of Ariakê:—

Σίδηρος Ἰνδικὸς—Indian iron.

Στόμωμα—Sharp blades.

Ὀθόνιον Ἰνδικὸν τὸ πλατύτερον, ἡ λεγομένη μοναχὴ.—Monakhê,[17] Indian cotton cloth of great width.

Σιγματογῆναι—Cotton for stuffing.

Περιζώματα—Sashes or girdles.

Καυνάκαι—Dresses of skin with the hair or fur on.

Μολόχινα—Webs of cloth mallow-tinted.

Σινδόνες ὀλίγαι—Fine muslins in small quantity.

Λάκκος χρωμάτινος—Gum-lac: yielding Lake.

The articles locally produced for export are ivory, tortoise-shell, and rhinoceros. Most of the goods which supply the market arrive any time from January to September—that, is from Tybi to Thôth. The best season, however, for ships from Egypt to put in here is about the month of September.

7. From this bay the Arabian Gulf trends eastward, and at A u a l i t ê s is contracted to its narrowest. At a distance of about 4000 stadia (*from Adouli*), if you still sail along the same coast, you reach other marts of B a r b a r i a, called the marts beyond (*the Straits*), which occur in successive order, and which, though harbourless, afford at certain seasons of the year good and safe anchorage. The first district you come to is that called A u a l i t ê s, where the passage

which from its resemblance in sound to the Latin *Dirae* has sometimes been explained to mean "the terrible." (I. xv. 11; IV. vii. 9; VIII. xvi. 12). "The *Periplûs*," Vincent remarks, "makes no mention of Deirê, but observes that the point of contraction is close to A b a l i t ê s or the Abalitik mart; it is from this mart that the coast of Africa falling down first to the South and curving afterwards towards the East is styled the Bay of A u a l i t ê s by Ptolemy, (IV. vii. 10, 20, 27, 30, 39,) but in the *Periplûs* this name is confined to a bay immediately beyond the straits which D'Anville has likewise inserted in his map, but which I did not fully understand till I obtained Captain Cook's chart and found it perfectly consistent with the *Periplûs*." It is the gulf of Tejureh or Zeyla.

The tract of country extending from the Straits to Cape Arômata (now Guardafui) is called at the present day A d e l. It is described by Strabo (XVI. iv. 14), who copies his account of it from Artemidoros. He mentions no emporium, nor any of the names which occur in the *Periplûs* except the haven of Daphnous. [Bandar Mariyah, lat. 11° 46′ N., long. 50° 38′ E.] He supplies however many particulars regarding the region which are left unnoticed by our author as having no reference to commerce—particulars, however, which prove that these parts which were resorted to in the times of the Ptolemies for elephant-hunting were much better known to the ancients than they were till quite recently known to ourselves. Ptolemy gives nearly the same series of names (IV. vii. 9, 10) as the *Periplûs*, but with some discrepancies in the matter of their distances which he does not so accurately state. His list is: D ê r e, a city; A b a l i t ê s or Aualitês, a mart; M a l a ô, a mart; M o u n d o u or M o n d o u, a mart; Mondou, an island; Mosulon, a cape and a mart; K o b ê, a mart; E l e p h a s, a mountain; A k k a n a i or Akannai, a mart; A r o m a t a, a cape and a mart.

The mart of A b a l i t ê s is represented by the modern Z e y l a [lat. 11° 22′ N., long. 43° 29′ E.,

[17] Bruce, *Travels*, vol. III., p. 62.—ED.

across the strait to the opposite point of Arabia is shortest. Here is a small port of trade, called, like the district, Analitês, which can be approached only by little boats and rafts. The imports of this place are—

Ὑαλὴ λίθια σύμμικτος—Flint glass of various sorts.

[Χυλός] Διοσπολιτικῆς ὄμφακος—Juice of the sour grape of Diospolis.

Ἱμάτια βαρβαρικὰ σύμμικτα γεγναμμένα—Cloths of different kinds worn in Barbaria dressed by the fuller.

Σῖτος—Corn.

Οἶνος—Wine.

Κασσίτερος ὀλίγος—A little tin.

The exports, which are sometimes conveyed on rafts across the straits by the Berbers themselves to Okêlis and Mouza on the opposite coast, are—

Ἀρώματα—Odoriferous gums.

Ἐλέφας ὀλίγος—Ivory in small quantity.

Χελώνη—Tortoise-shell.

Σμύρνα ἐλαχίστη διαφέρουσα δὲ τῆς ἄλλης—Myrrh in very small quantity, but of the finest sort.

Μάκειρ—Macer.

The barbarians forming the population of the place are *rude and* lawless men.

8. Beyond Aualitês there is another mart, superior to it, called Malaô, at a distance by sea of 800 stadia. The anchorage is an open road, sheltered, however, by a cape protruding eastward. The people are of a more peaceable disposition than their neighbours. The imports are such as have been already specified, with the addition of—

Πλείονες χιτῶνες—Tunics in great quantity.

Σάγοι Ἀρσινοητικοὶ γεγναμμένοι καὶ βεβαμμένοι—Coarse cloaks (or blankets) manufactured at Arsinoê, prepared by the fuller and dyed.

Μελίεφθα ὀλίγα.—A few utensils made of copper fused with honey.

Σίδηρος—Iron.

Δηνάριον οὐ πολὺ χρυσοῦντε καὶ ἀργυροῦν—Specie,—gold and silver, but not much.

The exports from this locality are—

Σμύρνα—Myrrh.

Λίβανος ὁ περατικὸς ὀλίγος—Frankincense *which we call peratic, i.e.* from beyond the straits, a little only.

Κασσία σκληροτέρα—Cinnamon of a hard grain.

Δούακα—Douaka (*an inferior kind of cinnamon*).

Κάγκαμον—The gum (*for fumigation*) *kangkamon.* 'Dekamalli,' gum.

Μάκειρ—The spice *macer*, which is carried to Arabia.

Σώματα σπανίως—Slaves, a few.

9. Distant from Malaô a two days' sail is the trading port of Moundou, where ships find a safer anchorage by mooring at an island which lies very close to shore. The exports and imports are similar to those of the preceding marts, with the addition of the fragrant gum called *Mokrrotou*, a peculiar product of the place. The native traders here are uncivilized in their manners.

10. After Moundou, if you sail eastward as before for two or three days, there comes next Mosyllon, where it is difficult to anchor. It imports the same sorts of commodities as have been already mentioned, and also utensils of silver and others of iron but not so many, and glass-ware. It exports a vast amount

79 miles from the straits.] On the N. shore of the gulf are Abalit and Tejureh. Abalit is 43 miles from the straits, and Tejureh 27 miles from Abalit. This is the Zouileh of Ebn Haukal and the Zalegh of Idrisi. According to the *Periplûs* it was near the straits, but Ptolemy has fixed it more correctly at the distance from them of 50 or 60 miles.

(8) Malaô as a mart was much superior to Abalitês, from which our author estimates its distance to be 800 stadia, though it is in reality greater. From the description he gives of its situation it must be identified with Berbereh [lat. 10° 25′ N., long. 45° 1′ E.] now the most considerable mart on this part of the coast. Vincent erroneously places it between Zeyla and the straits.

(9) The next mart after Malaô is Moundou, which, as we learn from Ptolemy, was also the name of an adjacent island—that which is now called Meyet or Burnt-island [lat. 11° 12′ N., long. 47° 17′ E., 10 miles east of Bandar Jedid].

(10) At a distance beyond it of two or three days' sail occurs Mosylon, which is the name both of a mart and of a promontory. It is mentioned by Pliny (VI. 34), who says: "Further on is the bay of Abalitês, the island of Diodôrus and other islands which are desert. On the mainland, which has also deserts, occur a town Gaza [Bandar Gazim, long. 49° 13′ E.], the promontory and port of Mosylon, whence cinnamon is exported. Sesostris led his army to this point and no further. Some writers place one town of Ethiopia beyond it, Baricaza, which lies on the coast. According to Juba the Atlantic Sea begins at the promontory of Mossylon." Juba

of cinnamon (whence it is a port requiring ships of heavy burden) and other fragrant and aromatic products, besides tortoise shell, but in no great quantity, and the incense called *mokrotou* inferior to that of Moundou, and frankincense brought from parts further distant, and ivory and myrrh though in small quantity.

11. After leaving Mosyllon, and sailing past a place called Neiloptolemaios, and past Tapatêgê and the Little Laurel-grove, you are conducted in two days to Cape Elephant. Here is a stream called Elephant River, and the Great Laurel-grove called Akannai, where, and where only, is produced the *peratic* frankincense. The supply is most abundant, and it is of the very finest quality.

12. After this, the coast now inclining to the south, succeeds the mart of Arômata, and a bluff headland running out eastward which forms the termination of the Barbarine coast. The roadstead is an open one, and at certain seasons dangerous, as the place lies exposed to the north wind. A coming storm gives warning of its approach by a peculiar prognostic, for the sea turns turbid at the bottom and changes its colour. When this occurs, all hasten for refuge to the great promontory called Tabài, which affords a secure shelter. The imports into this mart are such as have been already mentioned;

evidently confounded this promontory with Cape Arômata, and Ptolemy, perhaps in consequence, makes its projection more considerable than it is. D'Anville and Gosselin thought Mossylon was situated near the promontory Mete, where is a river, called the Soal, which they supposed preserved traces of the name of Mossylon. This position however cannot be reconciled with the distances given in the *Periplûs*, which would lead us to look for it where Guesele is placed in the latest description given of this coast. Vincent on very inadequate grounds would identify it with Barbara or Berbera. [Müller places it at Bandar Barthe and Ras Antarah, long. 49° 35′ E.]

(11) After Mosulon occurs Cape Elephant, at some distance beyond Neiloptolemaios, Tapategê, and the Little Laurel-grove. At the Cape is a river and the Great Laurel-grove called Akannai. Strabo in his account of this coast mentions a Neilospotamia which however can hardly be referred to this particular locality which pertains to the region through which the Khori or San Pedro flows, of which Idrisi (I. 45) thus writes: "At two journeys' distance from Markah in the desert is a river which is subject to risings like the Nile and on the banks of which they sow dhorra." Regarding Cape Elephant Vincent says, "it is formed by a mountain conspicuous in the Portuguese charts under the name of Mount Felix or Felles from the native term Jibel Fil, literally, Mount Elephant. The cape [Ras Filik, 800 ft. high, lat. 11° 57′ N., long. 50° 37′ E.] is formed by the land jutting up to the North from the direction of the coast which is nearly East and West, and from its northernmost point the land falls off again South-East to Râs 'Asir—Cape Guardafun, the Arômata of the ancients. We learn from Captain Saris, an English navigator, that there is a river at Jibel Fil. In the year 1611 he stood into a bay or harbour there which he represents as having a safe entrance for three ships abreast: he adds also that several sorts of gums very sweet in burning were still purchased by the Indian ships from Cambay which touched here for that purpose in their passage to Mocha." The passage in the *Periplûs* where these places are mentioned is very corrupt. Vincent, who regards the greater Daphnôn (Laurel-grove) as a river called Akannai, says, "Neither place or distance is assigned to any of these names, but we may well allot the rivers Daphnôn and Elephant to the synonymous town and cape; and these may be represented by the modern Mete and Santa Pedro." [Müller places Elephas at Ras el Fîl, long. 50° 37′ E., and Akannai at Ulûlah Bandar, long. 50° 56′ E., but they may be represented by Ras Ahileh, where a river enters through a lagoon in 11° 46′, and Bonah a town with wells of good water in lat. 11° 58′ N., long. 50° 51′ E.]

(12) We come now to the great projection Cape Arômata, which is a continuation of Mount Elephant. It is called in Arabic Jerd Hafûn or Ras Asir; in Idrisi, Carfouna, whence the name by which it is generally known. [The South point 11° 40′ is Râs Shenarif or Jerd Hafûn: the N. point 11° 51′ is Râs 'Asir.] It formed the limit of the knowledge of this coast in the time of Strabo, by whom it is called Notou Keras or South Horn. It is described as a very high bluff point and as perpendicular as if it were scarped. [Jerd Hafûn is 2500 feet high.] The current comes round it out of the gulf with such violence that it is not to be stemmed without a brisk wind, and during the South-West Monsoon, the moment you are past the Cape to the North there is a stark calm with insufferable heat. The current below Jerd Hafûn is noticed by the *Periplûs* as setting to the South, and is there perhaps equally subject to the change of the

while its products are cinnamon, gizeir (*a finer sort of cinnamon*), asuphê (*an ordinary sort*), fragrant gums, magla, motô (*an inferior cinnamon*), and frankincense.

13. If, on sailing from Tabai, you follow the coast of the peninsula *formed by the promontory*, you are carried by the force of a strong current to another mart 400 stadia distant, called

monsoon. With this account of the coast from the straits to the great Cape may be compared that which has been given by Strabo, XVI. iv. 14:

"From Deirê the next country is that which bears aromatic plants. The first produces myrrh and belongs to the Ikhthuophagoi and Kreophagoi. It bears also the persea, peach or Egyptian almond, and the Egyptian fig. Beyond is Licha, a hunting ground for elephants. There are also in many places standing pools of rain-water. When these are dried up, the elephants with their trunks and tusks dig holes and find water. On this coast there are two very large lakes extending as far as the promontory Pytholaus. One of them contains salt water and is called a sea; the other fresh water and is the haunt of hippopotami and crocodiles. On the margin grows the papyrus. The ibis is seen in the neighbourhood of this place. Next is the country which produces frankincense; it has a promontory and a temple with a grove of poplars. In the inland parts is a tract along the banks of a river bearing the name of Isis, and another that of Nilus, both of which produce myrrh and frankincense. Also a lagoon filled with waters from the mountains. Next the watch-port of the Lion and the port of Puthangelus. The next tract bears the false cassia. There are many tracts in succession on the sides of rivers on which frankincense grows, and rivers extending to the cinnamon country. The river which bounds this tract produces rushes (φλους) in great abundance. Then follows another river and the port of Daphnous, and a valley called Apollo's which bears besides frankincense, myrrh and cinnamon. The latter is more abundant in places far in the interior. Next is the mountain Elephas, a mountain projecting into the sea and a creek; then follows the large harbour of Psugmus, a watering place called that of Kunocephali and the last promontory of this coast Notu-keras (or the Southern Horn). After doubling this cape towards the south we have no more descriptions of harbours or places because nothing is known of the sea-coast beyond this point." [Bohn's *Transl.*] According to Gosselin, the Southern Horn corresponds with the Southern Cape of Bandel-caus, where commences the desert coast of Ajan, the ancient Azania.

According to the *Periplûs* Cape Arômata marked the termination of Barbaria and the beginning of Azania. Ptolemy however distinguishes them differently, defining the former as the interior and the latter as the sea-board of the region to which these names were applied.

The description of the Eastern Coast of Africa which now follows is carried, as has been already noticed, as far as Rhapta, a place about 6 degrees South of the Equator, but which Vincent places much farther South, identifying it with Kilwa.

The places named on this line of coast are: a promontory called Tabai, a Khersonesos; Opône, a mart; the Little and the Great Apokopa; the Little and the Great Coast; the Dromoi or courses of Azania (first that of Serapiôn, then that of Nikôn); a number of rivers; a succession of anchorages, seven in number; the Paralaoi islands; a strait or canal; the island of Menouthias; and then Rhapta, beyond which, as the author conceived, the ocean curved round Africa until it met and amalgamated with the Hesperian or Western Ocean.

(13) Tabaï, to which the inhabitants of the Great Cape fled for refuge on the approach of a storm, cannot, as Vincent and others have supposed, be Cape Orfui, for it lay at too great a distance for the purpose. The projection is meant which the Arabs call Banna. [Or, Tabai may be identified with Râs Shenarif, lat. 11° 40′ N.] Tabai, Müller suggests, may be a corruption for Tabannai.

"From the foreign term Banna," says Müller, "certain Greeks in the manner of their countrymen invented Panos or Panôn or Panô or Panôna Kômê. Thus in Ptolemy (I. 17 and IV. 7) after Arômata follows Panôn Kômê, which Mannert has identified with Benna. [Khor Banneh is a salt lake, with a village, inside Râs Ali Beshgêl, lat. 11° 9′ N., long. 51° 9′ E.] Stephen of Byzantium may be compared, who speaks of Panos as a village on the Red Sea which is also called Panôn." The conjecture, therefore, of Letronnius that Panôn Kômê derived its name from the large apes found there, called Pânes, falls to the ground. Opônê was situated on the Southern shores of what the *Periplûs* calls a Khersonese, which can only be the projection now called Ras Hafûn or Cape D'Orfui (lat. 10° 25′ N.). Ptolemy (I. 17) gives the distance of Opônê from Panôn Kômê at a 6 days' journey, from which according to the *Periplûs* it was only 400 stadia distant. That the text of Ptolemy is here corrupt cannot be doubted, for in his tables the distance between the two places is not far from that which is given in the *Periplûs*. Probably,

O p ô n ê, which imports the commodities already mentioned, but produces most abundantly cinnamon spice, *motô*, slaves of a very superior sort, chiefly for the Egyptian market, and tortoise-shell of small size but in large quantity and of the finest quality known.

14. Ships set sail from Egypt for all these ports beyond the straits about the month of July—that is, Epiphi. The same markets are also regularly supplied with the products of places far beyond them—A r i a k ê and B a r u g a z a. These products are—

Σῖτος—Corn.

Ὄρυζα—Rice.

Βούτυρον—Butter, i. e. *ghî*.

Ἔλαιον σησάμινον—Oil of sesamum.

Ὀθόνιον ἥ τε μοναχὴ καὶ ἡ σαγματογήνη—Fine cotton called *Monakhê*, and a coarse kind for stuffing called *Sagmatogene*.

Περιζώματα—Sashes or girdles.

Μέλι τὸ καλάμινον τὸ λεγόμενον σάκχαρι.—The honey of a reed, called *sugar*.

Some traders undertake voyages for this commerce expressly, while others, as they sail along the coast *we are describing*, exchange their cargoes for such others as they can procure. There is no king who reigns paramount over all this region, but each separate seat of trade is ruled by an independent despot of its own.

15. After O p ô n ê, the coast now trending more to the south, you come first to what are

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as Müller conjectures, he wrote ὁδὸν ἡμέρας (a day's journey) which was converted into ὁδὸν ἡμερ. ς' (a six-days' journey).

(14) At this harbour is introduced the mention of the voyage which was annually made between the coast of India and Africa in days previous to the appearance of the Greeks on the Indian Ocean, which has already been referred to.

(15) After leaving O p ô n ê the coast first runs due south, then bends to the south-west, and here begins the coast which is called the Little and the Great A p o k o p a or Bluffs of A z a n i a, the voyage along which occupies six days. This rocky coast, as we learn from recent explorations, begins at Râs M a b b e r [about lat. 9° 25′ N.], which is between 70 and 80 miles distant from Ras Hafûn and extends only to R â s-u l-K h e i l [about lat. 7° 45′ N.], which is distant from Râs Mabber about 140 miles or a voyage of three or four days only. The length of this rocky coast (called H a z i n e by the Arabs) is therefore much exaggerated in the *Periplûs*. From this error we may infer that our author, who was a very careful observer, had not personally visited this coast. Ptolemy, in opposition to Marînos as well as the *Periplûs*, recognizes but one A p o k o p a, which he speaks of as a bay. Müller concludes an elaborate note regarding the A p o k o p a by the following quotation from the work of Owen, who made the exploration already referred to, "It is strange that the descriptive term H a z i n e should have produced the names A j a n, A z a n and A z a n i a in many maps and charts, as the country never had any other appellation than B a r r a S o m â l i or the land of the S o m â l i, a people who have never yet been collected under one government, and whose limits of subjection are only within bow-shot of individual chiefs. The coast of Africa from the Red Sea to the river Juba is inhabited by the tribe called S o m â l i. They are a mild people of pastoral habits and confined entirely to the coast; the whole of the interior being occupied by an untameable tribe of savages called G a l l a."

The coast which follows the A p o k o p a, called the Little and the Great A i g i a l o s or Coast, is so desolate that, as Vincent remarks, not a name occurs on it, neither is there an anchorage noticed, nor the least trace of commerce to be found. Yet it is of great extent—a six days' voyage according to the *Periplûs*, but, according to Ptolemy, who is here more correct, a voyage of eight days, for, as we have seen, the *Periplûs* has unduly extended the A p o k o p a to the South.

Next follow the D r o m o i or Courses of A z a n i a, the first called that of S e r a p i ô n and the other that of N i k ô n. Ptolemy interposes a bay between the Great Coast and the port of S e r a p i ô n, on which he states there was an emporium called E s s i n a—a day's sail distant from that port. Essina, it would therefore appear, must have been somewhere near where M a k d a s h û [Magadoxo, lat. 2° 3′ N.] was built by the Arabs somewhere in the eighth century A.D. The station called that of N i k ô n in the *Periplûs* appears in Ptolemy as the mart of T o n i k ê. These names are not, as some have supposed, of Greek origin, but distortions of the native appellations of the places into names familiar to Greek ears. That the Greeks had founded any settlements here is altogether improbable. At the time when the *Periplûs* was written all the trade of these parts was in the hands of the Arabs of M o u z a. The port of S e r a p i ô n may be placed at a promontory which occurs in 1° 40′ of N. lat. From this, T o n i k ê, according to the tables of Ptolemy, was distant 45′, and its position must therefore have agreed with that of T o r r e or Torra of our modern maps.

called the little and the great Apokopa (or Bluffs) of Azania, where there are no harbours, but only roads in which ships can conveniently anchor. The navigation of this coast, the direction of which is now to the south-west, occupies six days. Then follow the Little Coast and the Great Coast, occupying other six days, when in due order succeed the Dromoi (or Courses) of Azania, the one going by the name of Sarapiôn, and the other by that of Nikôn. Proceeding thence, you pass the mouths of numerous rivers, and a succession of other roadsteads lying apart one from another a day's distance either by sea or by land. There are seven of them altogether, and they reach on to the Pyralaoi islands and the *narrow strait* called the Canal, beyond which, where the coast changes its direction from south-west slightly more to south, you are conducted by a voyage of two days and two nights to Me-

Next occurs a succession of rivers and roadsteads, seven in number, which being passed we are conducted to the Puralaän Islands, and what is called a canal or channel (διώρυξ). These islands are not mentioned elsewhere. They can readily be identified with the two called Manda and Lamou, which are situate at the mouths of large rivers, and are separated from the mainland and from each other by a narrow channel. Vincent would assign a Greek origin to the name of these islands. "With a very slight alteration," he says, "of the reading, the Puralian Islands (Πῦρ ἁλιον, *marine fire*,) are the islands of the Fiery Ocean, and nothing seems more consonant to reason than for a Greek to apply the name of the Fiery Ocean to a spot which was the centre of the Torrid Zone and subject to the perpendicular rays of an equinoctial sun." [The Juba islands run along the coast from Juba to about Lat. 1° 50′ S., and Manda bay and island is in Lat. 2° 12′ S.]

Beyond these islands occurs, after a voyage of two days and two nights, the island of Menouthias or Menouthesias, which it has been found difficult to identify with any certainty. "It is," says Vincent, "the *Eitenediommenouthesias* of the *Periplûs*, a term egregiously strange and corrupted, but out of which the commentators unanimously collect Menoothias, whatever may be the fate of the remaining syllables. That this Menoothias," he continues, "must have been one of the Zangibar islands is indubitable; for the distance from the coast of all three, Pemba, Zangibar, and Momfia, affords a character which is indelible; a character applicable to no other island from Guardafui to Madagascar." He then identifies it with the island of Zangibar, lat. 6° 5′ S., in preference to Pemba, 5° 6′ S., which lay too far out of the course, and in preference to Momfia, 7° 50′ S. (though more doubtfully), because of its being by no means conspicuous, whereas Zangibar was so prominent and obvious above the other two, that it might well attract the particular attention of navigators, and its distance from the mainland is at the same time so nearly in accordance with that given in the *Periplûs* as to counterbalance all other objections. A writer in Smith's *Classical Geography*, who seems to have overlooked the indications of the distances both of Ptolemy and the *Periplûs*, assigns it a position much further to the north than is reconcilable with these distances. He places it about a degree south from the mouth of the River Juba or Govind, just where an opening in the coral-reefs is now found. "The coasting voyage," he says, "steering S. W., reached the island on the east side—a proof that it was close to the main. . . . It is true the navigator says it was 300 stadia from the mainland; but as there is no reason to suppose that he surveyed the island, this distance must be taken to signify the estimated width of the northern inlet separating the island from the main, and this estimate is probably much exaggerated. The mode of fishing with baskets is still practised in the Juba islands and along this coast. The formation of the coast of E. Africa in these latitudes—where the hills or downs upon the coast are all formed of a coral conglomerate comprising fragments of madrepore, shell and sand, renders it likely that the island which was close to the main 16 or 17 centuries ago, should now be united to it. Granting this theory of gradual transformation of the coast-line, the Menouthias of the *Periplûs* may be supposed to have stood in what is now the rich garden-land of Shamba, where the rivers carrying down mud to mingle with the marine deposit of coral drift covered the choked-up estuary with a rich soil."

The island is said in the *Periplûs* to extend towards the West, but this does not hold good either in the case of Zangibar or any other island in this part of the coast. Indeed there is no one of them in which at the present day all the characteristics of Menouthias are found combined. Momfia, for instance, which resembles it somewhat in name, and which, as modern travellers tell us, is almost entirely occupied with birds and covered with their dung, does not possess any streams of water. These are found in Zangibar. The author may perhaps have con-

nouthias, an island stretching towards sunset, and distant from the mainland about 300 stadia. It is low-lying and woody, has rivers, and a vast variety of birds, and yields the mountain tortoise, but it has no wild beasts at all, except only crocodiles, which, however, are quite harmless. The boats are here made of planks sewn together attached to a keel formed of a single log of wood, and these are used for fishing and for catching turtle. This is also caught in another mode, peculiar to the island, by lowering wicker-baskets instead of nets, and fixing them against the mouths of the cavernous rocks which lie out in the sea confronting the beach.

16. At the distance of a two days' sail from this island lies the last of the marts of Azania, called Rhapta, a name which it derives from the sewn boats just mentioned. Ivory is procured here in the greatest abundance, and also turtle. The indigenous inhabitants are men of huge stature, who live *apart from each other*, every man ruling like a lord his own domain. The whole territory is governed by the despot of Mopharitis, because the sovereignty over it, by some right of old standing, is vested in the kingdom of what is called the First Arabia. The merchants of Mouza farm its revenues from the king, and employ in trading with it a great many ships of heavy burden, on board of which they have Arabian commanders and factors who are intimately acquainted with the natives and have contracted marriage with them, and know their language and the navigation of the coast.

17. The articles imported into these marts are principally javelins manufactured at Mouza, hatchets, knives, awls, and crown glass of various sorts, to which must be added corn and wine in no small quantity landed at particular ports, not for sale, but to entertain and thereby conciliate the barbarians. The articles which these places export are ivory, in great abundance but of inferior quality to that obtained at Adouli, rhinoceros, and tortoise-shell of fine quality, second only to the Indian, and a little *nauplius*.

18. These marts, we may say, are about the last on the coast of Azania—the coast, that is,

fusedly blended together the accounts he had received from his Arab informants.

(16) We arrive next and finally at Rhapta, the last emporium on the coast known to the author. Ptolemy mentions not only a city of this name, but also a river and a promontory. The name is Greek (from *ῥάπτειν, to sew*), and was applied to the place because the vessels there in use were raised from bottoms consisting of single trunks of trees by the addition of planks which were sewn together with the fibres of the cocoa. "It is a singular fact," as Vincent remarks, "that this peculiarity should be one of the first objects which attracted the attention of the Portuguese upon their reaching this coast. They saw them first at Mozambique, where they were called *Almeidas*, but the principal notice of them in most of their writers is generally stated at Kilwa, the very spot which we have supposed to receive its name from vessels of the same construction." Vincent has been led from this coincidence to identify Rhapta with Kilwa [lat. 8° 50′ S.]. Müller however would place it not so far south, but somewhere in the Bay of Zangibar. The promontory of Rhaptum, he judges from the indications of the *Periplûs* to be the projection which closes the bay in which lies the island of Zangibar, and which is now known as Moinanokalû or Point Pouna, lat. 7° S. The parts beyond this were unknown, and the southern coast of Africa, it was accordingly thought by the ancient geographers, began here. Another cape however is mentioned by Ptolemy remoter than Rhaptum and called Prasum (that is the Green Cape) which may perhaps be Cape Delgado, which is noted for its luxuriant vegetation. The same author calls the people of Rhapta, the Rhapsioi Aithiopes. They are described in the *Periplûs* as men of lofty stature, and this is still a characteristic of the Africans of this coast. The Rhapsii were, in the days of our author, subject to the people of Mouza in Arabia just as their descendants are at the present day subject to the Sultan of Maskat. Their commerce moreover still maintains its ancient characteristics. It is the African who still builds and mans the ships while the Arab is the navigator and supercargo. The ivory is still of inferior quality, and the turtle is still captured at certain parts of the coast.

(18, 19) Our author having thus described the African coast as far southward as it was known on its Eastern side, reverts to Berenikê and enters at once on a narrative of the second voyage—that which was made thence across the Northern head of the gulf and along the coast of Arabia to the emporium of Mouza near the Straits. The course is first northward, and the parts about Berenikê as you bear away lie

which is on your right as you sail *south* from Berenîkê. For beyond these parts an ocean, hitherto unexplored, curves round towards sunset, and, stretching along the southern extremities of Ethiopia, Libya, and Africa, amalgamates with the Western Sea.

19. To the left, again, of Berenikê, if you sail eastward from Myos-Hormos across the adjacent gulf for two days, or perhaps three, you arrive at a place having a port and a fortress which is called Leukê Kômê, and forming the point of communication with Petra, the residence of Malikhas, the king of the Nabatæans. It ranks as an emporium of trade, since small vessels come to it laden with merchandize from Arabia; and hence an officer is deputed to collect the duties which are levied on imports at the rate of twenty-five per cent. of their value, and also a centurion who commands the garrison by which the place is protected.

20. Beyond this mart, and quite contiguous to it, is the realm of Arabia, which stretches to a great distance along the coast of the Red Sea. It is inhabited by various tribes, some speaking the same language with a certain degree of uniformity, and others a language totally different. Here also, *as on the opposite continent*, the sea-board is occupied by Ikhthyophagoi, who live in dispersed huts; while the men of the interior live either in villages, or where pasture can be found, and are an evil race of men, speaking two different languages. If a vessel is driven from her course upon this shore she is plundered, and if wrecked the crew on escaping to land are reduced to slavery. For this reason they are treated as enemies and cap-

therefore now on your left hand. Having touched at Myos Hormos the course on leaving it is shaped eastward across the gulf by the promontory Pharan, and Leukê Kômê is reached after three or four days' sailing. This was a port in the kingdom of the Nabathæans (the Nebaioth of Scripture), situated somewhere near the mouth of the Elanitic Gulf or eastern arm of the Red Sea, now called the Gulf of Akabah. Much difference of opinion has prevailed as to its exact position, since the encroachment of the land upon the sea has much altered the line of coast here. Mannert identified it with the modern Yenbo [lat. 24° 5′ N., long. 38° 3′ E., the port of Medina], Gosselin with Mowilah [lat. 27° 38′ N., long. 35° 28′ E.,] Vincent with Eynounah [lat. 28° 3′ N., long. 35° 13′ E.—the Onne of Ptolemy], Reichhard with Istabel Antai, and Rüppel with Wejh [lat. 26° 13′ N., long. 36° 27′ E]. Müller prefers the opinion held by Bochart, D'Anville, Quatremêre, Noel des Vergers, and Ritter, who agree in placing it at the port called Haura [lat. 24° 59′ N., long. 37° 16′ E.) mentioned by Idrisi (I. p. 332), who describes it as a village inhabited by merchants carrying on a considerable trade in earthen vases manufactured at a clay-pit in their neighbourhood. Near it lies the island of Hassani [lat. 24° 59′ N., long. 37° 3′ E.], which, as Wellsted reports, is conspicuous from its *white* appearance. Leukê Kômê is mentioned by various ancient authors, as for instance Strabo, who, in a passage wherein he recounts the misfortunes which befel the expedition which Aelius led into Nabathaea, speaks of the place as a large mart to which and from which the camel traders travel with ease and in safety from Petra and back to Petra with so large a body of men and camels as to differ in no respect from an army.

The merchandize thus conveyed from Leukê Komê to Petra was passed on to Rhinokoloura in Palestine near Egypt, and thence to other nations, but in his own time the greater part was transported by the Nile to Alexandria. It was brought down from India and Arabia to Myos Hormos, whence it was first conveyed on camels to Koptos and thence by the Nile to Alexandria. The Nabathaean king, at the time when our author visited Leukê Kômê, was, as he tells us, Malikhas, a name which means 'king.' Two Petraean sovereigns so called are mentioned by Josêphos, of whom the latter was contemporary with Herod. The Malikhas of the *Periplûs* is however not mentioned in any other work. The Nabathaean kingdom was subverted in the time of Trajan, A.D. 105, as we learn from Dio Cassius (cap. lxviii. 14), and from Eutropius (viii. 2, 9), and from Ammianus Marcellinus (xiv. 8).

(20) At no great distance from Leukê Kômê the Nabathaean realm terminates and Arabia begins. The coast is here described as most dismal, and as in every way dangerous to navigation. The inhabitants at the same time are barbarians destitute of all humanity, who scruple not to attack and plunder wrecked ships and to make slaves of their crews if they escaped to land. The mariner therefore, shunned these inhospitable shores, and standing well out to sea, sailed down the middle of the gulf. The tribe here spoken of was that perhaps which is represented by the Hutemi of the present day, and the coast belonged to the part of Arabia now called Hejid.

A more civilized region begins at an island

tured by the chiefs and kings of Arabia. They are called Kanraïtai. Altogether, therefore, the navigation of this part of the Arabian coast is very dangerous: for, *apart from the barbarity of its people*, it has neither harbours nor good roadsteads, and it is foul with breakers, and girdled with rocks which render it inaccessible. For this reason when sailing south we stand off from a shore in every way so dreadful, and keep our course down the middle of the gulf, straining our utmost to reach *the more civilized part* of Arabia, which begins at Burnt Island. From this onward the people are under a regular government, and, as their country is pastoral, they keep herds of cattle and camels.

21. Beyond this tract, and on the shore of a bay which occurs at the termination of the left (or east) side of the gulf, is Mouza, an established and notable mart of trade, at a distance south from Berenikê of not more than 12,000 stadia. The whole place is full of Arabian ship-masters and common sailors, and is absorbed in the pursuits of commerce, for with ships of its own fitting out, it trades with the marts beyond the Straits on the opposite coast, and also with Barugaza.

22. Above this a three days' journey off lies the city of Sauê, in the district called Mopharitis. It is the residence of Kholaibos, the despot of that country.

23. A journey of nine days more conducts us to Saphar, the metropolis of Kharibaêl, the rightful sovereign of two contiguous tribes, the Homêrites and the Sabaïtai, and, by means of frequent embassies and presents, the friend of the Emperors.

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called Burnt island, which answers to the modern Zebâyir [about lat. 15° 5′ N., long. 42° 12′ E.], an island which was till recently volcanic.

(21) Beyond this is the great emporium called Mouza, [lat. 13° 43′ N., long. 43° 5′ 14″ E.] situated in a bay near the termination of the Gulf, and at a distance from Berenikê of 12,000 stadia. Here the population consists almost entirely of merchants and mariners, and the place is in the highest degree commercial. The commodities of the country are rich and numerous (though this is denied by Pliny), and there is a great traffic in Indian articles brought from Barugaza (Bharoch). This port, once the most celebrated and most frequented in Yemen, is now the village Musa about twenty-five miles north from Mokhâ, which has replaced it as a port, the foundation of which dates back no more than 400 years ago. "Twenty miles inland from Mokhâ," says Vincent, "Niebuhr discovered a Musa still existing, which he with great probability supposes to be the ancient mart now carried inland to this distance by the recession of the coast." [He must have confounded it with Jebel Musa, due east of Mokhâ, at the commencement of the mountain country.]' It is a mere village badly built. Its water is good, and is said to be drunk by the wealthier inhabitants of Mokhâ. Bochart identified Mouza with the Mesha mentioned by Moses.

(22) The *Periplûs* notices two cities that lay inland from Mouza—the 1st Sauê, the Savê of Pliny (VI. xxvi., 104), and also of Ptolemy (VI. vii., p. 411), who places it at a distance of 500 stadia S. E. of Mouza. The position and distance direct us to the city of Taaes, which lies near a mountain called Saber. Sauê belonged to a district called Mapharitis or Mophareitês, a name which appears to survive in the modern Mharras, which designates a mountain lying N. E. from Taaes. It was ruled by Kholaibos (Arabicé—Khaleb), whom our author calls a tyrant, and who was therefore probably a Sheikh who had revolted from his lawful chief, and established himself as an independent ruler.

(23) The other city was Saphar, the metropolis of the Homerîtai, *i.e.* the Himaryi—the Arabs of Yemen, whose power was widely extended, not only in Yemen but in distant countries both to the East and West. Saphar is called Sapphar by Ptolemy (VI. vii.), who places it in 14° N. lat. Philostorgios calls it Tapharon, and Stephen of Byzantium Tarphara. It is now Dhafar or Dsoffar or Zaphar. In Edrisi (I. p. 148) it appears as Dhofar, and he thus writes of it:—"It is the capital of the district Jahsseb. It was formerly one of the greatest and most famous of cities. The kings of Yemen made it their residence, and there was to be seen the palace of Zeidan. These structures are now in ruins, and the population has been much decreased, nevertheless the inhabitants have preserved some remnants of their ancient riches." The ruins of the city and palace still exist in the neighbourhood of Jerim, which Niebuhr places in 14° 30′ N. lat. The distance from Sauê to Saphar in the *Periplûs* is a nine days' journey. Niebuhr accomplished it however in six. Perhaps, as Müller suggests, the nine days' journey is from Mouza to Saphar. The sovereign of Saphar is called by our author Kharibaêl, a name which is not found among the Himyaritic kings known from other sources. In Ptolemy the

24. The mart of M o u z a has no harbour, but its sea is smooth, and the anchorage good, owing to the sandy nature of the bottom. The commodities which it imports are—

Πορφύρα, διάφορος καὶ χυδαία—Purple cloth, fine and ordinary.

Ἱματισμὸς Ἀραβικὸς χειριδωτὸς, ὅτε ἁπλοῦς καὶ ὁ κοινὸς καὶ σκοτουλάτος καὶ διάχρυσος—Garments made up in the Arabian fashion, some plain and common, and others wrought in needlework and inwoven with gold.

Κρόκος—Saffron.

Κύπερος—The aromatic rush Kyperos. (Turmeric?)

Ὀθόνιον—Muslins.

Ἀβόλλαι—Cloaks.

Λώδικες οὐ πολλαὶ, ἁπλοῖ τὲ καὶ ἐντόπιοι—Quilts, in small quantity, some plain, others adapted to the fashion of the country.

Ζῶναι σκιωταὶ—Sashes of various shades of colour.

Μύρον μέτριον—Perfumes, a moderate quantity.

Χρῆμα ἱκανὸν—Specie as much as is required.

Οἶνος—Wine.

Σῖτος οὐ πολύς—Corn, but not much.

The country produces a little wheat and a great abundance of wine. Both the king and the despot above mentioned receive presents consisting of horses, pack-saddle mules, gold plate, silver plate, embossed robes of great value, and utensils of brass. M o u z a exports its own local products—myrrh of the finest quality that has oozed in drops from the trees, both the Gabiræan and Minœan kinds; white marble (or alabaster), in addition to commodities brought from the other side of the Gulf, all such as were enumerated at A d o u l i. The most favourable season for making a voyage to Mouza is the month of September,—that is Thoth,—but there is nothing to prevent it being made earlier.

25. If on proceeding from M o u z a you sail by the coast for about a distance of 300 stadia, there occurs, where the Arabian mainland and the opposite coast of B a r b a r i a at A u a l i t ê s now approach each other, a channel of no great length which contracts the sea and encloses it within narrow bounds. This is 60 stadia wide, and in crossing it you come midway upon the island of D i o d ô r o s, to which it is owing that the passage of the straits is in its neighbourhood exposed to violent winds which blow down from the adjacent mountains. There is situate upon the shore of the straits an Arabian village subject to the same ruler (as Mouza), O k ê l i s by name, which is not so much a mart of commerce as a place for anchorage and supplying water, and where those who are bound for the interior first land and halt to refresh themselves.

26. Beyond O k ê l i s, the sea again widening out towards the east, and gradually expanding

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region is called E l i s a r ô n, from a king bearing that name.

(24) Adjacent to the Homeritai, and subject to them when the *Periplûs* was written, were the Sabaeans, so famous in antiquity for their wealth, luxury and magnificence. Their country, the S h e b a of Scripture, was noted as the land of frankincense. Their power at one time extended far and wide, but in the days of our author they were subject to the Homerites ruled over by Kharibaêl, who was assiduous in courting the friendship of Rome.

(25) At a distance of 300 stadia beyond M o u z a we reach the straits where the shores of Arabia and Africa advance so near to each other that the passage between them has only, according to the *Periplûs*, a width of 60 stadia, or 7½ miles. In the midst of the passage lies the island of D i o d ô r o s (now Perim), which is about 4½ miles long by 2 broad, and rises 230 feet above the level of the sea. The straits, according to Moresby, are 14½ geographical miles wide at the entrance between Bab-el-Mandab Cape (near which is Perim) and the opposite point or volcanic peak called J i b e l S i j a n. The larger of the two entrances is 11 miles wide, and the other only 1½. Strabo, Agathêmeros, and Pliny all agree with the *Periplûs* in giving 60 stadia as the breadth of the straits. The first passage of those dreaded straits was regarded as a great achievement, and was naturally ascribed to Sesostris as the voyage though the straits of Kalpê was ascribed to Heraklês.

Situated on the shores of the straits was a place called O k ê l i s. This was not a mart of commerce, but merely a bay with good anchorage and well supplied with water. It is identical with the modern Ghalla or Cella, which has a bay immediately within the straits. Strabo following Artemidoros notes here a promontory called A k i l a. Pliny (VI. xxxii. 157) mentions an emporium of the same name "ex quo in Indiam navigatur." In xxvi., 104 of the same Book he says: "Indos petentibus utilissimum est ab O c e l i egredi." Ptolemy mentions a P s e u d o k ê l i s, which he places at the distance of half a degree from the emporium of O k ê l i s.

(26) At a distance beyond O k ê l i s of 1,200

into the open main, there lies, at about the distance of 1,200 stadia, E u d a i m ô n A r a b i a, a maritime village subject to that kingdom of which Kharibaêl is sovereign—a place with good anchorage, and supplied with sweeter and better water than that of Okêlis, and standing at the entrance of a bay where the land begins to retire inwards. It was called Eudaimôn ('rich and prosperous'), because in bygone days, when the merchants from India did not proceed to Egypt, and those from Egypt did not venture to cross over to the marts further east, but both came only as far as this city, it formed the common centre of their commerce, as Alexandria receives the wares which pass to and fro between Egypt and the ports of the Mediterranean. Now, however, it lies in ruins, the Emperor having destroyed it not long before our own times.

27. To E u d a i m ô n A r a b i a at once succeeds a great length of coast and a bay extending 2,000 stadia or more, inhabited by nomadic tribes and Ikhthyophagoi settled in villages. On doubling a cape which projects from it you come to another trading seaport, K a n ê, which is subject to E l e a z o s, king of the incense

stadia is the port of E u d a i m ô n A r a b i a, which beyond doubt corresponds to 'Â d e n, [lat. 12° 45′ N., long. 45° 21′ E.] now so well-known as the great packet station between Suez and India. The opinion held by some that Aden is the Eden mentioned by the Prophet Ezekiel (xxvii. 23) is opposed by Ritter and Winer. It is not mentioned by Pliny, though it has been erroneously held that the A t t a n a e, which he mentions in the following passage, was Aden. "Homnae et Attanae (v. l. Athanae) quæ nunc oppida maxime celebrari a Persico mari negotiatores dicunt." (vi. 32.) Ptolemy, who calls it simply A r a b i a, speaks of it as an emporium, and places after it at the distance of a degree and a half M e l a n H o r o s, or Black Hill, 17 miles from the coast, which is in long. 46° 59′ E. The place, as the *Periplûs* informs us, received the name of E u d a i m ô n from the great prosperity and wealth which it derived from being the great entrepôt of the trade between India and Egypt. It was in decay when that work was written, but even in the time of Ptolemy had begun to show symptoms of returning prosperity, and in the time of Constantine it was known as the 'Roman Emporium,' and had almost regained its former consequence, as is gathered from a passage in the works of the ecclesiastical historian Philostorgios. It is thus spoken of by Edrisi (I. p. 51): "'Â d e n is a small town, but renowned for its seaport whence ships depart that are destined for Sind, India, and China." In the middle ages it became again the centre of the trade between India and the Red Sea, and thus regained that wonderful prosperity which in the outset had given it its name. In this flourishing condition it was found by Marco Polo, whose account of its wealth, power and influence is, as Vincent remarks, almost as magnificent as that which Agatharkhidês attributed to the Sabæans in the time of the Ptolemies, when the trade was carried on in the same manner. Agatharkhidês does not however mention the place by name, but it was probably the city which he describes without naming it as lying on the White Sea without the straits, whence, he says, the Sabæans sent out colonies or factories into India, and where the fleets from Persis, Karmania and the Indus arrived. The name of A d e n is supposed to be a corruption from E u d a i m ô n.

(27) The coast beyond Aden is possessed partly by wandering tribes, and partly by tribes settled in villages which subsist on fish. Here occurs a bay—that now called Ghubbet-al-Kamar, which extends upwards of 2,000 stadia, and ends in a promontory—that now called Râs-al-Asîdah or Bâ-l-hâf [lat. 13° 58′ N., long 48° 9′ S.—a cape with a hill near the fishing village of Gillah]. Beyond this lies another great mart called K a n ê. It is mentioned by Pliny, and also by Ptolemy, who assigns it a position in agreement with the indications given in the *Periplûs*. It has been identified with the port now called Hisn Ghorâb [lat. 14° 0′ N. long. 48° 19′ E.]. Not far from this is an island called Halanî, which answers to the T r o u l l a s of our author. Further south is another island, which is called by the natives of the adjacent coast S i k k a h, but by sailors Jibûs. This is covered with the dung of birds which in countless multitudes have always frequented it, and may be therefore identified with the O r n e ô n of the *Periplûs*. K a n ê was subject to Eleazos, the king of the Frankincense Country, who resided at S a b b a t h a, or as it is called by Pliny (VI. xxxii. 155) S a b o t a, the capital of the Atramîtae or Adramitae, a tribe of Sabæans from whom the division of Arabia now known as Hadhramaut takes its name. The position of this city cannot be determined with certainty. Wellsted, who proceeded into the interior from the coast near Hisn Ghorab through Wadi Meifah, came after a day's journey and a half to a place called Nakb-el-Hajar, situated in a highly cultivated district, where he found ruins of an ancient city of the

country. Two barren islands lie opposite to it, 120 stadia off—one called Orneôn, and the other Troullas. At some distance inland from Kanê is Sabbatha, the principal city of the district, where the king resides. At Kanê is collected all the incense that is produced in the country, this being conveyed to it partly on camels, and partly *by sea* on floats supported on inflated skins, a local invention, and also in boats. Kanê carries on trade with ports across the ocean—Barugaza, Skythia, and Omana, and the adjacent coast of Persis.

28. From Egypt it imports, like Mouza, corn and a little wheat, cloths for the Arabian market, both of the common sort and the plain, and large quantities of a sort that is adulterated; also copper, tin, coral, styrax, and all the other articles enumerated at Mouza. Besides these there are brought also, principally for the king, wrought silver plate, and specie as well as horses and carved images, and plain cloth of a superior quality. Its exports are its indigenous products, frankincense and aloes, and such commodities as it shares in common with other marts on the same coast. Ships sail for this port at the same season of the year as those bound for Mouza, but earlier.

29. As you proceed from Kanê the land retires more and more, and there succeeds another very deep and far-stretching gulf, Sakhalitês by name, and also the frankincense country, which is mountainous and difficult of access, having a dense air loaded with vapours [and] the frankincense exhaled from the trees. These trees, which are not of any great size or height, yield their incense in the form of a concretion on the bark, just as several of our trees in Egypt exude gum. The incense is collected by the hand of the king's slaves, and malefactors condemned to this service as a punishment. The country is unhealthy in the extreme :—pestilential even to those who sail along the coast, and mortal to the poor wretches who gather the incense, who also suffer from lack of food, which readily cuts them off.

30. Now at this gulf is a promontory, the greatest in the world, looking towards the east,

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Himyarites crowning an eminence that rose gently with a double summit from the fertile plain. The city appeared to have been built in the most solid style of architecture, and to have been protected by a very lofty wall formed of square blocks of black marble, while the inscriptions plainly betokened that it was an old seat of the Himyarites. A close similarity could be traced between its ruins and those of Kanê, to which there was an easy communication by the valley of Meifah. This place, however, can hardly be regarded as Sabbatha without setting aside the distances given by Ptolemy, and Wellsted moreover learned from the natives that other ruins of a city of not less size were to be met with near a village called Esan, which could be reached by a three days' journey.—(See Haines, *Mem. of the S. Coast of Arab.*)

(28) With regard to the staple product of this region—frankincense, the *Periplûs* informs us that it was brought for exportation to Kanê. It was however in the first place, if we may credit Pliny, conveyed to the Metropolis. He says (xv. 32) that when gathered it was carried into Sabota on camels which could enter the city only by one particular gate, and that to take it by any other route was a crime punished by death. The priests, he adds, take a tithe for a deity named Sabis, and that until this impost is paid, the article cannot be sold.

Some writers would identify Sabbatha with Mariabo (Marab), but on insufficient grounds. It has also been conjectured that the name may be a lengthened form of Saba (Sheba), a common appellation for cities in Arabia Felix. [Müller places Sabbatha at Sawa, lat. 16° 13′ N., long. 48° 9′ E.]

(29) The next place mentioned by our author after Kanê is a Bay called Sakhalites, which terminates at Suagros, a promontory which looks eastward, and is the greatest cape in the whole world. There was much difference of opinion among the ancient geographers regarding the position of this Bay, and consequently regarding that of Cape Suagros.

(30) Some would identify the latter with Râs-el-Ḥad, and others on account of the similarity of the name with Cape Saugra or Saukirah [lat. 18° 8′ N., long. 56° 35′ E.], where Ptolemy places a city Suagros at a distance of 6 degrees from Kanê. But Suagros is undoubtedly Ras Fartak [lat. 15° 39′ N., long. 52° 15′ E.], which is at a distance of 4 degrees from Hisn Ghorab, or Kanê, and which, rising to the height of 2500 feet on a coast which is all low-lying, is a very conspicuous object, said to be discernible from a distance of 60 miles out at sea. Eighteen miles west from this promontory is a village called Saghar, a name which might probably have suggested to the Greeks that of Suagros.

and called Suagros, at which is a fortress which protects the country, and a harbour, and a magazine to which the frankincense which is collected is brought. Out in the open sea, facing this promontory, and lying between it and the promontory of Arômata, which projects from the opposite coast, though nearer to Suagros, is the island going by the name of Dioskoridês, which is of great extent, but desert and very moist, having rivers and crocodiles and a great many vipers, and lizards of enormous size, of which the flesh serves for food, while the grease is melted down and used as a substitute for oil. This island does not, however, produce either the grape or corn. The population, which is but scanty, inhabits the north side of the island—that part of it which looks towards the mainland (*of Arabia*). It consists of an intermixture of foreigners, Arabs, Indians, and even Greeks, who resort hither for the purposes of commerce. The island produces the tortoise,—the genuine, the land, and the white sort: the latter very abundant, and distinguished for the largeness of its shell; also the mountain sort which is of extraordinary size and has a very thick shell, whereof the underpart cannot be used, being too hard to cut, while the serviceable part is made into money-boxes, tablets, escritoires, and ornamental articles of that description. It yields also the vegetable dye (κιννάβαρι) called Indicum (or Dragon's-blood), which is gathered as it distils from trees.

31. The island is subject to the king of the frankincense country, in the same way as Azania is subject to Kharibaël and the despot of Mopharitis. It used to be visited by some (*merchants*) from Mouza, and others on the homeward voyage from Limyrikê and Barugaza would occasionally touch at it, importing rice, corn, Indian cotton and female-slaves, who, being rare, always commanded a ready market. In exchange for these commodities they would receive as fresh cargo great quan-

Consistent with this identification is the passage of Pliny (VI. 32) where he speaks of the island Dioscoridis (Sokotra) as distant from Suagros, which he calls the utmost projection of the coast, 2240 stadia or 280 miles, which is only about 30 miles in excess of the real distance, 2000 stadia.

With regard to the position of the Bay of Sakhalitês, Ptolemy, followed by Marcianus, places it to the East of Suagros. Marinos on the other hand, like the *Periplûs*, places it to the west of it. Müller agrees with Fresnel in regarding Sakhlê, mentioned by Ptolemy (VI. vii. 41) as 1¼ degree East of Makalleh [lat. 14° 31′ N., long 49° 7′ W.] as the same with Shehr—which is now the name of all that mountainous region extending from the seaport of Makalleh to the bay in which lie the islands of Kurya Murya. He therefore takes this to be in the Regio Sakhalitês, and rejects the opinion of Ptolemy as inconsistent with this determination. With regard to Shehr or Shehar [lat. 14° 38′ N., long. 49° 22′ E.] Yule (*M. Polo*, II. vol. p. 440, note) says: "Shihr or Shehr still exists on the Arabian Coast as a town and district about 330 miles east of Aden." The name Shehr in some of the oriental geographies includes the whole Coast up to Oman. The hills of the Shehr and Dhafâr districts were the great source of produce of the Arabian frankincense.

The island of Dioskoridês (now Sokotra) is placed by the *Periplûs* nearer to Cape Suagros than to Cape Arômata—although its distance from the former is nearly double the distance from the latter. The name, though in appearance a Greek one, is in reality of Sanskrit origin; from *Dvîpa Sukhâdâra*, i.e. *insula fortunata*, 'Island abode of Bliss.' The accuracy of the statements made regarding it in the *Periplûs* is fully confirmed by the accounts given of it by subsequent writers. Kosmas, who wrote in the 6th century, says that the inhabitants spoke Greek, and that he met with people from it who were on their way to Ethiopia, and that they spoke Greek. "The ecclesiastical historian Nikephoros Kallistos," says Yule, "seems to allude to the people of Sokotra when he says that among the nations visited by the Missionary Theophilus in the time of Constantius, were 'the Assyrians on the verge of the outer Ocean, towards the East ... whom Alexander the Great, after driving them from Syria, sent thither to settle, and to this day they keep their mother tongue, though all of the blackest, through the power of the sun's rays.' The Arab voyagers of the 9th century say that the island was colonized with Greeks by Alexander the Great, in order to promote the culture of the Sokotrine aloes; when the other Greeks adopted Christianity these did likewise, and they had continued to retain their profession of it. The colonizing by Alexander is probably a fable, but invented to account for facts." (*Marco Polo* II. 401.) The aloe, it may be noted, is not mentioned in the *Periplûs* as one of the products of the island. The islanders, though at one time Christians, are now Muham-

tities of tortoise-shell. The revenues of the island are at the present day farmed out by its sovereigns, who, however, maintain a garrison in it for the protection of their interests.

32. Immediately after Suagros follows a gulf deeply indenting the mainland of Omana, and having a width of 600 stadia. Beyond it are high mountains, rocky and precipitous, and inhabited by men who live in caves. The range extends onward for 500 stadia, and beyond where it terminates lies an important harbour called Moskha, the appointed port to which the *Sakhalitik* frankincense is forwarded. It is regularly frequented by a number of ships from Kanê; and such ships as come from Limyrikê and Barugaza too late in the season put into harbour here for the winter, where they dispose of their muslins, corn, and oil to the king's officers, receiving in exchange frankincense, which lies in piles throughout the whole of Sakhalitis without a guard to protect it, as if the locality were indebted to some divine power for its security. Indeed, it is impossible to procure a cargo, either publicly or by connivance, without the king's permission. Should one take furtively on board were it but a single grain, his vessel can by no possibility escape from harbour.

madans, and subject as of yore to Arabia. The people of the interior are still of distinct race with curly hair, Indian complexion, and regular features. The coast people are mongrels of Arab and mixed descent. Probably in old times civilization and Greek may have been confined to the littoral foreigners. Marco Polo notes that so far back as the 10th century it was one of the stations frequented by the Indian corsairs called Bawârij, belonging to Kachh and Gujarat.

(32) Returning to the mainland the narrative conducts us next to Moskha, a seaport trading with Kanê, and a wintering place for vessels arriving late in the season from Malabar and the Gulf of Khambât. The distance of this place from Suagros is set down at upwards of 1100 stadia, 600 of which represent the breadth of a bay which begins at the Cape, and is called Omana Al-Kamar. The occurrence of the two names Omana and Moskha in such close connexion led D'Anville to suppose that Moskha is identical with Maskat, the capital of Oman, the country lying at the south-east extremity of Arabia, and hence that Ras-el-Ḥad, beyond which Maskat lies, must be Cape Suagros. This supposition is, however, untenable, since the identification of Moskha with the modern Ausera is complete. For, in the first place, the Bay of Seger, which begins at Cape Fartak, is of exactly the same measurement across to Cape Thurbot Ali as the Bay of Omana, and again the distance from Cape Thurbot Ali [lat. 16° 38′ N., long. 53° 3′ E.] to Ras-al-Sair, the Ausara of Ptolemy, corresponds almost as exactly to the distance assigned by our author from the same Cape to Moskha. Moreover Pliny (XII. 35) notices that one particular kind of incense bore the name of *Ausaritis*, and, as the *Periplûs* states that Moskha was the great emporium of the incense trade, the identification is satisfactory.

There was another Moskha on this coast which was also a port. It lay to the west of Suagros, and has been identified with Keshîn [lat. 15° 21′ N. long. 51° 39′ E.]. Our author, though correct in his description of the coast, may perhaps have erred in his nomenclature; and this is the more likely to have happened as it scarcely admits of doubt that he had no personal knowledge of South Arabia beyond Kanê and Cape Suagros. Besides no other author speaks of an Omana so far to westward as the position assigned to the Bay of that name. The tract immediately beyond Moskha or Ausera is low and fertile, and is called Dofar or Zhafâr, after a famous city now destroyed, but whose ruins are still to be traced between Al-hâfâh and Addahariz. "This Dhafâr," says Yule (*Marco Polo* II. p. 442 note) "or the bold mountain above it, is supposed to be the Sephar of *Genesis* X. 30." It is certain that the Himyarites had spread their dominion as far eastward as this place. Marco Polo thus describes Dhafâr :—"It stands upon the sea, and has a very good haven, so that there is a great traffic of shipping between this and India; and the merchants take hence great numbers of Arab horses to that market, making great profits thereby. . . . Much white incense is produced here, and I will tell you how it grows. The trees are like small fir-trees; these are notched with a knife in several places, and from these notches the incense is exuded. Sometimes, also, it flows from the tree without any notch, this is by reason of the great heat of the sun there." Müller would identify Moskha with Zhafâr, and accounts for the discrepancy of designation by supposing that our author had confounded the name Maskat, which was the great seat of the traffic in frankincense with the name of the greatest city in the district which actually produced it. A similar confusion he thinks transferred the name of Oman to the same part of the country. The climate of the incense country is described as being extremely un-

33. From the port of Moskha onward to Asikh, a distance of about 1500 stadia, runs a range of hills pretty close to the shore, and at its termination there are seven islands bearing the name of Zênobios, beyond which again we come to another barbarous district not subject to any power in Arabia, but to Persis. If when sailing by this coast you stand well out to sea so as to keep a direct course, then at about a distance from the island of Zênobios of 2000 stadia you arrive at another island, called that of Sarapis, lying off shore, say, 120 stadia. It is about 200 stadia broad and 600 long, possessing three villages inhabited by a *savage* tribe of Ikhthyophagoi, who speak the Arabic language, and whose clothing consists of a girdle made from the leaves of the cocoa-palm. The island produces in great plenty tortoise of excellent quality, and the merchants of Kanê accordingly fit out little boats and cargo-ships to trade with it.

34. If sailing onward you wind round with the adjacent coast to the north, then as you approach the entrance of the Persian Gulf you fall in with a group of islands which lie in a range along the coast for 2000 stadia, and are

healthy, but its unhealthiness seems to have been designedly exaggerated.

(33) Beyond Moskha the coast is mountainous as far as Asikh and the islands of Zenobios—a distance excessively estimated at 1500 stadia. The mountains referred to are 5000 feet in height, and are those now called Subaha. Asikh is readily to be identified with the Hâsek of Arabian geographers. Edrisi (I. p. 54) says: "Thence (from Marbat) to the town of Hâsek is a four days' journey and a two days' sail. Before Hasek are the two islands of Khartan and Martan. Above Hâsek is a high mountain named Sous, which commands the sea. It is an inconsiderable town but populous." This place is now in ruins, but has left its name to the promontory on which it stood [Râs Hâsek, lat. 17° 23′ N. long. 55° 20′ E. opposite the island of Hasiki]. The islands of Zênobios are mentioned by Ptolemy as seven in number, and are those called by Edrisi Khartan and Martan, now known as the Kuriyân Muriyân islands. The inhabitants belonged to an Arab tribe which was spread from Hasek to Râs-el-Ḥad, and was called Beit or Beni Jenabi, whence the Greek name. M. Polo in the 31st chapter of his travels "discourseth of the two islands called Male and Female," the position of which he vaguely indicates by saying that "when you leave the kingdom of Kesmacoran (Mekran) which is on the mainland, you go by sea some 500 miles towards the south, and then you find the 2 islands Male and Female lying about 30 miles distant from one another." (See also *Marco Polo*, vol. II. p. 396 note).

Beyond Asikh is a district inhabited by barbarians, and subject not to Arabia but to Persis. Then succeeds at a distance of 200 stadia beyond the islands of Zenobios the island of Sarapis, (the Ogyris of Pliny) now called Masira [lat. 20° 10′ to 20° 42′ N., long. 58° 37′ to 58° 59′ E.] opposite that part of the coast where Oman now begins. The *Periplûs* exaggerates both its breadth and its distance from the continent. It was still inhabited by a tribe of fish-eaters in the time of Ebn Batuta, by whom it was visited.

On proceeding from Sarapis the adjacent coast bends round, and the direction of the voyage changes to north. The great cape which forms the south-eastern extremity of Arabia called Râs-el-Ḥad [lat. 22° 33′ N. long. 59° 48′ E.] is here indicated, but without being named; Ptolemy calls it Korodamon (VI. vii. 11.)

(34) Beyond it, and near the entrance to the Persian Gulf, occurs, according to the *Periplûs*, a group of many islands, which lie in a range along the coast over a space of 2000 stadia, and are called the islands of Kalaiou. Here our author is obviously in error, for there are but three groups of islands on this coast, which are not by any means near the entrance of the Gulf. They lie beyond Maskat [lat. 23° 38′ N. long. 58° 36′ E.] and extend for a considerable distance along the Batinah coast. The central group is that of the Ḍeymâniyeh islands (probably the Damnia of Pliny) which are seven in number, and lie nearly opposite Birkeh [lat 23° 42′ N. long. 57° 55′ E.]. The error, as Müller suggests, may be accounted for by supposing that the tract of country called El Baṭinah was mistaken for islands. This tract, which is very low and extremely fertile, stretches from Birkeh [lat. 23° 42′ N. long. 57° 55′ E.] onward to Jibba, where high mountains approach the very shore, and run on in an unbroken chain to the mouth of the Persian Gulf. The islands are not mentioned by any other author, for the Calaeou insulae of Pliny (VI. xxxii. 150) must, to avoid utter confusion, be referred to the coast of the Arabian Gulf. There is a place called El Kilḥat, the Akilla of Pliny [lat. 22° 40′ N. long. 59° 24′ E.]—but whether this is connected with the Kalaiou islands of the *Periplûs* is uncertain [Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 48. El Kilḥât, south of Maskat and close to Ṣûr, was once a great port.]

called the islands of Kalaios. The inhabitants of the adjacent coast are cruel and treacherous, and see imperfectly in the daytime.

35. Near the last headland of the islands of Kalaios is the mountain called Kalon (Pulcher),[18] to which succeeds, at no great distance, the mouth of the Persian Gulf, where there are very many pearl fisheries. On the left of the entrance, towering to a vast height, are the mountains which bear the name of Asaboi, and directly opposite on the right you see another mountain high and round, called the hill of Semiramis. The strait which separates them has a width of 600 stadia, and through this opening the Persian Gulf pours its vast expanse of waters far up into the interior. At the very head of this gulf there is a regular mart of commerce, called the city of Apologos, situate near Pasinou-Kharax and the river Euphrates.

36. If you coast along the mouth of the gulf you are conducted by a six days' voyage to another seat of trade belonging to Persis, called Omana.[19] Barugaza maintains a regular commercial intercourse with both these Persian

(35) Before the mouth of the Persian Gulf is reached occurs a height called Kalon (Fair Mount) at the last head of the islands of Papias—τῶν Παπίου νήσων. This reading has been altered by Fabricius and Schwanbeck to τῶν Καλάιου νήσων. The Fair Mount, according to Vincent, would answer sufficiently to Cape Fillam, if that be high land, and not far from Fillam are the straits. The great cape which Arabia protrudes at these straits towards Karmania is now called Ras Mussendom. It was seen from the opposite coast by the expedition under Nearkhos, to whom it appeared to be a day's sail distant. The height on that coast is called Semiramis, and also Strongylê from its round shape. Mussendom, the 'Asabôn akron' of Ptolemy, Vincent says, "is a sort of Lizard Point to the Gulf; for all the Arabian ships take their departure from it with some ceremonies of superstition, imploring a blessing on their voyage, and setting afloat a toy like a vessel rigged and decorated, which if it is dashed to pieces by the rocks is to be accepted by the ocean as an offering for the escape of the vessel." [The straits between the island of Mussendom and the mainland are called El Bab, and this is the origin of the name of the Papiæ islands.—Miles' *Jour. R. A. Soc.* N. S. vol. x. p. 168.]

The actual width of the straits is 40 miles. Pliny gives it at 50, and the *Periplûs* at 75. Cape Mussendom is represented in the *Periplûs* as in Ptolemy by the Mountains of the Asabi which are described as tremendous heights, black, grim, and abrupt. They are named from the tribe of Beni Asab.

We enter now the Gulf itself, and here the *Periplûs* mentions only two particulars: the famous Pearl Fisheries which begin at the straits and extend to Bahrein, and the situation of a regular trading mart called Apologos, which lies at the very head of the Gulf on the Euphrates, and in the vicinity of Spasinou Kharax. This place does not appear to be referred to in any other classical work, but it is frequently mentioned by Arabian writers under the name of Oboleh or Obolegh. As an emporium it took the place of Terêdôn or Diridôtis, just as Basra (below which it was situated) under the second Khaliphate took the place of Oboleh itself. According to Vincent, Oboleh, or a village that represents it, still exists between Basra and the Euphrates. The canal also is called the canal of Oboleh. Kharax Pasinou was situated where the Karum (the Eulaeus of the ancients) flows into the Pasitigris, and is represented by the modern trading town Muhammarah. It was founded by Alexander the Great, and after its destruction, was rebuilt by Antiokhos Epiphanes, who changed its name from Alexandreia to Antiokheia. It was afterwards occupied by an Arab Chief called Pasines, or rather Spasines, who gave it the name by which it is best known. Pliny states that the original town was only 10 miles from the sea, but that in his time the existing place was so much as 120 miles from it. It was the birth-place of two eminent geographers—Dionysius Periegetes and Isidôros.

(36) After this cursory glance at the great gulf, our author returns to the straits, and at once

[18] "This" (Mons Pulcher) says Major-General Miles, "is Jebel Lahrim or Shaum, the loftiest and most conspicuous peak on the whole cape (Mussendom), being nearly 7000 feet high."—*Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N.S.) vol. X. p. 168.—ED.

[19] "The city of Omana is Soḥar, the ancient capital of Omana, which name, as is well known, it then bore, and Pliny is quite right in correcting *former writers* who had placed it in Caramania, on which coast there is no good evidence that there was a place of this name. Nearchus does not mention it, and though the author of the *Periplûs of the Erythræan Sea* does locate it in Persis, it is pretty evident he never visited the place himself, and he must have mistaken the information he obtained from others. It was this city of Soḥar most probably that bore the appellation of Emporium Persarum, in which, as Philostorgius relates, permission was given to Theophilus, the ambassador of Constantine, to erect a Christian church." The Homna of Pliny may be a repetition of Omana or Soḥar, which he had already mentioned.—Miles in *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.) vol. X. pp. 164-5.—ED.

ports, despatching thither large vessels freighted with copper, sandalwood, beams for rafters, horn, and logs of sasamina and ebony. Omana imports also frankincense from Kanê, while it exports to Arabia a particular species of vessels called *madara*, which have their planks sewn together. But both from Apologos and Omana there are exported to Barugaza and to Arabia great quantities of pearl, of mean quality however compared with the Indian sort, together with purple, cloth for the natives, wine, dates in great quantity, and gold and slaves.

37. After leaving the district of Omana the country of the Parsidai succeeds, which belongs to another government, and the bay which bears the name of Terabdoi, from the midst of which a cape projects. Here also is a river large enough to permit the entrance of ships, with a small mart at its mouth called Oraia. Behind it in the interior, at the distance of a seven days' journey from the coast, is the city where the king resides, called Rhambakia. This district, in addition to corn, produces wine, rice, and dates, though in the tract near the sea, only the fragrant gum called bdellium.

38. After this region, where the coast is already deeply indented by gulfs caused by the land advancing with a vast curve from the east, succeeds the seaboard of Skythia, a region which extends to northward. It is very low and flat, and contains the mouths of the Sinthos (Indus), the largest of all the rivers which fall into the Erythræan Sea, and which, indeed, pours into it such a vast body of water that while you are yet far off from the land at its mouth you find the sea turned of a white colour by its waters.

The sign by which voyagers before sighting land know that it is near is their meeting with serpents floating on the water; but higher up and on the coasts of Persia the first sign of land is seeing them of a different kind, called *graai*. [Sansk. *graha*—an alligator.] The river has seven mouths, all shallow, marshy and unfit for navigation except only the middle stream, on which is Barbarikon, a trading seaport. Before this town lies a small islet, and behind it in the interior is Minnagar, the metropolis of

conducts us to the Eastern shores of the Erythræan, where occurs another emporium belonging to Persia, at a distance from the straits of 6 courses or 3,000 stadia. This is Omana. It is mentioned by Pliny (VI. xxxii. 149) who makes it belong to Arabia, and accuses preceding writers for placing it in Karmania.

The name of Omana has been corrupted in the MSS. of Ptolemy into Nommaria, Nombana, Kommana, Kombana, but Marcian has preserved the correct spelling. From Omana as from Apologos great quantities of pearl of an inferior sort were exported to Arabia and Barugaza. No part however of the produce of India is mentioned as among its exports, although it was the centre of commerce between that country and Arabia.

(37) The district which succeeds Omana belongs to the Parsidai, a tribe in Gedrosia next neighbours to the Arbitae on the East. They are mentioned by Ptolemy (VI. xx., p. 439) and by Arrian (*Indika* xxvi.) who calls them Pasirees, and notes that they had a small town called Pasira, distant about 60 stadia from the sea, and a harbour with good anchorage called Bagisara. The Promontory of the *Periplûs* is also noted and described as projecting far into the sea, and being high and precipitous. It is the Cape now called Arabah or Urmarah. The Bay into which it projects is called Terabdôn, a name which is found only in our author. Vincent erroneously identifies this with the Paragôn of Ptolemy. It is no doubt the Bay which extends from Cape Guadel to Cape Monze. The river which enters this Bay, at the mouth of which stood the small mart called Oraia, was probably that which is now called the Akbor. The royal city which lay inland from the sea a seven days' journey was perhaps, as Mannert has conjectured, Rambakia, mentioned by Arrian (*Anab.* vi. 21) as the capital of the Oreitai or Horitai.

(38) We now approach the mouths of the Indus which our author calls the Sinthos, transliterating the native name of it—Sindhu. In his time the wide tract which was watered by this river in the lower part of its course was called Indoskuthia. It derived its name from the Skuthian tribes (the Śâka of Sansk.) who after the overthrow of the Graeco-Baktrian empire gradually passed southward to the coast, where they established themselves about the year 120 B. C., occupying all the region between the Indus and the Narmadâ. They are called by Dionysios Periegetes Notioi Skuthai, the Southern Skuthians. Our author mentions two cities which belonged to them—Barbarikon and Minnagar; the former of which was an emporium situated near the sea on the middle and only navigable branch of the Indus. Ptolemy has a Bar-

Skythia, which is governed, however, by Parthian princes, who are perpetually at strife among themselves, expelling each the other.

39. Ships accordingly anchor near Barbarikê, but all their cargoes are conveyed by the river up to the king, who resides in the metropolis.

The articles imported into this emporium are—

'Ιματισμὸς 'απλοῦς ἱκανὸς—Clothing, plain and in considerable quantity.

'Ιματισμὸς νόθος ὀυ πολὺς—Clothing, mixed, not much.

Πολύμιτα—Flowered cottons.

Χρυσόλιθον—Yellow-stone, topazes.

Κοράλλιον—Coral.

Στύραξ—Storax.

Λίβανος—Frankincense (*Lôbân*).

'Υαλά σκεύη—Glass vessels.

Αργυρώματα—Silver plate.

Χρῆμα—Specie.

Οἶνος οὐ πολύς—Wine, but not much.

The exports are:—

Κόστος—Costus, a spice.

Βδέλλα—Bdellium, a gum.

Λύκιον—A yellow dye (*Ruzôt*).

Νάρδος—Spikenard.

Λίθος καλλαΐνος—Emeralds or green-stones.

Σαπφειρος—Sapphires.

Σηρικὰ δέρματα—Furs from China.

'Οθόνιον—Cottons.

Νῆμα Σηρικὸν—Silk thread.

'Ινδικὸν μελαν—Indigo.

Ships destined for this port put out to sea when the Indian monsoon prevails—that is, about the month of July or Epiphi. The voyage at this season is attended with danger, but being shorter is more expeditious.

40. After the river Sinthos is passed we reach another gulf, which cannot be easily seen. It has two divisions,—the Great and the Little by name,—both shoal with violent and continuous eddies extending far out from the shore, so that before ever land is in sight ships are often grounded on the shoals, or being caught within the eddies are lost. Over this gulf hangs a promontory which, curving from Eirinon first to the east, then to the south, and finally to the west, encompasses the gulf called Barakê, in the bosom of which lie seven islands. Should a vessel approach the entrance of this gulf, the only chance of escape for those on board is at once to alter their course and stand out to sea, for it is all over with them if they are once fairly within the womb of Barakê, which surges with vast and mighty billows, and where the sea, tossing in violent commotion, forms eddies and impetuous whirlpools in every direction. The bottom varies, presenting in places sudden shoals, in others being scabrous with jagged rocks, so that when an anchor grounds its cable is either at once cut through, or soon broken by friction at the bottom. The

barei in the Delta, but the position he assigns to it, does not correspond with that of Barbarikon. Minnagar was the Skuthian metropolis. It lay inland, on or near the banks of the Indus.

(39) Ships did not go up to it but remained at Barbarikon, their cargoes being conveyed up the river in small boats. In Ptolemy (VII. i. 61) the form of the name is Binagara, which is less correct since the word is composed of *Min*, the Indian name for the Skuthians, and *nagar*, a city. Ritter considers that Ṭhaṭha is its modern representative, since it is called Saminagar by the Jâḍejâ Rajputs who, though settled in Kachh, derive their origin from that city. To this view it is objected that Ṭhaṭha is not near the position which Ptolemy assigns to his Binagara. Mannert places it at Bakkar, D'Anville at Mansura, and Vincent at Menhabery mentioned by Edrisi (I. p. 164) as distant two stations or 60 miles from Dabil, which again was three stations or 90 miles from the mouth of the Indus, that is it lay at the head of the Delta. Our author informs us that in his time Minagar was ruled by Parthian princes. The Parthians (the Parada of Sanskrit writers) must therefore have subverted a Skuthian dynasty which must have been that which (as Benfey has shown) was founded by Yeukaotschin between the years 30 and 20 B.C., or about 30 years only after the famous Indian Æra called *Śdkâbda* (the year of the Śâka) being that in which Vikramâditya expelled the Skuthians from Indian soil. The statement of the *Periplûs* that Parthian rulers succeeded the Skuthian is confirmed by Parthian coins found everywhere in this part of the country. These sovereigns must have been of consequence, or the trade of their country very lucrative to the merchant as appears by the presents necessary to ensure his protection—plate, musical instruments, handsome girls for the Harem, the best wine, plain cloth of high price, and the finest perfumes. The profits of the trade must therefore have been great, but if Pliny's account be true, that every pound laid out in India produced a hundred at Rome, greater exactions than these might easily have been supported.

sign by which voyagers know they are approaching this bay is their seeing serpents floating about on the water, of extraordinary size and of a black colour, for those met with lower down and in the neighbourhood of Barugaza are of less size, and in colour green and golden.

41. To the gulf of Barakê succeeds that of Barugaza and the mainland of Ariakê, a district which forms the frontier of the kingdom of Mombaros and of all India. The interior part of it which borders on Skythia is called Abêria, and its sea-board Surastrênê. It is a region which produces abundantly corn and rice and the oil of sesamum, butter, muslins and the coarser fabrics which are manufactured from Indian cotton. It has also numerous herds of cattle. The natives are men of large stature and coloured black. The metropolis of the district is Minnagar, from which cotton cloth is exported in great quantity to

(40) The first place mentioned after the Indus is the Gulf of Eirinon, a name of which traces remain in the modern appellation the Raṇa of Kachh. This is no longer covered with water except during the monsoon, when it is flooded by sea water or by rains and inundated rivers. At other seasons it is not even a marsh, for its bed is hard, dry and sandy; a mere saline waste almost entirely devoid of herbage, and frequented but by one quadruped—the wild ass. Burnes conjectured that its desiccation resulted from an upheaval of the earth caused by one of those earthquakes which are so common in that part of India. The Raṇ is connected with the Gulf of Kachh, which our author calls the Gulf of Barakê. His account of it is far from clear. Perhaps, as Müller suggests, he comprehended under Eirinon the interior portion of the Gulf of Kachh, limiting the Gulf of Barakê to the exterior portion or entrance to it. This gulf is called that of Kanthi by Ptolemy, who mentions Barakê only as an island, [and the south coast of Kachh is still known by the name of Kantha]. The islands of the *Periplûs* extend westward from the neighbourhood of Navanagar to the very entrance of the Gulf.

(41) To Barakê succeeds the Gulf of Barugaza (Gulf of Khambhât) and the sea-board of the region called Ariakê. The reading of the MS. here ἡ πρὸς Ἀραβικῆς χώρας is considered corrupt. Müller substitutes ἡ ἤπειρος τῆς Ἀριακῆς χώρας, though Mannert and others prefer Λαρικῆς χώρας, relying on Ptolemy, who places Ariakê to the south of Larikê, and says that Larikê comprehends the peninsula (of Gujarât) Barugaza and the parts adjacent. As Ariakê was however previously mentioned in the *Periplûs* (sec. 14) in connexion with Barugaza, and is afterwards mentioned (sec. 54) as trading with Muziris, it must no doubt have been mentioned by the author in its proper place, which is here. [Bhagvanlâl Indraji Pandit has shewn reasons however for correcting the readings into Ἀβαρατικη, the Prakrit form of Aparântikâ, an old name of the western sea board of India.—*Ind. Ant.* vol. VII., pp. 259, 263.] Regarding the name Larikê, Yule has the following note (*Travels of M. Polo* vol. II. p. 353):—"Lâr-Deśa, the country of Lar," properly Lât-deśa, was an early name for the territory of Gujrat and the northern Konkan, embracing Saimur (the modern Chaul as I believe) Thaṇa, and Bharoch. It appears in Ptolemy in the form Larikê. The sea to the west of that coast was in the early Muhammadan times called the sea of Lâr, and the language spoken on its shores is called by Mas'udi Lâri. Abulfeda's authority Ibn Said, speaks of Lâr and Gujarât as identical."

Ariakê (Aparântikâ), our author informs us, was the beginning or frontier of India. That part of the interior of Ariakê which bordered on Skuthia was called Aberia or Abiria (in the MS. erroneously Ibêria). The corresponding Indian word is Abhîra, which designated the district near the mouths of the river. Having been even in very early times a great seat of commerce, some (as Lassen) have been led to think from a certain similarity of the names that this was the Ophir of scripture, a view opposed by Ritter. Abiria is mentioned by Ptolemy, who took it to be not a part of India but of Indoskuthia. The sea-board of Ariakê was called Surastrênê, and is mentioned by Ptolemy, who says (VII. i. 55) it was the region about the mouths of the Indus and the Gulf of Kanthi. It answers to the Sanskrit Surâshṭra. Its capital was Minnagar,—a city which, as its name shows, had once belonged to the Min or Skuthians. It was different of course from the Minnagar already mentioned as the capital of Indo-Skuthia. It was situated to the south of Ozênê (Ujjayinî, or Ujjain), and on the road which led from that city to the River Narmadâ, probably near where Indôr now stands. It must have been the capital only for a short time, as Ptolemy informs us (II. i. 63) that Ozênê was in his time the capital of Tiashanes [probably the Chashṭana of Coins and the Cave Temple inscriptions]. From both places a great variety of merchandise was sent down the Narmadâ to Barugaza.

The next place our author mentions is a promontory called Papikê projecting into the Gulf

Barugaza. In this part of the country there are preserved even to this very day memorials of the expedition of Alexander, old temples, foundations of camps, and large wells. The extent of this coast, reckoned from Barbarikon to the promontory called Papikê, near Astakapra, which is opposite Barugaza, is 3,000 stadia.

42. After Papikê there is another gulf, exposed to the violence of the waves and running up to the north. Near its mouth is an island called Baiônês, and at its very head it receives a vast river called the Maïs. Those bound for Barugaza sail up this gulf (which has a breadth of about 300 stadia), leaving the island on the left till it is scarcely visible in the horizon, when they shape their course east for the mouth of the river that leads to Barugaza. This is called the Namnadios.

43. The passage into the gulf of Barugaza is narrow and difficult of access to those approaching it from the sea, for they are carried either to the right or to the left, the left being the better passage of the two. On the right, at the very entrance of the gulf, lies a narrow stripe of shoal, rough and beset with rocks. It is called Hêrônê, and lies opposite the village of Kammôni. On the left side right against this is the promontory of Papikê, which lies in front of Astakapra, where it is difficult to anchor, from the strength of the current and because the cables are cut through by the sharp rocks at the bottom. But even if the passage into the gulf is sécured the mouth of the Barugaza river is not easy to hit, since the coast is low and there are no certain marks to be seen until you are close upon them. Neither, if it is discovered, is it easy to enter, from the presence of shoals at the mouth of the river.

44. For this reason native fishermen appointed by Government are stationed with well-manned long boats called *trappaga* and *kotumba* at the entrance of the river, whence they go out as far as Surastrênê to meet ships, and pilot them up to Barugaza. At the head of the gulf the pilot, immediately on taking charge of a ship, with the help of his own boat's crew, shifts her head to keep her clear of the shoals, and tows her from one fixed station to another, moving with the beginning of the tide, and dropping anchor at certain roadsteads and basins when it ebbs. These basins occur at points where the

of Khambât from that part of the peninsula of Gujarât which lies opposite to the Barugaza coast. Its distance from Barbarikon on the middle mouth of the Indus is correctly given at 3,000 stadia. This promontory is said to be near Astakapra, a place which is mentioned also by Ptolemy, and which (*Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 314) has been identified by Colonel Yule with Hastakavapra (now Hâthab near Bhaunagar), a name which occurs in a copper-plate grant of Dhruvasena I of Valabhi. With regard to the Greek form of this name Dr. Bühler thinks it is not derived immediately from the Sanskrit, but from an intermediate old Prakrit word Hastakampra, which had been formed by the contraction of the syllables *ava* to *â*, and the insertion of a nasal, according to the habits of the Gujarâtîs. The loss of the initial, he adds, may be explained by the difficulty which Gujarâtîs have now and probably had 1600 years ago in pronouncing the *spirans* in its proper place. The modern name Hâthab or Hâthap may be a corruption of the shorter Sanskrit form Hastavapra.

(42) Beyond Papikê, we are next informed, there is another gulf running northward into the interior of the country. This is not really another Gulf but only the northern portion of the Gulf of Khambât, which the *Periplûs* calls the Gulf of Barugaza. It receives a great river, the Mais, which is easily identified with the Mahi, and contains an island called Baiônês [the modern Peram], which you leave on the left hand as you cross over from Astakapra to Barugaza.

We are now conducted to Barugaza, the greatest seat of commerce in Western India, situated on a river called in the MS. of the *Periplûs* the Lamnaios, which is no doubt an erroneous reading for Namados, or Namnados or Namnadios. This river is the Narmâdâ. It is called by Ptolemy the Namadês.

(43) Barugaza (Bharoch) which was 30 miles distant from its mouth, was both difficult and dangerous of access; for the entrance to the Gulf itself was, on the right, beset with a perilous stripe (*tainia*) of rocky shoal called Herônê, and on the left, (which was the safer course,) the violent currents which swept round the promontory of Papikê rendered it unsafe to approach the shore or to cast anchor. The shoal of Herônê was opposite a village on the mainland called Kammôni, the Kamanê of Ptolemy (VII. i.), who however places it to the north of the river's mouth. Again, it was not only difficult to hit the mouth of the river, but its navigation was endangered by

river is deeper than usual, all the way up to Barugaza, which is 300 stadia distant from the mouth of the river if you sail up the stream to reach it.

45. India has everywhere a great abundance of rivers, and her seas ebb and flow with tides of extraordinary strength, which increase with the moon, both when new and when full, and for three days after each, but fall off in the intermediate space. About Barugaza they are more violent than elsewhere; so that all of a sudden you see the depths laid bare, and portions of the land turned into sea, and the sea, where ships were sailing but just before, turned without warning into dry land. The rivers, again, on the access of flood tide rushing into their channels with the whole body of the sea, are driven upwards against their natural course for a great number of miles with a force that is irresistible.

46. This is the reason why ships frequenting this emporium are exposed, both in coming and going, to great risk, if handled by those who are unacquainted with the navigation of the gulf or visit it for the first time, since the impetuosity of the tide when it becomes full, having nothing to stem or slacken it, is such that anchors cannot hold against it. Large vessels, moreover, if caught in it are driven athwart from their course by the rapidity of the current till they are stranded on shoals and wrecked, while the smaller craft are capsized, and many that have taken refuge in the side channels, being left dry by the receding tide, turn over on one side, and, if not set erect on props, are filled upon the return of the tide with the very first head of the flood, and sunk. But at new moons, especially when they occur in conjunction with a night tide, the flood sets in with such extraordinary violence that on its beginning to advance, even though the sea be calm, its roar is heard by those living near the river's mouth, sounding like the tumult of battle heard far off, and soon after the sea with its hissing waves bursts over the bare shoals.

47. Inland from Barugaza the country is inhabited by numerous races—the Aratrioi, and the Arakhôsioi, and the Gandaraioi, and the people of Proklaïs, in which is Boukephalos Alexandreia. Beyond these are the Baktrianoi, a most warlike race, governed by their own independent sovereign. It was from these parts Alexander issued to invade India when he marched as far as the Ganges, without, however, attacking Limurikê and the southern parts of the country. Hence

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sandbanks and the violence of the tides, especially the high tide called the 'Bore,' of which our author gives a description so particular and so vivid as suffices to show that he was describing what he had seen with his own eyes, and seen moreover for the first time. With regard to the name Barugaza the following passage, which I quote from Dr. Wilson's *Indian Castes* (vol. II. p. 113) will elucidate its etymology:—"The Bhârgavas derive their designation from Bhargava, the adjective form of Bhṛigu, the name of one of the ancient Ṛishis. Their chief habitat is the district of Bharoch, which must have got its name from a colony of the school of Bhṛigu having been early established in this Kshêtra, probably granted to them by some conqueror of the district. In the name Barugaza given to it by Ptolemy, we have a Greek corruption of Bhṛigukshêtra (the territory of Bhṛigu) or Bhṛigukachha (the tongueland of Bhṛigu)." Speaking of the Bhârgavas Dr. Drummond, in his *Grammatical Illustrations*, says:—"These Brâhmans are indeed poor and ignorant. Many of them, and other illiterate Gujarâtîs, would, in attempting to articulate Bhṛigushêtra, lose the half in coalesence, and call it Bargacha, whence the Greeks, having no *Ch*, wrote it Barugaza."

(47) The account of the 'bore' is followed by an enumeration of the countries around and beyond Barugaza with which it had commercial relations. Inland are the Aratrioi, Arakhosioi, Gandarioi and the people of Proklais, a province wherein is Boukephalos Alexandreia, beyond which is the Baktrian nation. It has been thought by some that by the Aratrioi are meant the Arii, by others that they were the Arâstrâs of Sanskrit called Aratti in the Prakrit, so that the Aratrioi of the *Periplûs* hold an intermediate place between the Sanskrit and Prakrit form of the name. Müller however says "if you want a people known to the Greeks and Romans as familiarly as the well-known names of the Arakhosii, Gandarii, Peukelitae, you may conjecture that the proper reading is ΑΡΑΠΤΩΝ instead of ΑΡΑΤΡΙΩΝ. It is an error of course on the part of our author when he places Boukephalos (a city built by Alexander on the banks of the Hydaspês, where he defeated Pôros), in the neighbourhood of Proklais, that is Pekhely in the neighbourhood of Peshawar. He makes a still more

up to the present day old *drachmai* bearing the Greek inscriptions of Apollodotos and Menander are current in Barugaza.

48. In the same region eastward is a city called Ozênê, formerly the capital wherein the king resided. From it there is brought down to Barugaza every commodity for the supply of the country and for export to our own markets—onyx-stones, porcelain, fine muslins, mallow-coloured muslins, and no small quantity of ordinary cottons. At the same time there is brought down to it from the upper country by way of Proklaïs, for transmission to the coast, Kattybourine, Patropapigic, and Kabalitic spikenard, and another kind which reaches it by way of the adjacent province of Skythia; also kostus and bdellium.

49. The imports of Barugaza are—

Οἶνος προηγουμένως Ἰταλικὸς—Wine, principally Italian.

Καὶ Λαοδικηνὸς καὶ Ἀραβικὸς—Laodikean wine and Arabian.

Χαλκὸς καὶ κασσίτερος καὶ μόλυβδος—Brass or Copper and Tin and Lead.

Κοράλλιον καὶ χρυσόλιθον—Coral and Gold-stone or Yellow-stone.

Ἱματισμὸς ἁπλοῦς καί νόθος παντοῖος—Cloth, plain and mixed, of all sorts.

Πολύμιται ζῶναι πηχυαῖαι—Variegated sashes half a yard wide.

Στύραξ—Storax.

Μελίλωτον—Sweet clover, melilot.

Ὕαλος ἀργὴ—White glass.

Σανδαράκη—Gum Sandarach.

Στίμμι—(Stibium) Tincture for the eyes,—*Sûrmâ*.

Δηνάριον χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργυροῦν—Gold and Silver specie, yielding a profit when exchanged for native money.

Μύρον οὐ βαρύτιμον οὐδὲ πολὺ—Perfumes or unguents, neither costly nor in great quantity.

In these times, moreover, there were imported, *as presents* to the king, costly silver vases, instruments of music, handsome young women for concubinage, superior wine, apparel, plain but costly, and the choicest unguents. The exports from this part of the country are—

Νάρδος, κόστος, βδέλλα, ἐλέφας—Spikenard, costus, bdellium, ivory.

Ὀνυχίνη λιθία καὶ μουρρίνη—Onyx-stones and porcelain.

Λύκιον—*Ruzot*, Box-thorn.

Ὀθόνιον παντοῖον—Cottons of all sorts.

Σηρικὸν—Silk.

Μολόχινον—Mallow-coloured cottons.

Νῆμα—*Silk* thread.

Πέπερι μακρὸν—Long pepper and other articles supplied from the neighbouring ports.

The proper season to set sail for Barugaza from Egypt is the month of July, or Epiphi.

50. From Barugaza the coast immediately adjoining stretches from the north directly to the south, and the country is therefore called Dakhinabadês, because Dakhan in the language of the natives signifies *south*. Of this country that part which lies inland towards the east comprises a great space of desert country, and large mountains abounding with all kinds of wild animals, leopards, tigers, elephants, huge snakes, hyenas, and baboons of many different sorts, and is inhabited right across to the Ganges by many and extremely populous nations.

51. Among the marts in this South Country

surprising error when he states that Alexander penetrated to the Ganges.

(48) The next place mentioned in the enumeration is Ozênê (Ujjain), which, receiving nard through Proklais from the distant regions where it was produced, passed it on to the coast for export to the Western World. This aromatic was a product of three districts, whence its varieties were called respectively the *Kattybourine*, the *Patropapigic* and the *Kabolitic*. What places were indicated by the first two names cannot be ascertained, but the last points undoubtedly to the region round Kâbul, since its inhabitants are called by Ptolemy Kabolitai, and Edrisi uses the term *Myrobalanos Kabolinos* for the 'myrobolans of Kâbul.' Nard, as Edrisi also observes, has its proper soil in Thibet.

(50) Barugaza had at the same time commercial relations with the Dekhan also. This part of India our author calls Dakhinabadês, transliterating the word Dakshinâpatha—(the Dakshinâ, or the South Country). "Here," says Vincent, "the author of the *Periplûs* gives the true direction of this western coast of the Peninsula, and states in direct terms its tendency to the South, while Ptolemy stretches out the whole angle to a straight line, and places the Gulf of Cambay almost in the same latitude as Cape Comorin."

(51) In the interior of the Dekhan, the *Periplûs* places two great seats of commerce, Paithana, 20 days' journey to the south of Barugaza, and Tagara, 10 days' journey eastward from Paithana. Paithana, which appears in Ptolemy as

there are two of more particular importance—Paithana, which lies south from Barugaza a distance of twenty days, and Tagara, ten days east of Paithana, the greatest city in the country. Their commodities are carried down on wagons to Barugaza along roads of extreme difficulty,—that is, from Paithana a great quantity of onyx-stone, and from Tagara ordinary cottons in abundance, many sorts of muslins, mallow-coloured cottons, and other articles of local production brought into it from the parts along the coast. The length of the entire voyage as far as Limurikê is 700 stadia, and to reach Aigialos you must sail very many stadia further.

52. The local marts which occur in order *along the coast* after Barugaza are Akabarou, Souppara, Kalliena, a city which was raised to the rank of a regular mart in the times of the elder Saraganes, but after Sandanes became its master its trade was put under the severest restrictions; for if Greek vessels, even by accident, enter its ports, a guard is put on board and they are taken to Barugaza.

Baithana, may be identified with Paithana. Tagara is more puzzling. Wilford, Vincent, Mannert, Ritter and others identify it with Dêvagiri or Deogarh, near Elurâ, about 8 miles from Aurangâbâd. The name of a place called Tagarapura occurs in a copper grant of land which was found in the island of Salsette. There is however nothing to show that this was a name of Dêvagiri. Besides, if Paithana be correctly identified, Tagara cannot be Dêvagiri unless the distances and directions are very erroneously given in the *Periplûs*. This is not improbable, and Tagara may therefore be Junnar (*i.e.* Jûna-nagar = *the old city*), which from its position must always have been an emporium, and its Buddha caves belong to about B. C. 100 to A.D. 150 (see *Archæolog. Surv. of West. India*, vol. III., and Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 223).

Our author introduces us next to another division of India, that called Limurikê, which begins, as he informs us, at a distance of 7,000 stadia (or nearly 900 miles) beyond Barugaza. This estimate is wide of the mark, being in fact about the distance between Barugaza and the southern or remote extremity of Limurikê. In the Indian segment of the Roman maps called from their discoverer, the *Peutinger Tables*, the portion of India to which this name is applied is called Damirikê. We can scarcely err, says Dr. Caldwell (*Dravid. Gram.* Intr. page 14), in identifying this name with the Tamiḻ country. If so, the earliest appearance of the name Tamiḻ in any foreign documents will be found also to be most perfectly in accordance with the native Tamil mode of spelling the name. Damirike evidently means *Damir-ike* . . . In another place in the same map a district is called Scytia Dymirice; and it appears to have been this word which by a mistake of Δ for Λ Ptolemy wrote Λυμιρικὴ. The D retains its place however in the Cosmography of the anonymous geographer of Ravenna, who repeatedly mentions Dimirica as one of the three divisions of India and the one furthest to the East. He shows also that the Tamiḻ country must have been meant by the name by mentioning Modura as one of the cities it contained.

(52) Reverting to Barugaza our author next enumerates the less important emporia having merely a local trade which intervenes between it and Dimurikê. These are first Akabarou, Souppara, and Kalliena—followed by Semulla, Mandagora, Palaipatmai, Meligeizara, Buzantion, Toperon, and Turanosboas,—beyond which occurs a succession of islands, some of which give shelter to pirates, and of which the last is called Leukê or White Island. The actual distance from Barugaza to Naoura, the first port of Dimurikê, is 4,500 stadia.

To take these emporia in detail. Akabarou cannot be identified. The reading is probably corrupt. Between the mouths of the Namados and those of the Goaris, Ptolemy interposes Nousaripa, Poulipoula, Ariakê Sadinôn, and Soupara. Nausaripa is Nausari, about 18 miles to the south of Surat, and Soupara is Sûpârâ near Vasâï. Benfey, who takes it to be the name of a region and not of a city, regards it as the Ophir of the Bible—called in the Septuagint Σωφηρά. Sôphir, it may be added, is the Coptic name for India. Kalliena is now Kalyâṇa near Bombay [which must have been an important place at an early date. It is named in the Kaṇhêri Bauddha Cave Inscriptions]. It is mentioned by Kosmas (p. 337), who states that it produced copper and sesamum and other kinds of logs, and cloth for wearing apparel. The name Sandanes, that of the Prince who sent Greek ships which happened to put into its port under guard to Barugâza, is thought by Benfey to be a territorial title which indicated that he ruled over Ariakê of the Sandineis. [But the elder "Saraganes" probably indicates one of the great Śâtakarṇi or Ândhrabhṛitya dynasty.] Ptolemy does not mention Kalliênâ, though he supplies the name of a place omitted

53. After Kalliena other local marts occur—Sêmulla, Mandagora, Palaipatmai, Melizeigara, Buzantion, Toparon, and Turannosboas. You come next to the islands called Sêsekreienai and the island of the Aigidioi and that of the Kaineitai, near what is called the Khersonêsos, places in which are pirates, and after this the island Leukê (or 'the White'). Then follow Naoura and Tundis, the first marts of Limurikê, and after these Mouziris and Nelkunda, the seats of Government.

54. To the kingdom under the sway of Kêprobotras[30] Tundis is subject, a village in the *Periplûs*, namely Dounga (VII. i. 6) near the mouth of the river Bênda.

(53) Semulla (in Ptolemy Timoula and Simulla) is identified by Yule with Chênval or Chaul, a seaport 23 miles south of Bombay; [but Bhagvanlâl Indraji suggests Chimûla in Trombay island at the head of the Bombay harbour; and this is curiously supported by one of the Kanhêri inscriptions in which Chemûla is mentioned, apparently as a large city, like Supârâ and Kalyâna, in the neighbourhoood]. After Simulla Ptolemy mentions Hippokoura [possibly, as suggested by the same, a partial translation of Ghoḍabandar on the Choḍa nadi in the Ṭhaṇa strait] and Baltipatna as places still in Ariakê, but Mandagara Buzanteion, Khersonêsos, Armagara, the mouths of the river Nanagouna, and an emporium called Nitra, as belonging to the Pirate Coast which extended to Dimurikê, of which Tundis, he says, is the first city. Ptolemy therefore agrees with our author in assigning the Pirate Coast to the tract of country between Bombay and Goa. This coast continued to be infested with pirates till so late a period as the year 1765, when they were finally exterminated by the British arms. Mandagara and Palaipatma may have corresponded pretty nearly in situation with the towns of Râjapur and Bankut. Yule places them respectively at Bankut and Debal. Melizeigara (Milizêguris or Milizigêris of Ptolemy, VII. i. 95), Vincent identifies with Jaygaḍh or Sidê Jaygaḍh. The same place appears in Pliny as Sigerus (VI. xxvi. 100). Buzantium may be referred to about Vijayadrug or Esvantgadh, Toparon may be a corrupt reading for Togaroṇ, and may perhaps therefore be Devagaḍh which lies a little beyond Vijayadrug. Turannosboas is not mentioned elsewhere, but it may have been, as Yule suggests, the Bandâ or Tirakal river. Müller placed it at Acharê. The first island on this part of the coast is Sindhudrug near Mâlwan, to which succeeds a group called the Burnt Islands, among which the Vingorla rocks are conspicuous. These are no doubt the Heptanêsia of Ptolemy (VII. i. 95), and probably the Sêsikrienai of the *Periplûs*. The island Aigidion called that of the Aigidii may be placed at Goa, [but Yule suggests Angediva south of Sadaśivagaḍh, in lat. 14° 45′ N., which is better]. Kaineiton may be the island of St. George.

We come next to Naoura in Dimurikê. This is now Honâvar, written otherwise Onore, situated on the estuary of a broad river, the Śarâvati, on which are the falls of Gêrsappa, one of the most magnificent and stupendous cataracts in the world. If the Nitra of Ptolemy (VII. i. 7) and the Nitria of Pliny be the same as Naoura, then these authors extend the pirate coast a little further south than the *Periplûs* does. But if they do not, and therefore agree in their views as to where Dimurikê begins, the Nitra may be placed, Müller thinks, at Mirjan or Komta, which is not far north from Honavar. [Yule places it at Mangalur.] Müller regards the first supposition however as the more probable, and quotes at length a passage from Pliny (VI. xxvi. 104) referring thereto, which must have been excerpted from some *Periplûs* like our author's, but not from it as some have thought. "To those bound for India it is most convenient to depart from Okelis. They sail thence with the wind Hipalus in 40 days to the first emporium of India, Muziris, which is not a desirable place to arrive at on account of pirates infesting the neighbourhood, who hold a place called Nitrias, while it is not well supplied with merchandize. Besides, the station for ships is at a great distance from the shore, and cargoes have both to be landed and to be shipped by means of little boats. There reigned there when I wrote this Caelobothras. Another port belonging to the nation is more convenient, Neacyndon, which is called Becare (*sic. codd.*, Barace, Harduin and Sillig): There reigned Pandion in an inland town far distant from the emporium called Modura. The region, however, from which they convey pepper to Becare in boats formed from single logs is Cottonara."

(54) With regard to the names in this extract which occur also in the *Periplûs* the following passages quoted from Dr. Caldwell's *Dravidian*

[30] *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. pp. 309-310.

of great note situate near the sea. Mouziris, which pertains to the same realm, is a city at the height of prosperity, frequented as it is by ships from Ariakê and Greek ships *from Egypt*. It lies near a river at a distance from Tundis of 500 stadia, whether this is measured from river to river or by the length of the sea voyage, and it is 20 stadia distant from the mouth of its own river. The distance of Nelkunda from Mouziris is also nearly 500 stadia, whether measured from river to river or by the sea voyage, but it belongs to a different

Grammar will throw much light. He says (Introd. p. 97):—"Muziris appears to be the Muyiri of Muyiri-kotta. Tyndis is Tuṇḍi, and the Kynda, of Nelkynda, or as Ptolemy has it, Melkynda, *i. e.* probably Western kingdom, seems to be Kannettri, the southern boundary of Kêrala proper. One MS. of Pliny writes the second part of this word not *Cyndon* but *Canidon*. The first of these places was identified by Dr. Gundert, for the remaining two we are indebted to Dr. Burnell.

"Cottonara, Pliny; Kottonarike, *Periplûs*, the district where the best pepper was produced. It is singular that this district was not mentioned by Ptolemy. Cottonara was evidently the name of the district. κοττοναρικον the name of the pepper for which the district was famous. Dr. Buchanan identifies Cottonara with Kaḍattanaḍu, the name of a district in the Calicut country celebrated for its pepper. Dr. Burnell identifies it with Koḷatta-nâḍu, the district about Tellicherry which he says is the pepper district. *Kadatta* in Malayâlam means 'transport, conveyance,' *Nâdû*, Tam.—Mal., means a district."

"The prince called Kêrobothros by Ptolemy (VII. i. 86) is called Kêprobotros by the author of the *Periplûs*. The insertion of π is clearly an error, but more likely to be the error of a copyist than that of the author, who himself had visited the territories of the prince in question. He is called Caëlobothras in Pliny's text, but one of the MSS. gives it more correctly as Celobotras. The name in Sanskrit, and in full is 'Keralaputra,' but both *kêra* and *kêla* are Dravidian abbreviations of *kêralâ*. They are Malayâlam however, not Tamil abbreviations, and the district over which Keralaputra ruled is that in which the Malayâlam language is now spoken" (p. 95). From Ptolemy we learn that the capital of this prince was Karoura, which has been "identified with Karûr, an important town in the Koimbatur district originally included in the Chêra kingdom. Karûr means the black town . . Ptolemy's word Karoura represents the Tamiḷ name of the place with perfect accuracy." Nelkunda, our author informs us, was not subject to this prince but to another called Pandiôn. This name, says Dr. Caldwell, "is of Sanskrit origin, and Pandæ, the form which Pliny, after Megasthenes, gives in his list of the Indian nations, comes very near the Sanskrit. The more recent local information of Pliny himself, as well as the notices of Ptolemy and the *Periplûs*, supply us with the Dravidian form of the word. The Tamiḷ sign of the masc. sing. is *an*, and Tamiḷ inserts *i* euphonically after *ṇḍ*, consequently Pandiôn, and still better the plural form of the word Pandiones, faithfully represents the Tamiḷ masc. sing. *Pâṇḍiyan*." In another passage the same scholar says: "The Sanskrit Paṇḍya is written in Tamil Pâṇḍiya, but the more completely tamilized form Pâṇḍi is still more commonly used all over southern India. I derive Pâṇḍi, as native scholars always derive the word, from the Sanskrit Pâṇḍu, the name of the father of the Pâṇḍava brothers." The capital of this prince, as Pliny has stated, was Modura, which is the Sanskrit Maṭhurâ pronounced in the Tamiḷ manner. The corresponding city in Northern India, Maṭhurâ, is written by the Greeks Methora.

Nelkunda is mentioned by various authors under varying forms of the name. As has been already stated, it is Melkunda in Ptolemy, who places it in the country of the Aii. In the *Peutingerian Table* it is Nincylda, and in the Geographer of Ravenna, Nilcinna. At the mouth of the river on which it stands was its shipping port Bakare or Becare, according to Müller now represented by Markari (lat. 12 N.) Yule conjectures that it must have been between Kanetti and Kolum in Travancore. Regarding the trade of this place we may quote a remark from Vincent. "We find," he says, "that throughout the whole which the *Periplûs* mentions of India we have a catalogue of the exports and imports only at the two ports of Barugaza and Nelcynda, and there seems to be a distinction fixed between the articles appropriate to each. Fine muslins and ordinary cottons are the principal commodities of the first; tortoise shell, precious stones, silk, and above all pepper, seem to have been procurable only at the latter. This pepper is said to be brought to this port from Cottonara, famous to this hour for producing the best pepper in the world except that of Sumatra. The pre-eminence of these two ports will account for the little that is said of the others by the author, and why he has left us so few characters by which we may distinguish one from another."

Our author on concluding his account of Nelkunda interrupts his narrative to relate the incidents of the important discovery of the monsoon

kingdom, that of Pandiôn. It likewise is situate near a river and at about a distance from the sea of 120 stadia.

55. At the very mouth of this river lies another village, Bakarê, to which the ships despatched from Nelkunda come down *empty* and ride at anchor off shore while taking in cargo: for the river, it may be noted, has sunken reefs and shallows which make its navigation difficult. The sign by which those who come hither by sea know they are nearing land is their meeting with snakes, which are here of a black colour, not so long as those already mentioned, like serpents about the head, and with eyes the colour of blood.

56. The ships which frequent these ports are of a large size, on account of the great amount and bulkiness of the pepper and betel of which their lading consists. The imports here are principally—

Χρήματα πλεῖστα—Great quantities of specie.

Χρυσόλιθα—(Topaz?) Gold-stone, Chrysolite.

Ἱματισμὸς ἁπλοῦς οὐ πολὺς—A small assortment of plain cloth.

Πολύμιτα—Flowered robes.

Στίμμι, κοράλλιον—Stibium, a pigment for the eyes, coral.

Ὕαλος ἀργὴ χαλκὸς—White glass, copper or brass.

Κασσίτερος, μόλυβδος—Tin, lead.

Οἶνος οὐ πολύς, ὡσεὶ δὲ τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἐν Βαρυγάζοις—Wine but not much, but about as much as at Barugaza.

Σανδαράκη—Sandarach (*Sindûrâ*).

Ἀρσενικὸν—Arsenic (Orpiment), yellow sulphuret of arsenic.

Σῖτος ὅσος ἀρκέσει τοῖς περὶ το ναυκλήριον, διὰ τὸ μὴ τοὺς ἐμπόρους αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι—Corn, only for the use of the ship's company, as the merchants do not sell it.

The following commodities are brought to it for export:—

Πέπερι μονογενῶς ἐν ἑνὶ τόπῳ τούτων τῶν ἐμπορίων γεννώμενον πολὺ τῇ λεγομένῃ Κοττοναρικῇ—Pepper in great quantity, produced in only one of these marts, and called the pepper of Kottonara.

Μαργαρίτης ἱκανὸς καὶ διάφορος—Pearls in great quantity and of superior quality.

Ἐλέφας—Ivory.

Ὀθόνια Σηρικὰ—Fine silks.

Νάρδος ἡ Γαγγητικὴ—Spikenard from the Ganges.

Μαλάβαθρον—Betel—all brought from countries further east.

Λιθία διαφανὴς παντοία—Transparent or precious stones of all sorts.

Ἀδάμας—Diamonds.

Ὑάκινθος—Jacinths.

Χελώνη ἥτε Χρυσονησιωτικὴ καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰς νήσους θηρευομένη τὰς προκειμένας αὐτῆς τῆς Λιμυρικῆς—Tortoise-shell from the Golden Island, and another sort which is taken in the islands which lie off the coast of Limurikê.

The proper season to set sail from Egypt for this part of India is about the month of July—that is, Epiphi.

57. The whole round of the voyage from Kanê and Eudaimôn Arabia, which we have just described, used to be performed in small vessels which kept close to shore and followed its windings, but Hippalos was the pilot who first, by observing the bearings of the ports and the configuration of the sea, discovered the direct course across the ocean; whence as, at the season when our own Etesians are blowing, a periodical wind from the ocean likewise blows in the Indian Sea, this wind, which is the south-west, is, it seems, called in these seas Hippalos [after the name of the pilot who first discovered the *passage by means of it*]. From the time of this discovery to the present

made by that Columbus of antiquity Hippalus. This account, Vincent remarks, naturally excites a curiosity in the mind to enquire how it should happen that the monsoon should have been noticed by Nearkhos, and that from the time of his voyage for 300 years no one should have attempted a direct course till Hippalus ventured to commit himself to the ocean. He is of opinion that there was a direct passage by the monsoons both in going to and coming from India in use among the Arabians before the Greeks adopted it, and that Hippalus frequenting these seas as a pilot or merchant, had met with Indian or Arabian traders who made their voyages in a more compendious manner than the Greeks, and that he collected information from them which he had both the prudence and courage to adopt, just as Columbus, while owing much to his own nautical experience and fortitude was still under obligations to the Portuguese, who had been resolving the great problems in the art of navigation for almost a century previous to his expedition.

(55) Nelkunda appears to have been the limit of our author's voyage along the coast of India, for in the sequel of his narrative he defines but vaguely the situation of the places which he notices, while his details are scanty, and sometimes grossly inaccurate. Thus he makes the Malabar

day, merchants who sail for India either from Kanê, or, as others do, from Arômata, if Limurikê be their destination, must often change their tack, but if they are bound for Barugaza and Skythia, they are not retarded for more than three days, after which, committing themselves to the monsoon which blows right in the direction of their course, they stand far out to sea, leaving all the gulfs we have mentioned in the distance.

58. After Bakarê occurs the mountain called Pyrrhos (or the Red) towards the south, near another district of the country called Paralia (where the pearl-fisheries are which belong to king Pandiôn), and a city of the name of Kolkhoi. In this tract the first place met with is called Balita, which has a good harbour and a village on its shore. Next to this is another place called Komar, where is the cape of the same name and a haven. Those who wish to consecrate the closing part of their lives to religion come hither and bathe and engage themselves to celibacy. This is also done by women; since it is related that the goddess (*Kumârî*) once on a time resided at the place and bathed. From Komarei (towards the south) the country extends as far as Kolkhoi, where the fishing for pearls is carried on. Condemned criminals are employed in this service. King Pandiôn is the owner of the fishery. To Kolkhoi succeeds another coast lying along a gulf having a district in the interior bearing the name of Argalou. In this single place are obtained the pearls collected near the island of Epiodôros. From it are exported the muslins called *ebargareitides*.

60. Among the marts and anchorages along this shore to which merchants from Limurikê and the north resort, the most conspicuous are Kamara and Podoukê and Sôpatma, which occur in the order in which we have named them. In these marts are found those native vessels for coasting voyages which trade as far as Limurikê, and another kind called *sangara*, made by fastening together large vessels formed each of a single timber, and also

Coast extend southwards beyond Cape Comorin as far at least as Kolkhoi (near Tutikorin) on the Coromandel coast, and like many ancient writers, represents Ceylon as stretching westward almost as far as Africa.

(58) The first place mentioned after Bakare is Purrhos, or the Red Mountain, which extends along a district called Paralia. "There are," says Dr. Caldwell (Introd. p. 99), "three Paralias mentioned by the Greeks, two by Ptolemy . . . one by the author of the *Periplûs*. The Paralia mentioned by the latter corresponded to Ptolemy's country of the Ἄϊοι, and that of the Καρεοι, that is, to South Travancore and South Tinnevelly. It commenced at the Red Cliffs south of Quilon, and included not only Cape Comorin but also Κόλχοι, where the pearl-fishing was carried on, which belonged to King Pandion. Dr. Burnell identifies Paralia with Parali, which he states is an old name for Travancore, but I am not quite able to adopt this view." "Paralia," he adds afterwards, "may possibly have corresponded in meaning, if not in sound, to some native word meaning coast,—viz., Karei." On this coast is a place called Balita, which is perhaps the Bammala of Ptolemy (VII. i. 9), which Mannert identifies with Manpalli, a little north of Anjenga.

(60) We now reach the great promontory called in the *Periplûs* Komar and Komarei, Cape Kumari. "It has derived its name," says Caldwell, "from the Sans. *Kumârî*, a virgin, one of the names of the goddess Durgâ, the presiding divinity of the place, but the shape which this word has taken is, especially in *komar*, distinctively Tamilian." In ordinary Tamil *Kumârî* becomes *Kumări*; and in the vulgar dialect of the people residing in the neighbourhood of the Cape a virgin is neither Kumârî nor Kumări but Kŭmăr pronounced Kŏmăr. It is remarkable that this vulgar corruption of the Sanskrit is identical with the name given to the place by the author of the *Periplûs* ... The monthly bathing in honor of the goddess Durgâ is still continued at Cape Comorin, but is not practised to the same extent as in ancient times ... Through the continued encroachments of the sea, the harbour the Greek mariners found at Cape Comorin and the fort (if φρουριον is the correct reading for βριάριον of the MS.) have completely disappeared; but a fresh water well remains in the centre of a rock, a little way out at sea. Regarding Kolkhoi, the next place mentioned after Komari, the same authority as we have seen places it (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 80) near Tuticorin. It is mentioned by Ptolemy and in the *Peutinger Tables*, where it is called 'Colcis Indorum'. The Gulf of Manaar was called by the Greeks the Colchic Gulf. The Tamil name of the place Kolkei is almost identical with the Greek. "The place," according to Caldwell, "is now about three miles inland, but there are abundant traces of its having once stood on the coast, and I have found the tradition that it was once the seat

others called *kolandiophônta*, which are of great bulk and employed for voyages to Khrusê and the Ganges. These marts import all the commodities which reach Limurikê for commercial purposes, absorbing likewise nearly every species of goods brought from Egypt, and most descriptions of all the goods exported from Limurikê and disposed of on this coast *of India.*

61. Near the region which succeeds, where the course of the voyage now bends to the east, there lies out in the open sea stretching towards the west the island now called Palaisimoundou, but by the ancients Taprobanê. To cross over to the northern side of it takes a day. In the south part it gradually stretches towards the west till it nearly reaches the opposite coast of Azania. It produces pearl, precious (*transparent*) stones, muslins, and tortoise-shell.

62. (*Returning to the coast,*) not far from the three marts we have mentioned lies Masalia, the seaboard of a country extending far inland. Here immense quantities of fine muslins are manufactured. From Masalia the course of the voyage lies eastward across a neighbouring bay to Dêsarênê, which has the breed of elephants called Bôsarê. Leaving Dêsarênê

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of the pearl fishery, still surviving amongst its inhabitants. After the sea had retired from Κόλχοι... a new emporium arose on the coast. This was Kâyal, the Cael of Marco Polo. Kâyal in turn became in time too far from the sea.. and Tuticorin (Tûttrukuḍi) was raised instead by the Portuguese from the position of a fishing village to that of the most important port on the southern Coromandel coast. The identification of Kolkoi with Kolkei is one of much importance. Being perfectly certain it helps forward other identifications. *Kol.* in Tamiḻ means 'to slay.' *Kei* is 'hand.' It was the first capital of Pandion.

The coast beyond Kolkhoi, which has an inland district belonging to it called Argalou, is indented by a gulf called by Ptolemy the Argarik—now Palk Bay. Ptolemy mentions also a promontory called Kôru and beyond it a city called Argeirou and an emporium called Salour. This Kôru of Ptolemy, Caldwell thinks, represents the Kôlis of the geographers who preceded him, and the Koṭi of Tamiḻ, and identifies it with "the island promontory of Râmeśvaram, the point of land from which there was always the nearest access from Southern India to Ceylon." An island occurs in these parts, called that of Epiodôros, noted for its pearl fishery, on which account Ritter would identify it with the island of Manaar, which Ptolemy, as Mannert thinks, speaks of as Νάνιγηρίς (VII. i. 95). Müller thinks, however, it may be compared with Ptolemy's Kôru, and so be Râmêsvaram.

This coast has commercial intercourse not only with the Malabar ports, but also with the Ganges and the Golden Khersonese. For the trade with the former a species of canoes was used called *Sangara.* The Malayâlam name of these, Caldwell says, is *Changâdam*, in Tuḷu *Jangâla*, compare Sanskrit *Samghâdam* a raft (*Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 309). The large vessels employed for the Eastern trade were called *Kolandiophonta*, a name which Caldwell confesses his inability to explain.

Three cities and ports are named in the order of their occurrence which were of great commercial importance, Kamara, Podouke, and Sopatma. Kamara may perhaps be, as Müller thinks, the emporium which Ptolemy calls Khabêris, situated at the mouth of the River Khabêros (now, the Kavery), perhaps, as Dr. Burnell suggests, the modern Kaveripattam. (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VII. p. 40). Pôdoukê appears in Ptolemy as Podoukê. It is Puduchchêri, *i. e.* 'new town,' now well known as Pondicherry; so Bohlen, Ritter, and Benfey. [Yule and Lassen place it at Pulikât]. Sopatma is not mentioned in Ptolemy, nor can it now be traced. In Sanskrit it transliterates into *Su-patna.*, *i. e.*, fair town.

(61) The next place noticed is the Island of Ceylon, which is designated Palaisimoundou, with the remark that its former name was Taprobanê. This is the Greek transliteration of Tâmraparnî, the name given by a band of colonists from Magadha to the place where they first landed in Ceylon, and which was afterwards extended to the whole island. It is singular, Dr. Caldwell remarks, that this is also the name of the principal river in Tinnevelly on the opposite coast of India, and he infers that the colony referred to might previously have formed a settlement in Tinnevelly at the mouth of the Tâmraparṇi river—perhaps at Kolkei, the earliest residence of the Pâṇḍya kings. The passage in the *Periplûs* which refers to the island is very corrupt.

(62) Recurring to the mainland, the narrative notices a district called Masâlia, where great quantities of cotton were manufactured. This is the Maisôlia of Ptolemy, the region in which he places the mouths of a river the Maisôlos, which Benfey identifies with the Godâvarî, in opposition to others who would make it the

the course is northerly, passing a variety of barbarous tribes, among which are the Kirrhadai, savages whose noses are flattened to the face, and another tribe, that of the Bargusoi, as well as the Hippioprosôpoi or Makroprosôpoi (the horse faced or long faced men), who are reported to be cannibals.

63. After passing these the course turns again to the east, and if you sail with the ocean to your right and the coast far to your left, you reach the Ganges and the extremity of the continent towards the east *called* Khrusê (the Golden Khersonese). The river of this region called the Ganges is the largest in India; it has an *annual* increase and decrease like the Nile, and there is on it a mart called after it, Gangê, through which passes *a considerable traffic* consisting of betel, the Gangetic spikenard, pearl, and the finest of all muslins—those called the Gangetic. In this locality also there is said to be a gold mine and a gold coin called *Kaltis*. Near this river there is an island of the ocean called Khrusê (or the Golden), which lies directly under the rising sun and at the extremity of the world towards the east. It produces the finest tortoise-shell that is found throughout the whole of the Erythræan Sea.

64. Beyond this region, immediately under the north, where the sea terminates outwards, there lies somewhere in Thîna a very great city,—not on the coast, but in the interior of the country, called Thîna,—from which silk, whether in the raw state or spun into thread and woven into cloth, is brought by land to Barugaza through Baktria, or by the Ganges to Limurikê. To penetrate into Thîna is not an easy undertaking, and but few *merchants* come from it, and that rarely. Its situation is under the Lesser Bear, and it is said to be conterminous with the remotest end of Pontos, and that part of the Kaspian Sea which adjoins the Maiôtic Lake, along with which it issues by *one and* the same mouth into the ocean.

65. On the confines, however, of Thînai an annual fair is held, attended by a race of men of squat figure, with their face very broad, but mild in disposition, called the Sêsatai, who in

Krishnâ, which is perhaps Ptolemy's Tuna. The name Maisôlia is taken from the Sanskrit Mausala, preserved in Machhlipatana, now Masulipatam. Beyond this, after an intervening gulf running eastward is crossed, another district occurs, Desarênê, noted for its elephants. This is not mentioned by Ptolemy, but a river with a similar name, the Dôsarôn, is found in his enumeration of the rivers which occur between the Maisôlos and the Ganges. As it is the last in the list it may probably be, as Lassen supposes, the Brâhmini. Our author however places Desarênê at a much greater distance from the Ganges, for he peoples the intermediate space with a variety of tribes which Ptolemy relegates to the East of the river. The first of these tribes is that of the Kirrâdai (Sanskrit, Kirâtas), whose features are of the Mongolian type. Next are the Bargusoi, not mentioned by Ptolemy, but perhaps to be identified with the cannibal race he speaks of, the Barousai thought by Yule to be perhaps the inhabitants of the Nikobar islands, and lastly the tribe of the long or horse-faced men who were also cannibals.

(63) When this coast of savages and monsters is left behind, the course lies eastward, and leads to the Ganges, which is the greatest river of India, and adjoins the extremity of the Eastern continent called Khrusê, or the Golden. Near the river, or, according to Ptolemy, on the third of its mouths stands a great emporium of trade called Gangê, exporting *Malabathrum* and cottons and other commodities. Its exact position there are not sufficient data to determine. Khrusê is not only the name of the last part of the continent, but also of an island lying out in the ocean to eastward, not far from the Ganges. It is the last part of the world which is said to be inhabited. The situation of Khrusê is differently defined by different ancient authors. It was not known to the Alexandrine geographers. Pliny seems to have preserved the most ancient report circulated regarding it. He says (VI. xxiii. 80): "Beyond the mouth of the Indus are Chrysê and Argyre abounding in metals as I believe, for I can hardly believe what some have related that the soil consists of gold and silver." Mela (III. 7) assigns to it a very different position, asserting it to be near Tabis, the last spur of the range of Taurus. He therefore places it where Eratosthenês places Thinai, to the north of the Ganges on the confines of the Indian and Skythian oceans. Ptolemy, in whose time the Transgangetic world was better known, refers it to the peninsula of Malacca, the Golden Khersonese.

(64) The last place which the *Periplûs* mentions is Thinai, an inland city of the Thinai or Sinai, having a large commerce in silk and woollen stuffs. The ancient writers are not at all agreed as to its position. Colonel Yule thinks it

appearance resemble wild animals. They come with their wives and children to this fair, bringing heavy loads of goods wrapped up in mats resembling in outward appearance the early leaves of the vine. Their place of assembly is where their own territory borders with that of Thinai; and here, squatted on the mats on which they exhibit their wares, they feast for several days, after which they return to their homes in the interior. On observing their retreat the people of Thinai, repairing to the spot, collect the mats on which they had been sitting, and taking out the fibres, which are called *petroi*, from the reeds, they put the leaves two and two together, and roll them up into slender balls, through which they pass the fibres extracted from the reeds. Three kinds of Malabathrum are thus made—that of the large ball, that of the middle, and that of the small, according to the size of the leaf of which the balls are formed. Hence there are three kinds of Malabathrum, which after being made up are forwarded to India by the manufacturers.

66. All the regions beyond this are unexplored, being difficult of access by reason of the extreme rigour of the climate and the severe frosts, or perhaps because such is the will of the divine power.

was probably the city described by Marco Polo under the name of Kenjan-fu (that is Singan-fu or Chauggan,) the most celebrated city in Chinese history, and the capital of several of the most potent dynasties. It was the metropolis of Shi Hwengti of the T'Sin dynasty, properly the first emperor, and whose conquests almost intersected those of his contemporary Ptolemy Euergetês—(vide Yule's *Travels of Marco Polo*, vol. II. p. 21).

A PARTICULAR USE OF THE WORD SAṀVAT.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S.

Saṁvat is an abbreviation of *saṁvatsarâṇâṁ*, the genitive plural of the Sanskrit word *saṁvatsara*, 'a year', and when used without any qualificatory term, is generally understood to indicate what is popularly and conveniently called the Vikrama-Saṁvat, or 'era of Vikrama', the initial date of which is the new-moon of March, B.C. 57. It was probably this custom which led the late Bâl Gaṅgâdhar Śâstrî,—when, in editing the Sâmangaḍ or Sômângaḍ copper-plate grant of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Dantidurga-Khaḍgâvalôka[1], he found the date to be expressed in words meaning "when the Śaka year 675 had expired", followed by the word *Saṁvat*, with three figures after it,—to conclude that the date was given in the Vikrama-Saṁvat, as well as in the Śaka era, and to read those figures as 811. And, in support of this reading, he quotes Sir Walter Elliot as an authority for the statement that "the mention of these two dates" (*sc.* eras) "is not uncommon in the grants of Southern India." This is not at all according to my experience; and, on turning to the remarks referred to in paras. 5 and 6 of Sir Walter Elliot's paper on *Hindu Inscriptions*[2], I find that the Śâstrî has misinterpreted Sir Walter Elliot, who makes no allusion at all to the Vikrama-Saṁvat, but only speaks of grants which are dated in the Śaka era, coupled with the name of the *saṁvatsara*, or year of the sixty-year cycle of Vṛihaspati, which corresponded to the Śaka date given.

I have the Sâmangaḍ or Sômângaḍ plates now before me.[3] In respect of the figures following the word *Saṁvat*, the Śâstrî's facsimile is faulty, as well as his transcription and translation. The first two figures are approximately of correct form, and mean, not 8 and 1, as read by him, but 6 and 7. But,—whereas in his facsimile the third figure is represented as identical in form with the second, and, like the second, is taken by him to mean 1,—in the original there is a very important difference, consisting of a prolongation of the left downstroke and then a curve up to the left, which makes it 5, not 7 as it is as it stands. The whole passage containing the date is in ll. 30 to 31, and runs:—*Pañcha-saptaty-adhika-Śaka-kâla-saṁvatsara-śata-shaṭkê vyatîtê saṁvata*(*t*) 675 *pai* (*? pô* or *pau*)*hachchhikâyâ*(*yâṁ ?*) *Mâgha-mâsuratha-saptamyâ*(*myâṁ*) *Tulâ-Purusha-sthitê.*

[1] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. II., p. 371.
[2] *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, O. S., vol. IV., p. 1; and *Madras Jour. of Lit. and Science*, vol. VII., p. 193.

[3] I shall hereafter publish this grant in full, with facsimile, in this journal.

It is thus seen that the date is given in the Śaka era only, first in words, and then in figures, and that the word *Saṁvat* here means simply 'of years (of the Śaka era).' What the word following the figures means, I cannot say; unless it is some old Prâkṛit form from the same root as the Marâṭhî verb *pôhaṁchaṇêṁ*, 'to arrive,' and is used in place of the *vartamânê*, 'being current,' of other inscriptions. The Śâstrî reads *pôharikâyâṁ*, and translates "In the Śaka year 675, *corresponding to* Saṁvat 811, on the seventh of Mâgha, called *Ratha-saptamî*." The third syllable, however, is certainly *chchhi*, not *ri*.

The following are a few other instances in which the word *Saṁvat* is used in precisely the same way, and means simply 'of years (of the Śaka era).'—1, A Râshṭrakûṭa grant of Kakkala-Amôghavarsha; No. 1 of Mr. Wathen's Inscriptions, at *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, O. S., vol. II., p. 379, and vol. III., p. 94. Two of the original plates are now before me. The passage containing the date, ll. 47 to 49, runs:—*Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-samvatsara-śatêshv=ashṭasu chatur-ṇṇa(nna)vaty-adhikêshv=aṅkataḥ samvat** 894 *Aṅgirâ-samvatsar-ântarggata Â* (sc. *t-Â*)*śvayuja-paurṇṇamâsyâyâṁ Vu(bu)dha-dinê sôma-grahaṇa-mahâ-parvvaṇi*.—2, The Western Châlukya grant of Jayasiṁha-Jagadêkamalla, published by me at p. 10 above. The passage containing the date runs:—*Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshu navasu shaṭ-chatvâriṁśad-adhikêshv=aṁkataḥ saṁvat* 946 *Raktâkshi-saṁvatsar-aṁtar-ggata-Vaiśâkha-paurṇṇamâsyâm= Âditya-vârê*.—3, The Śilâhâra grant of Chhittarâja, published by Dr. Bühler at *Ind. Ant*, vol. V., p. 276; No. 3 of Mr. Wathen's inscriptions, at *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, O. S., vol. II. p. 383, and vol. IV., p. 109. The passage containing the date, ll. 32 to 35, runs:—*Sa(śa)ka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-sa(śa)têshu navasu ashṭa-chatvâriṁśad-adhikêshu Kshaya-saṁvatsarâṅtar-ggata-Kârttika-su(śu)ddha-paṁchadasyâṁ(śyâṁ) yutr=âṁkatô=pi saṁvat* 948 *Kârttika-su(śu)ddha* 15 *Ravau saṁjâtô(tê) âditya-grahaṇa-parvvaṇi*.

And in one instance,—a Râshṭrakûṭa grant of Gôvinda-Suvarṇavarsha, published by Major-General Sir G. LeGrand Jacob at *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IV., p. 97,—we have, instead of the abbreviation *Saṁvat*, the full word *saṁvatsarâṇâm*, which it represents. I have the original plates now before me. The passage containing the date, ll. 44 to 46, runs:—*Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshv=ashṭasu paṁcha-paṁchâśad-adhikêshv=aṁkatô=pi saṁvatsarâṇâṁ* 855 *pravarttamâna-Vijaya-saṁvatsar-âṁtarggata-Śrâvaṇa-paurṇṇamâsyâṁ Purvvâ(rvva)-Bhadrapadâ-nakshattrê(trê)*.

* Mr. Wathen omits the word *saṁvat* in his transcription.

MISCELLANEA.

METRICAL VERSIONS FROM THE *MAHÂBHÂRATA*.

BY JOHN MUIR, LL.D., &c.

(*Continued from p. 87.*)

TRUE PIETY AND RIGHTEOUSNESS AND THEIR FRUITS.

M.Bh. xiii. 7594 (compare *St. Matthew* vi. 19f., xix. 21).

With awe sincere the gods adore;
All honour to thy tutor show;
With gifts enrich the good, and so
In heaven enduring treasure store,
Thy pious acts perform apart;
A love for goodness scorn to feign;
And never, as a means of gain,
Parade it with self-seeking art.

FEARLESSNESS.

M.Bh. v. 1513f.

The truly brave, however tried,
In all events the test abide,
The gloom of woods, the wild beasts' haunt,
Their manly spirits cannot daunt.
Amid alarms, distress and woe
They ne'er lose heart, no fear they know:
When swords are swung, or, thick as hail
The arrows fly, they never quail.

FAITH AND UNBELIEF.

M.Bh. iii. 13461*b*,-13463.

Profane, unhappy, doubters miss
Both present joy and future bliss.
Faith is that sign by which the wise
A man's redemption recognize.
All baseless, fruitless, reasonings leave;
With faith to holy scripture[1] cleave.

[1] *i.e.* the Śruti and the Smṛiti.

THE FALL OF PÂṬAN SOMANÂTH.

Ballad of the fall of Pâṭan.

BY MAJOR J. W. WATSON, PRESIDENT RÂJASTHÂNIK COURT, KÂTHIAWÂR.

ALL readers of Colonel Tod's interesting *Travels in Western India* must recollect his account of the fall of Pâṭan, and his description of the discovery of a fragment of a poem describing the siege, obtained "from the ignorant scion of an ancient Câzi," which poem he subsequently paraphrases for the benefit of his readers. In a recent visit to Pâṭan, I made inquiry for this 'fragment,' and eventually obtained the loan of it. I say *this "fragment,"* because it so closely coincides with the account given by Colonel Tod; but if it really be the same, there are the following important points of difference between it and the account given by Tod:—(1) the dialect is a mixture of Hindustâni and Gujarâti with frequent Hindi, Arabic, and Persian words; (2) the poem is complete and no fragment; (3) not only does the style show that the author was a Muhammadan, but one of the final stanzas bears his name in full, together with the date of the composition; (4) no one who had read the poem through could ever think it was written by a bard; (5) the Kunwar Pâl, who is described as Râjâ of Pâṭan, has nothing to do with Kunwar Pâl of Anhilwârâ, so far from that, the ballad says plainly that his caste was Wâgher. Jayapâl of Mângrol is his brother-in-law, not his brother. (6) There are numerous minor discrepancies, such as the relative position of the armies, &c. &c., which would seem to point to this being a different ballad to Colonel Tod's, but if Tod made his version from a condensed rendering of the original made by some native, it is quite possible that certain errors may have crept in.

The errors and discrepancies noted, however, entirely alter the sense of the poem, which, as will be seen, does give the name "of the princely defender," and as the errors of Colonel Tod's version seem to be those of some one not well acquainted with the locality, I incline to think that this is the same ballad to which he refers. For instance, his version says: "The king took post at the great tank, and the Râjâ of Pâtan at the Bhâlkâ-kund." Now this is a manifest absurdity, as we should have Mahmud between the Râjâ's camp and the city, and the ballad says nothing of the kind, but on the contrary exactly reverses their relative positions. The whole version given by Colonel Tod appears to me to be one made on a hasty rendering of the original by some native. Most, if not all, of Colonel Tod's doubts and difficulties may be easily got over. Thus he wonders who could have overturned the temple prior to Mahmud, because there are reversed sculptures in the lower courses of masonry, and because there is "no record of a second visitation of Islâm." But, on the contrary, there is record not only of one but three distinct visitations, and the temple was cast down no less than thrice, subsequent to Mahmud's invasion, viz., once by Âlagh Khân in the reign of Sulṭân Alau'd-dîn of Dehli, and again by Sulṭân Muzaffar I., and also by Sulṭân Âḥmad I. of Gujarât. And as Tod says, there can be no doubt of its having been cast down; for not only one, but fifty stones may be found reversed or displaced. Now as to the credibility of the ballad. It is, I think, though a very modern production dating only from A. H. 1216, founded to a certain extent on fact. The Puri dome and the mosque of Jâfar and Muzaffar are still standing. And though probably the Râjâ was by caste a Châvaḍâ, and not a Wâgher, still in many points the local ballad seems reliable. One word more: the very interesting inscriptions at and near Pâṭan discovered by Colonel Tod, appear to have been most erroneously translated; at least so I am informed by my learned friend Mr. Walabhji Achârya, who is a good Sanskrit scholar, and who has at my request recently copied these and other inscriptions, and translated them for me into Gujarâti. The following is a rough and condensed rendering of the ballad:—

In ancient times many Brâhmans and idol-worshippers resided at the town of Prabhâs Pâṭan in Nâgher, and but few Musalmâns lived there, and they were sorely oppressed by the Râjâ, who had a large army of horse and foot. He was by caste a Wâgher, and his name was Kunwar Pâl, and his daily custom was to slay

a Musalmân in front of his idol Somanâth, and to make a *tilâ*[1] on his forehead with the blood. When the outcry against the oppression of the Râjâ had much increased, the Prophet appeared in a vision to one Hâji Mahmûd, a resident of Makka, and desired him to go to Pâṭan, and cause this oppression to cease. He further told him to go to the port of Hodeidah, where he would find a vessel ready to sail for Pâṭan. On this he was to embark, and proceed to that town, and invite Sulṭan Mahmûd Ghaznavi by letter to come thither, and destroy infidelity, and introduce Islâm. Agreeably to the prophet's order the Hâji went to Hodeidah, and saw a boat there ready to sail, and asked the boatmen to permit him to embark. They replied, however, that they had no room, and that he had better sit on the shore and wait for another boat. They then sailed off, but though they sailed all day, at night, owing to the Haji's curse, they returned to the spot whence they had started. On discovering this the boatmen were much alarmed, and said amongst themselves—"Is there magic on board, or has one of us left a vow unfulfilled, or what is it which prevents us progressing." At last one of them said—"It is the curse of the Darwesh whom we refused to allow to embark, let us seek him out quickly, and put him on board." They then brought him on board with much rejoicing, and weighed anchor, and in one night through the Saint's blessing they reached the port of Mangalûr[2] (Mângrol), when all the sailors were delighted at the good fortune which the Hâji had brought them, and commenced to kiss his feet. He told them to put him on shore, as by the Prophet's orders he had a mission to perform there. The boatmen however said that the port was a bad one, and that owing to the rocks it would be impossible to land him without wrecking the boat, and they implored him to accompany them to Surat, whither they were bound. Then the Hâji lifted his hands to God in prayer, and spread a deer skin on the water, and sat thereon, and God brought him safely to shore at the port of Mangalûr, where he landed, and all the infidels who saw him trembled for fear of him. The Hâji then by way of punishing the sailors for their refusal to land him, ordered the boat to stay without anchor immoveable on the shore of Mangalûr, and it remained so, and though the sailors made every effort to move it, it would not budge. After 2½ months had elapsed, the Hâji was moved at the loss they were sustaining by this delay, and gave a signal permitting the vessel to depart. The boatmen then sailed for Surat, and arrived there in safety. After this the prophet again appeared in a vision to the Hâji, and said—"All the people here adore you, assume then the title of Saint of Mângrol (Mangaluri Shâh), and then you will please me by visiting Pâtan and destroying the infidelity thereof." The Hâji at once left Mangalûr, and came to Pâtan, and alighted at the shrine which now bears his name, where many camel-drivers had encamped. The Hâji said to them:—"O brethren! go and deliver to the Râjâ the message with which I am charged, viz., 'Believe in the faith and repeat the creed of the prophet,' and ye also hearing my advice, come and listen to my words." All the camel-drivers however said,—"Stay where you are, O Hâji! the Râjâ is a very bad man, who constantly puts Musalmâns to death, and loves gazing on newly-spilled blood." The Hâji replied:—"Fear not, make no excuses, but deliver my message, go and tell the Râjâ not to be angry, for this message is one of great excellence, and will prove most beneficial, tell him therefore not to oppose it." The camel-men laughed, and said:—"What folly is this, were we to say thus to the Râjâ, all of us would lose our lives. The Râjâ would first slay us, and then come and visit you with his anger." The Hâji on their refusal cast his eyes on their camels, and forbade them moving, and accordingly, when the drivers wished to take them to graze, not one of them would stir. The camel-drivers therefore collected, and said among themselves:—"Brethren, the Hâji has done this, let us go and complain to the Râjâ." They went therefore, and told him all the story of the Hâji. The Râjâ was much enraged, and forswore food until he should have killed the Hâji. He rose therefore early next day, and caused his chobdârs to assemble his army, and set out to slay the Hâji. Some of the soldiers had arms, some staves, and some stones in their hands, and the Râja himself mounted in great

[1] *Tilâ*, or the caste mark made by Hindus on their foreheads.

[2] The ancient name of Mângrol is Mangalpur, called by the Persian writers Mangalûr, now locally corrupted to Mângrol, as Pâlitâna is often called locally Pânitâlâ.

wrath. When, however, the Hâji cast an angry glance at them, they became unable to move either hand or foot. The Râjâ alone retained the power of motion, and the proud idolater being humbled, fell at the Hâji's feet, and professed himself his servant, and begged for the release of his men, who, he said, had all renounced any hope of life. The Hâji then glanced at the men, and their power of motion was restored to them, and they drew near, and began to converse with him. Suddenly all the temple bells began to sound, and the Hâji asked what disturbance there was in the city. The Râjâ answered :—"Those are the bells of my temple of Somanâth, come and let me show you the place." The Râjâ then took the Hâji with him into the city, and caused him to alight at an excellent lodging, and placed before him delicious food, and invited him to eat. The Hâji however refused to eat food cooked by a Hindu, and said he would go and alight with any Musalmân who might live in the city. This much offended the Râjâ, who treasured up malice in his heart. Finally, the Hâji found an old Ghânchan (oil-presser's wife) weeping, because it was the turn of her son to be executed before the idol in the morning. The Hâji comforted her, and told her that he would go in place of her son, and she then gladly served him. When the Râjâ's men came to take away the Ghânchan's son, the Hâji offered himself as a substitute, and they took him away. But when the Râjâ saw him, he said to the men :—"Why did you release the Ghânchan's son, and bring this ascetic?" The men replied, that he had willingly offered himself in the youth's place. The Râjâ then said to the Hâji :—"Return to your place, we never sent for you, and here only the Ghânchi is wanted, return then, and send him." The Hâji replied :—"Do you not fear God that you seek to slay the beloved son of this poor old woman, who is both poor and helpless. I warn you that you will reap punishment for this." The Râjâ being incensed, said :—"Take this fellow in front of the idol, and slay him, and let his blood flow, and then I will come and make a *tilá* of his blood, and worship." The Hâji fearlessly replied :—"O tyrant, why do you seek to oppress any one. Your idol is false, consider then what great advantages God has bestowed on the faithful." Then the Râjâ said :—"My idol is true, come all, and see it, and how it has since ages been suspended in the air without support. The lip acquires sweetness by merely uttering the name of Somanâth." The Hâji however rejoined :—"Trust in the faith, and put off your infidelity, and utter the creed of firmness with your mouth." Then the Râjâ said :—"O Hâji, if you have any skill, show it, read or sing something, or perform some marvel with the idol of the temple. Do something so that we may witness your performance." The Hâji replied :—"Come with me, and let us see the temple, and I will then display my art." Then the Râjâ said :—"O Hâji, come with me, and I will take you and show you all the temple, and you shall use all the ceremony and shall hear all the singing and music now going on." The Râjâ then took the Hâji with him, and showed him all the temple of Somanâth, and caused him to listen to the music and singing with which the temple resounded. Many Brâhmans and Brâhmaṇis were singing and dancing, and musical instruments were being played upon, and many infidels were adoring there. The Râjâ also showed the Hâji a wonderful lamp of lovely colours which was in the temple, and which had cost two lakhs. The temple was beautifully painted, and had jewels set in it, and was adorned on all sides with idols. Fruits were lying before the image of Somanâth, but were rotting as none of them were eaten by him. As the Brâhmans sung a hymn, the Hâji fell into deep thought, and prayed fervently to God, and thus pondering fell into a religious ecstasy. Seeing this, the Râjâ said :—"Now, friends, is your time, drag him forth from the temple, and put him to death." Then those persons treacherously came to seize him, but were unable to put forth hand or foot. The Hâji now awoke from his trance, and the infidels said to him :—"Who has aroused you?" The Hâji replied :—"O faithless and unbelieving ones, who have listened to what the Râjâ has said, you plot treachery, consider now all of you the excellence of Islâm, and repeat the creed with your tongues." Now, there was a stone bull in front of the temple with fruits and sweetmeats strewn in front of him, and with eyes made of brilliant sapphires. The Hâji said :—"There are delicious foods in front of the bull, feed him, so that he may eat sweetmeats, wherefore does he not eat, is he whole or broken?" Then the Râjâ replied :—"Hâji, are you mad, the bull is of stone,

he will not eat food, all our idol-worship is but a dumb show, and if he will eat, then give you him this fruit, grain, and grass to eat." On this the Hâji struck the bull with a whip, and said:—"By our Lord's order arise, and eat this fruit, and these sweetmeats, thus will the infidelity of their hearts be removed, go you there, and make no excuse, but sit in the temple with joyful heart." Then the bull moved his tongue, and commenced to eat both the fruit and the sweetmeats, and the infidels were stricken with fear, and said:—"He has indeed wrought a wondrous miracle." The bull now spoke and said:—"Give me food to eat, I have been hungry for an age, bring me food, bring the cooked food of all this city, together with the people and their Râjâ, and I will eat them all if you will but give the order, O Hâji." But the Hâji said:—"Wait, O bull, and restrain your hunger, this cannot be done except by God's order." The bull then went back to the temple, and stood in his place, and the Hâji gave him some grass, which he ate patiently, and he spoke no more throughout the day, and the Hâji told him that he would inform him as to what should happen. In spite, however, of seeing these miracles, the idolators were not converted, but scoffed at the Hâji, who reproved them, and said they were all foolish to reject Islâm, which would remove their sorrows and gladden their hearts. The Râjâ said to the Hâji:—"I believe in Somanâth, but you do not understand the benefit of his worship, he is a true god who removes all our sorrow, and none is equal to him." The Hâji replied:—"O Râjâ, Somanâth does not belong to you, do not you be so proud on his account, I will separate him from you. He, poor fellow, is also a slave of God's order, standing with folded hands. Now, see how he will come when I call him." Then the Hâji called out,—"Somanâth, come forth, do not delay, but assume the appearance of a Sidi, I have a duty for you to perform." The infidels all looked on rubbing their hands in astonishment. Then the idol replied from within the temple:—"I am at your service, O Pîr Hâji! I am coming out to you, you are my spiritual preceptor, and I will do any service which you may command, and am very willing to remain in attendance on you, let those be ashamed who disbelieve." The *ling* now suddenly cracked, and there issued from it a human shape of brown colour like a Sidi. He came and adored the Hâji, and said:—"You are very powerful, give me now any command you please, and I will do it." The Hâji placed his trust in God, at whose order the idol had issued forth, and said:—"Take this leathern bucket (*dolchâ*), and bring it quickly filled with water, while I tell my beads and perform my ablutions." Then the idol gladly took the bucket and dipped it in the tank, on which all the water in the tank entered the bucket, and he thus filling it brimful, brought it, and placed it before the Hâji. The unbelieving infidels now saw the tank dry, with both the rain and spring water exhausted, and went to the Râjâ to complain, saying that the town was ruined, and that the Hâji's servant had dried up the tank. Thus all the infidels cried out for water, and complained to the Râjâ, and said:—"All the alligators are gasping on the shore, if you will go thither and see for yourself you will agree to what we say." The Râjâ now said:—"O Hâji, your Sidi has gone and filled his *dolchâ* with all the water of the tank, he has exhausted the water, and we are all complaining." The Hâji, after keeping a little of the water for his ablutions, said to the idol:—"Run quickly, and refill the tank, and leave it no longer dry, and then leave the *dolchâ* (bucket) here, and go to your place." The idol then quickly lifted the bucket, and emptying it in the tank, refilled that reservoir, then he replaced the bucket at the Hâji's house, and then ran and leaped into the sea. The infidels though they saw all these miracles so truly wrought, yet would not believe in the Hâji. Haji Mahmud then entered the temple threshold, and gave the call to prayer, whereat the temple shook and all the idols feared and trembled, and the infidels said:—"What shall we do now?" Then they all quickly agreed to drive him away, and hurled stones and bricks at him, and struck at him with the arms in their hands, but nothing hurt him though his face became pink with anger. He now descended from the temple into the plain, and at first desired to fight, but afterwards controlled himself and remained patient. As the Hâji approached, the Râjâ called all the townspeople, and they hurled stones and brickbats at him, but though they fell all round him, not one of them touched him. The Hâji then glanced angrily at the temple, and many of the famous idols

were broken by the fire of his glance. God has forbidden idol-worship, hence they suffered injury. The infidels gazed at them in wonder. The Hâji now saw that it would be better for him to leave the city, and return to his former dwelling, and he also resolved to write to the Ghaznavide Sulṭân, and to invite him to come, and by God's grace abolish this infidelity. He therefore quitted the city, and as he found the shrine of Mâsum Shâh a pleasant place, he took up his residence there, and considered how to destroy the Râjâ. After the departure of the Hâji, the Râjâ hardened his heart, and again sent for the Ghânchan's son, and causing him to be laid in front of the temple like a goat, he cut his throat, and made a *tilâ* with his blood. In the city, however, a rumour arose, that by this act the Râjâ would lose his kingdom, that his fate had changed, and that he would be utterly destroyed. The Ghânchan's relations now met, and bewailed the untimely end of her son. The Hâji said that the Râjâ had by acting thus sown the seeds of the *bâbûl*.[8] The Ghânchan became distracted by grief at her loss, and saying that she had no helper but God, betook herself to the Hâji for consolation, and amid floods of tears, confided to him all her grief, and how the Râjâ had so wickedly slain her son. The Hâji however said:—"O mother, be patient, for this has happened through God's permission, your son has been slain without fault, but he will attain a lofty rank at the resurrection, and though the tyrant has escaped punishment, and is careless, I will now contrive that you shall obtain your revenge, and with that view will write a note to-morrow morning." Accordingly he wrote next morning a letter to Sulṭân Mahmud Ghaznavi describing the oppression which prevailed at Pâṭan, and concluded by saying:—"Directly you read the contents of this letter, assemble your troops, and come hither in person, for thus is the prophet's order." Then addressing the Ghânchan, he said:—"Old woman, you must take this note quickly to Ghazni, and give it into the Sulṭân's own hand, and deliver my message, and whatever comes into your mind at the moment, that say." She replied:—"How can I go, Hâji, I have never even heard of Ghazni, how then shall I find it, I have no strength for travel, how then shall I bring you an answer; except you aid me I cannot take your letter." Then the Hâji said:—"O old woman, do what I tell you. Place one foot over the other, and close your eyes, and open them when your feet next touch the ground, and give the note to the Sulṭân; and when he shall give you a reply, and when you shall have told him all that he may ask, and he shall grant you permission to depart; then go to the place where you alighted, and close your eyes, and you will again rejoin me." Then quickly causing the old woman to sit down, he made her take his note in her hand, and close her eyes. He then asked a blessing from God, and thus caused her to fly like lightning through the air and alight at Ghazni. The old woman now went in front of the Sulṭân's palace, and cried for justice, saying that she had been oppressed by infidels. The attendants told the Sulṭân, who was then suffering from painful opthalmia. The old woman now said that she had a letter for the Sulṭân, but refuses to give it to the attendants, as she said she had instructions to give it into the Sulṭân's own hand. Eventually the Sulṭân sent for her, and took the letter from her, and placed it on his eyes, and was at once miraculously cured of his ophthalmia. He then asked the old woman what sort of a place Pâṭan was, and she told him that the strong fort of Pâṭan was a kos in circumference, and that it was situated in the province of Sorath in the empire of Dehli, that the gates were of iron, and riveted with iron rivets, and that a deep ditch built up with stone, and well filled with water, in which the Râjâ kept a boat, surrounded the fort. She further told him that the fort was situated on the shore of the ocean, and that the infidel army was very numerous, while the Râjâ was a hard-hearted, pitiless man, who daily slew some one before his idol. She then concluded by saying that she had given him all the information she knew about Pâṭan, and adjured him to uproot the rule of the infidels, and establish there the religion of Islâm. The Sulṭân at once sounded his drums for a march, and ordered his army to be assembled. The old woman on this asked for permission to depart, and the Sulṭân wrote the following reply to the Hâji:—"I

[8] A very thorny tree—*Acacia Arabica*.

have read your note, and have thereby attained my desire, and my disease has been cured by looking at your note. I will assuredly come and prostrate myself at your feet." The old woman took his reply, and came to the place where she had alighted, and closed her eyes, and was in a moment transported through the air to the Hâji, to whom she gave the Sulṭân's letter.

Meantime, Sultân Mahmud enters India, and marches by way of Jesalmer. The Râni of Jesalmer submits, and purchases safety, and Mahmud advances into Sorath, and approaches Pâṭan Somanâth, where Râjâ Kunwar Pâl was ready to oppose him with a large army. The local landholders however advised Mahmud to first attack Mangalûr (Mângrol), which city is ruled by Jayapâl, who has married Kunwar Pâl's sister. The Sulṭân accordingly marches thither by way of Kâmeshwar Koṭḍi.[4] On seeing the enormous array of Mahmud's troops, Jayapâl's ministers counsel him to purchase safety by ransom and submission, and the Râjâ agrees, saying—"Why should I bring upon myself the fate of Pâṭan?" His ransom and submission are accepted, and Mahmud again marches for Pâṭan, and encamps on the plain called Mâi Hâjat[5] on the Verâwal side of Pâṭan, and Kunwar Pâl encamps at the Bhâlkâ Talâo. Several battles are fought, but owing to the superior strength of Mahmud's force, the Pâṭan Râjâ is worsted and forced to fall back. He now retires to the Motâ Talâo, and Mahmud advances, and occupies the position of the Bhâlkâ Talâo. Up to this date, 24,000 men of the Pâṭan Râjâ's army had fallen and 10,000 of the Muhammadans. The Pâṭan Râjâ now, at the advice of his ministers, offers submission and ransom, and sends chârans and bards to the Sulṭân to negotiate peace, but the Sulṭân refuses, saying that he will only condone their offences on their adopting Islâm. He adds that he does not wish for a single rupee, but to break down the fort of Pâṭan with cannon balls, to cast down their temples, and root out their infidelity. On receiving Mahmud's answer, the Râjâ resolved to fight to the last. The van of the Râjâ's army was commanded by two gallant Bhills named Hamir and Vegaḍ, who commenced to fight bravely. The Râjâ was camped at the Motâ Talâo, and the Sulṭân at the Bhâlkâ Talâo, and every day engagements took place between some of their army. Both sides fought well, and Hamir and Vegaḍ especially distinguished themselves. The Sulṭân now assembled his army, and ordered strong detachments to be posted on the road to Pâṭan, so that the enemy might not be able to retire to the town, or receive reinforcements from thence, while he would attack them in force in front. This was accordingly done, and 10,000 men were placed so as to intercept all communication between the Râjâ's camp and the city. When the Râjâ heard of this he sent for Hamir and Vegaḍ,[6] "both father-in-law and son-in-law," and said to them:—"You must attack the post placed to intercept our communications." Accordingly the Bhills went with all their forces, and lying in ambush all day, attacked the post at night. They attacked bravely, and were firmly received, but finally Hamir and Vegaḍ were compelled to retreat unsuccessful though they made great slaughter. The Muhammadans who were slain were all buried near the battlefield, and their place of burial is called the Ganj Shahid unto this day. The Amirs and Vazirs now advised the Sulṭân to strengthen the outposts as so many men had fallen, and he accordingly withdrew three of the five posts, and placed instead two very strong ones, viz., one at the Gul Guwâran, and one at the Taluni-bârah, so that no one might have access to Pâṭan from the country, and that thus the place might be deprived of fresh reinforcements from without. Five months elapsed in continual fighting, and the Râjâ left his entrenched position and came down into the plain. While these conflicts were going on Hâji Mahmud went to Gangâ's shrine (Gangâ Thânak), and took up his residence there, expelling the image of Gangâ, which said to him:—"O Pir Hâji! whither shall I go?" The Hâji answered:—"Go where you choose, but return not here again, go and sit among the rocks, but cease to annoy me." Gangâ replied:—"I am going with pleasure to the place where you send me."

After this the Hâji fell ill and died, and was buried, and a fine tomb was erected there over him. Thus died the Hâji who invited Mah-

[4] This is the temple of Kâmeshwar or Kâmnâth, about three kos from Mângrol in the direction of Pâṭan.

[5] This plain is close to the Devkâ river and near Verâwal on the N. W. side.

[6] See *Râs Mâlâ* p. 275, &c., edition of 1878.

mud Ghaznavi to attack Pâṭan, but Mahmud never visited him as he lay on his death-bed. On the third day after the Hâji's death, the Pâdshâh made a general attack, and surrounding the army of the Râjâ, drove them from their position by the tank, and the Râjâ fled. 9,000 Muhammadans and 16,000 of the Râjâ's troops fell in this battle, and the Sulṭân advanced to the Motâ Talâo, while the Râjâ entered the fort. A sharp fire was now kept up on both sides. The Sulṭân now remembered the Hâji, and desired to see and confer with him, but was told that he had died three days previously. On hearing this he was much grieved, as he had not met him, and he now wept, and said:—"It was on his invitation that I brought this great army and went to all this expense, and yet now I have never met him." He sorrowed so much that for three days he would not touch food. For when the Sulṭân set out, he said in his pride, that he would destroy the infidelity of Pâṭan, and that he would not suffer the idol worship of the Brâhmans to pass unpunished, and that he would crush the heads of such as refused to accept Islâm, and that after doing this he would go and visit the Hâji.

He now redoubled his efforts against Pâṭan, but without avail; twelve years elapsed, and the mango stones planted by the soldiers had grown into trees, and borne fruit, and the tent pegs had grown into Thûr bushes, but still victory had not as yet crowned his arms, which sorely grieved the Pâdshâh. All this time fresh reinforcements poured into Pâṭan, which was full both of stores and provisions. The Pâdshâh now consulted his Vazirs, saying:—"How much longer shall we stay here fighting, and when shall we conquer this Prabhâs Pâṭan? Half of our lives have been spent here, and though it would be shameful now to retreat, we shall finally have to die fighting here."

The Vazirs said:—"O King! you were puffed up and arrogant, and would not go and first see the Hâji. Go now and seek counsel from him, and then unfold the green banner."

Agreeably to this advice the Sultân went on foot with all his ministers to the Hâji's tomb, and fasted there, taking no other sustenance except dates, and humbling himself, he said:—"I will not leave this spot until I die, unless you tell me to go and be victorious." The Hâji thus answered him from his grave:—"O King! I sent for you, and you were wrong to forget me, but God has now granted you the victory. Trust in my word, and go forth on Friday, and conquer the fort."

The Sulṭân then said:—"I am your servant, and all my army are yours and not mine. I have sinned, and am now helpless, but now bless us in such a manner that our sorrow may be removed from our hearts." The Hâji then gave the following instructions, and said:—"On Thursday there will be a storm of wind and rain which will overthrow all your tents. Seek out at this time two friends in your army to command your van. You shall know them by these signs, that their tents shall stand when all the others fall, and you will find them reading the *Kurán* by lamplight. Their names are Jáfar and Muzafar,[7] and through them shall you gain the victory. Attack then on Friday, and the Râjâ shall not be able to withstand you. Now go and rest, and act as I have told you. Strike up joyful music and distribute sweetmeats. Give up all sorrow, and be glad in your hearts." The Sulṭân then returned joyfully to his army, and after distributing sweetmeats sounded his drums by way of rejoicing. When Thursday came there arose a great storm of wind, which blew down all the tents except those of Jáfar and Muzafar, whom the Sulṭân found reading the *Kurán* by lamplight. They at once stood in front of their tents, and joyfully saluted the king. Then the two brethren said to the Sulṭân:—"Why have you thus honoured us? order now what you wish. Why have you come hither instead of sending for us?" The Sulṭân replied that he had come at the order of the Hâji, and that victory would be obtained through them. Then he directed them to mount their elephants and lie in ambush, and afterwards make a sudden attack upon the enemy. The brothers replied:—"May God give you the victory, we are ready to engage whenever you give the signal."

The Sultân then adopted this artifice. After placing the brothers in ambush, he struck his tents and withdrew his army, and encamped

[7] Both these names come from the root ظفر and mean *victorious.*

at a distance of five kos. The Râjâ seeing this was overjoyed, and said:—"May the army never return hither with the desire of conquering Pâṭan, if he be now severely chastised, he will never again seek to enter the strong fortress of Pâṭan." The idolaters of Pâṭan were delighted also, and said:—"The enemy have abandoned their batteries, and their hearths are cold," and accordingly they opened their gates and remained careless. While the Râjâ was thus thrown off his guard, the Sulṭân mounted at night with all his army, and made an attack on the gate of Pâṭan. The two brothers Jâfar and Muzafar were clothed in steel armour, and mounted on the foremost elephant called Mithâ, which carried a yellow howdah. First they defeated the force encamped without the gate, and drove them into the city, and then brought their elephant Mithâ to burst open the gate, but he recoiled from the spikes. Finally, the brethren placed a camel in front of his head, and at the third charge he broke down the gate. Then all Mahmud's army entered, shouting "Dîn! Dîn!" and the sword began to play, and a terrible conflict ensued. God thus gave the Sulṭân the victory through Jâfar and Muzafar, one of whom however was slain. The cup of the Râjâ's iniquity was now full. The orders of the Sulṭân were to slay and take no ransom, but to put all the infidels to the sword, except those who repeated the Muhammadan creed. The soldiery now plundered the whole city, and slew all who would not repeat the creed of Islâm, and thus in the midst of the fortress fell Hamir and Vegaḍ fighting valiantly; the courage of the Râjâ on their fall began to fail him, and he left his palace, and came below, accompanied by 700 men, all kinsmen of his or chosen adherents. The Sulṭân now examined all the fort, and placing guards over it, proceeded to surround and attack the Temple enclosure. The Râjâ, now seeing that all was lost, sent to ask quarter of the Sulṭân, and he agreed to spare their lives on receiving forty lâkhs.[8] The Râjâ gave security for the payment of this sum, and departed on his elephant, and the Sulṭân entered the temple, and saw the image of Somanâth suspended in the air without being attached to anything. On thus seeing the idol hanging without any support, the Sulṭân was much astonished, but his vazirs told him that there was iron in the head of the idol, and a powerful magnet suspended above. The Sulṭân ordered the magnet to be removed, and the image fell down.

The Râjâ now recollected that he had left Somanâth unprotected, and went thither hastily, and tried to persuade the Sulṭân to spare the image, saying that he would pay a heavy ransom if the Sulṭân would not break it, but the Sulṭân vowed that he would not leave it unbroken. His vazirs now advised him to take the Râjâ's money, and play a trick on him, and to reduce the idol to lime,[9] and then give it him to eat with his *pân supâri*.[10] The Sulṭân assented to their advice, and sent to the Râjâ, and agreed to take ten lâkhs as the ransom of Somanâth. He then reduced the idol to powder, and gave the Râjâ an entertainment, after which he gave him the powder of the idol as lime to eat with his *pân supâri*. The Râjâ paid the ten lâkhs, and after the entertainment asked for permission to depart, and that Somanâth might be handed over to him agreeably to the compact. The Sulṭân then said:—"I have already given Somanâth to you, and you have received him. I reduced him to powder, and then burned him into lime, and you took that lime with your *pân supâri*, and have therefore not only taken him but also eaten him."

On hearing that they had eaten Somanâth, the Râjâ and his men prepared for death: some applied daggers to their own throats and some cut off their tongues with knives. While some thus died by their own hands, others seized their swords and attacked the Sulṭân, who put some to the sword, and bound others. In this way the Sulṭân slew all the enemy who remained, and expelled the Râjâ, and appeased the fears of the faithful.

The Sulṭân now built a handsome shrine to the Saint Mangaluri Shâh, and also constructed a mosque in memory of the brothers Jâfar and Muzafar, and he also built the Puri dome. It is clear, then, that if the Râjâ had not rejected the proposal of the Hâji to adopt Islâm, his rule would have remained, and he would not have lost his country.

[8] The poem does not say of what coin.

[9] All the coast abounds in limestone, lime is eaten by natives with *pân supâri*.

[10] *Supâri* is the areca nut, and *pân* the leaf of the betel, a pepper vine.

Then the Sulṭân made the following arrangements. He entrusted the government (*Foujdâri*) of Pâṭan to Miṭhâ Khân, and left a detachment of his army under his orders. In this way Miṭhâ Khân became governor of Pâṭan, and the Sulṭân also presented him with a shield. The Sulṭân kindly bestowed the Kâziship of Pâṭan on two Sheikhs, descendants of the Khalifah Âbu-Bakar, who had accompanied him. They were brothers of the whole blood, and their names were Jalâlu'd-dîn and Lukmân. All the new Musalmâns were entrusted to them.

Leaving thus Pâṭan in their spiritual charge, the Sulṭân sounded his drums for a march, and mustered both his cavalry and infantry, and inquired from the paymaster (*bakshi*) how many had died in all since he set out from Ghazni, and found the total amounted to 125,000. He then set out gladly towards Ghazni, and after a year's journey reached that city, and sat on his throne amid strains of joyful music and the greetings of all his kinsmen and friends. Then Sulṭân Mahmud Shâh thanked God for his goodness, and bestowed lâkhs of rupees in charity, and granted jâgirs and ready money to the relatives of those who had fallen in battle.

In the meantime, Miṭhâ Khân, governor of Pâṭan, resolved to visit the temple of Somanâth, and when he came there he found that it was all built of stone. Now it seems that when the temple was founded, the astrologers prophesied that it would be destroyed by Miṭhâ,[11] and the Râjâ thinking this referred to the sea, had strengthened the sea wall, and anointed it with *ghî* to prevent any injury from the sea water, nevertheless he left a record of the prophecy in the daftar. Miṭhâ Khân, after examining the temple, bethought him of the prophecy, and perceived that the temple was destined to be destroyed by him, and he accordingly ordered stone masons to level it to the ground. On seeing this the hearts of the idolaters were inflamed with rage, and they attacked Miṭhâ Khân, and fought with him, but their efforts were unavailing, and they were all put to the sword, and their houses were plundered, and thereby the Muhammadans derived much wealth.

The author then concludes with these words: "I have now finished the story of Pâṭan, which was completed on Friday the 24th of Shâbân; the entire story is true, do not think otherwise. It was in A. H. 470 that the Sulṭân marched against Pâṭan, and the Mangaluri Shâh performed so many miracles. This poem was written in Pâṭan by Sheikh Dîn in A. H. 1216, it was commenced on the 7th of Safar, and was completed in Shâban. The name of the penman who wrote it was Dâdâbhai, a most excellent scribe."

It will be seen that the above account of the destruction of Somanâth is different from any given in the Persian histories of the siege, though the author has evidently studied them, and borrowed his account of the jewelled lamp from one author, and the suspended image from another. The shrine of the Mangaluri Shâh is still in excellent preservation, it is situated to the right-hand side of the road which leads from Verâwal to Pâṭan.

Pâṭan seems never to have been a dependency of the Chuḍâsamas of Junâgaḍh, but to have been first held by the Châvaḍâs and then by the Wâjâs, who afterwards owned the whole sea coast from Pâṭan to Âlang Manâr. But they were first conquered by Âlagh Khân during the reign of Alau'd-dîn Khilji, and then reduced to a subordinate position by the Toghlak Sulṭâns of Dehli, and subsequently further humbled by the Sulṭâns of Gujarât, and of this there can be no doubt, but that long ere the conquest of Junâgaḍh by Mahmud Begarha, and long ere the rule of the Chuḍâsamas was subverted, the Muhammadan rule was supreme throughout Nâgher, that is to say from at least Somanâth Pâṭan to Unâ Delwârâ. The history of the sea coast of Saurashtrâ from Juriâ to Bhâvnagar was in early times entirely distinct from that of the rest of the peninsula, which was ruled by the Chuḍâsamâs. The extent and power of these last chieftains has been much overrated, and this is clearly shown by inscriptions dated during their rule, which, while mentioning the paramount Râjâs of Anhilwâṛâ and local chieftains of the sea coast, omit in many cases (in most indeed) all mention of the Chuḍâsamas.

[11] This is a play on the Gujarati word મીઠું *Miṭhu*, meaning salt.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.

(*Continued from* p. 196, vol. VII.)

No. XXII.—*The Westward Spread of some Indian Metaphors and Myths.*

When Belshazzar the king made a great feast to a thousand of his lords, and with all his company drank from the golden vessels taken out of the house of God at Jerusalem, a hand came forth and wrote mystic words upon the palace-wall, and he was greatly troubled, his countenance changed, and his knees smote one against the other. The interpretation of one of those words of doom was, "Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting." That intimation referred to a custom of extreme antiquity in the East. In the *Asiat. Researches*, vol. I. there is an account of trials by ordeals, by the native chief magistrate of Banâras, communicated by Warren Hastings, taken from the *Mitâkshara*, or comment on the *Dharma Śâstra*, in which it is laid down that trial by ordeal may be conducted in nine different ways, the first being by the balances, which is performed thus. The beam having been adjusted, the cord fixed, and both scales made perfectly even, the person accused and a paṇḍit fast a whole day; then, after the accused has been bathed in sacred water, the *homa* or oblation presented to Fire, and the deities worshipped, he is carefully weighed, and when he is taken out of the scale the paṇḍits prostrate themselves before it, pronounce a certain *mantra* (from the *Ṛig Veda*, whereby the Spirit of Justice enters into the scales), and having written the substance of the accusation on a slip of paper bind it on his forehead. Six minutes after they place him again in the scale, and if he weigh more than before he is held guilty; if less, innocent (a criterion, it would seem, the reverse of that obtaining in Babylon); if exactly the same, he must be weighed a third time, when, as it is written in the *Mitâkshara*, there will certainly be a difference in his weight. Should the balance, though well fixed, break down, this would be considered a proof of guilt.

Yâjnavalkya in the *Dharma Śâstra*, on which the foregoing is a comment, is next in authority to Manu, and in the passages relating to ordeals declares that "the balance is for women, children, the blind, the lame, Brâhmaṇs, and the sick, and must not be used unless the loss of the accuser amounts to one thousand pieces of silver." The procedure somewhat differs from that provided in the comment, the accused being directed to adjure the balance solemnly, thus:—"Thou, O Balance, art the mansion of truth; thou wast anciently contrived by the gods. Declare the truth, therefore, O giver of success, and clear me from all suspicion. If I am guilty, O venerable! as my own mother, then sink me down, but if innocent raise me aloft"—recalling almost the words of Job, "Let me be weighed in an even balance, that God may know mine integrity" (*Job* xxx. 6). Other comments specify of what woods the scales should be made and where placed—"in a hall specially constructed for them, in the gateway of the king's palace, or by a crossing, and always be made to turn to the east."

From this idea of weighing the bodies of accused persons came the analogous idea of weighing souls after death,—though it may well be that the latter was the original idea,—which appears in almost every Eastern form of faith, and spread into every region of the West. In the *Zend-Avesta* Mithra and Rashne-Rast weigh the actions of men on the bridge Chinvat, which separates earth and heaven. In *Proverbs* XVI. 2, "The Lord weigheth the spirits;" and 1 *Samuel* ii. 3, "By Him actions are weighed." In the Buddhist system Yama, the king of justice, has souls weighed before him, while their good and evil deeds are produced by good and evil spirits. In the *Korân* the Balance in which all things shall be weighed is frequently alluded to. It will be held by Gabriel, one scale will hang over Paradise the other over Hell. But the most ancient traces are in the mythology of Egypt. In the enlarged delineations from the *Ritual of the Dead* on the walls of the staircase in the British Museum are several examples of 'soul-weighing.' Osiris, the judge, seated, holds the mystic cross; before him stands Thoth with roll and pen to record the judgment, and behind him are the scales in which the good and bad deeds of the departed are being weighed. On a sarcophagus in the Soane

Museum Osiris is shown seated, and the balance is held by Horus; this sarcophagus is referred by Dr. Birch to Sethos I.—B. C. 1489. In the earliest Greek legends, which so often show an Asiatic tinge, Homer makes Zeus the Father weigh the fates of the Greeks and Trojans, and again of Achilles and Hector, in golden balances; and so Jupiter in the *Æneid* decides the fates of Turnus and Æneas. The primitive Eastern myth found its way into Christian antiquity at a very early date, and the archangel Michael, the conqueror of Satan, assumed the place of Horus and Mithra as soul-weigher. In Raphael's picture of his triumph over Satan the balance lies behind; and St. Gregory, about A.D. 600, in his sermon *De Sancto Michaele*, says that "on the point of separation of the soul from the body the good and bad angels come, and the merits and demerits of the man are weighed: if the bad preponderate over the good the soul is thrust down to hell." Few who have stood before Notre Dame in Paris will fail to remember the grim scene of the Last Judgment, sculptured in the 13th century over the great central entrance, and the expression of fiendish glee on the visage of the demon as he tries to depress the scale filled with souls, of the balance held by the archangel. The same conception is repeated over the porch of Friburg Cathedral in Switzerland, which was erected in 1452, and where two imps are slyly trying to pull down the scale. In pictures on the walls of the oldest Russian churches a favourite subject is "the Serpent of Sins," winding up from Hell, and opening its jaws near the terrible Balances where souls are weighed.

In the most secluded part of the labyrinth of chalk downs in Surrey is situated the small parish of Chaldon. It is so retired that till within the last twenty years only tracks led to it across the downs; how remote must it then have been in the twelfth century! But Eastern ideas and myths penetrated there, even at that early date. On the west wall of the small antique church a large painting in red, yellow, and white tempera was discovered under the whitewash a few years ago, and has been successfully restored and preserved. It was probably executed between 1170 and 1190, when aisles were added to the church. The painting, which is 17 feet long by 11, is divided into four compartments, two above and two below, the upper representing the salvation, the lower the damnation, of souls,—that on the left above, and that on the right below, exhibiting ideas essentially Oriental. In the former St. Michael stands in the centre holding out the scales, and a demon on the opposite side, dragging a number of souls behind with a rope, tries to touch and depress one; on the other side an angel is conducting three female souls to heaven. The same subject has been found in other ancient village churches, and was doubtless of common occurrence. In one instance an unfortunate soul, whose bad deeds are outweighing his good, is saved by the Virgin Mary throwing her rosary into the scale. Metrical legends of still earlier date contain the same ideas, and represent St. Michael weighing souls at the entrance of Paradise,—so far and wide had the myth spread in early mediæval days. Perhaps the latest serious use of the metaphor is in *Paradise Lost*, where, when all the elements were threatened with destruction in the impending struggle between the angels and Satan,

"The Eternal, to prevent such horrid fray,
Hung forth in heaven his golden scales, yet seen—
Betwixt Astrea and the Scorpion sign."[1]

The lower right-hand compartment of the Chaldon church painting also represents a very ancient Eastern fable, namely, the ordeal of the bridge—a myth found, in one form or another, in almost all religious systems. It is sufficient here to adduce the bridge Al-Sirât, narrow and sharp as a razor, stretching across Gehenna, over which the *Kurân* records that souls must pass into Paradise. The bridge Chinevat, spanning the fiery gulph of Ahrimân, in the ancient Persian mythology, has already been mentioned. It is striking to find this myth in the creeds of the rudest savages, even in America, the Happy Country of the Dakotah Indians is crossed by a very high rock, the edge of which is as sharp as the sharpest knife, the good cross safely, but the wicked fall into the clutches of the Evil Spirit below. Colonel Godwin Austen reports that the Khâsiâs of north-eastern Bengal

[1] It is noticeable that whilst Homer follows the Indian law in making the light or ascending scale the demonstration of innocence and success, Milton and the Church representations adopt the Biblical rule of regarding it as the sign of guilt and defeat.

believe that the souls of the dead cannot cross over water, unless a thread of cotton be stretched from one bank to the other. If very wide, the thread is kept clear of the water by sticks planted in the river-bed. This is called the "string-bridge." In the South of India the Baḍagas of the Nilgiri Hills, according to Mr. Metz, have a like idea, holding that a "thread-bridge" separates the valley of death from the invisible world. He quotes this passage from the Baḍaga funeral chant, "Though his own sins, and those of his parents amount to 1300, let them all go to Basava's feet. The chamber of death shall be opened; the thread-like bridge shall remain firm, the door of hell shall be shut; he may go safely." In the Chaldon painting two gigantic demons hold up the bridge between them, like a beam studded with sharp points—a bridge of spikes over which several souls are seen attempting to pass. This bridge of spikes, less than a hand's breadth, over an infernal lake, thronged with hideous monsters watching for souls to fall amongst them, is alluded to in more than one popular legend of the first half of the 12th century, and has often been symbolically used by moral writers: it is enough to name Addison's 'Vision of Mirza.'

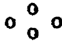
As a last instance of a far-travelled Indian story, it will be remembered how the youthful Buddha, as his mind was beginning to awaken, and his destiny pressing upon him, but before he had abandoned the luxuries of royal life in his father's palace, when one day driving in his splendid carriage, was struck by the sight of a loathsome, putrefying corpse. This shocking spectacle determined him to quit a world all whose pleasures had such an end. This story is reproduced in the mediæval legend of "Les trois Vifs et les trois Morts," which I lately saw depicted, and rescued from whitewash, on the wall of Belton Church, near Yarmouth—a church of the 11th century. Three gallant youths, magnificently arrayed, and mounted on horses gaily caparisoned, suddenly find their course stopped by the sight of three decaying human bodies, and each utters a sentence expressive of his feelings. The same idea appears in several compositions of the Dance of Death, and indeed speaks from thousands of tombs and epitaphs of our own, no less than of bygone days.

Professor Max Müller in the 7th of his *Hibbert Lectures* remarks, "Whether the extraordinary similarities which exist between the Buddhist customs and ceremonial and the customs and ceremonial of the Roman Catholic Church, tonsures, rosaries, cloisters, nunneries, confession, and celibacy" [he might add myths and legends]—"could have arisen at the same time—these are questions which cannot as yet be answered satisfactorily." I venture to think there is much material for an opinion. The Essenes were Buddhist monks in every essential, and as Pliny (V. 15) affirms, had been established for ages before his time on the shores of the Dead Sea. Prinsep has shown from the Aśokâ inscriptions at Girnar that Buddhism had been planted in the dominions of the Seleucidæ and Ptolemies, to whom Palestine belonged, before the beginning of the third century B. C., and there is a consensus of evidence for direct intercourse between India and the foci of early Christianity, Alexandria and Ephesus. Professor C. W. King, of Trinity College, Cambridge, author of *The Gnostics*, &c., who has gone deeply into this obscure subject, affirms that all the heresies of the first four centuries of the Church may be traced to Indian fountain-heads. Imitating Max Müller's reserve, he adds, "how much that passed current for orthodox, had really flowed from the same sources, it is neither expedient nor decorous now to inquire." When masters who know most decide to say least, disciples may be wise to follow their example.

No. XXIII.—*Some Non-Sepulchral Rude Stone Monuments in India, Persia, and Western Asia.*

Though the vast majority of rude-stone monuments in India, as well as throughout Asia and Europe, are certainly sepulchral, there are a few which seem to have been constructed for other purposes. Such must be the trilithon mentioned at p. 192 of Dr. Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal*, and described as "three huge monoliths of gneiss of great beauty, two upright, the third laid across them. The stones are upwards of 12 feet in length, each weighing upwards of 7 tons, quadrilateral, 10 feet round, the horizontal stone kept in its place by a mortise and tenon. Origin unknown: worshipped by the Sântâls at the west gate of their Holy City in Bhîrbhûm." This megalith seems to be

unquestionably devotional, and so, I think, is the remarkable cromlech at Pallikonda, 12 miles from Vellur, in the Madras Presidency, which I examined many years ago, and which is the only true cromlech or free-standing dolmen with no subterranean or kistvaen character about it, that I have seen or heard of, *on the plains*. A figure inadequately representing its massiveness and actual appearance will be found at p. 491 of Mr. Fergusson's *Rude Stone Monuments*, taken from a notice of it by Captain Congreve in No. 31 of the *Madr. Jour. of Lit. & Science, Old Series*. The capstone of this cromlech is 12 feet long by 8 wide and about 2¼ thick, supported not by slabs, but by six large round boulder-like masses of granite, two at the north end, two at the south, two smaller—not touching the capstone—on the west side, and the east side open. The capstone is elevated about 8 feet from the ground, and on its upper centre are four round depressions, placed thus,



that to the right being smallest. These cavities seem to me to be analogous to the "cup-marks" so often found on megaliths and stones in the north of England, and occurring, as Mr. Rivett-Carnac has informed us, on prehistoric monuments in Nâgpur. Mr. Fergusson terms this megalith "a sepulchral mound," but it gave me no such idea, for it stands upon a bare granite platform with no soil or means for interment beneath; its purpose rather seemed that of a temple or altar. I have met with no similar monument in Madras, unless it be in Kurg, where, on the summit of a hill near Somavârpeṭa, there are four large cromlechs, not closed, but consisting of huge overlying slabs supported on masses of stone. The largest slab is 11½ feet long by 8 wide. Each cromlech is surrounded by a circle of stones, had never been covered with earth, and nothing connected with interments could be found in or about them. Standing out in high relief on the hill-top, their appearance is certainly suggestive of altars.

Belonging to a different but also non-sepulchral class of rude stone monuments must be the *Mâni*, or long heaps of stones,—like lengthened cairns,—that excite the surprise of travellers in Tibet and Tatary. The late Mr. C. Horne, of the Bengal C.S., who several years ago travelled over some of the highest Himâlayan passes, wrote me respecting them:—"The Lama Tatârs build long walls of loose stones, usually about 6 feet thick and 8 high; sometimes, as at Nako, half a mile long. Every native passes them to his right: none seem to know why: hence there is a path worn on that side, and every one adds a stone; they must be the growth of centuries, every generation adding some yards. A great mystery attaches to them: none can explain their intention certainly: some say they are devotional, others that they were built on return from long journeys. The furthest object I saw in Tatary was a long double range of these walls." Mr. Andrew Wilson lately, in his *Abode of Snow*, mentions having passed hundreds of these *Mâni* on his journey, sometimes in the most desolate situations, and remarks that the prodigious number of them in so thinly peopled a country indicates an extraordinary waste of human energy. It may be added, too, that Major Godwin Austen has shown that the multitudinous groups of upright stones that so remarkably characterize the Khâsiâ Hills have no connection with burials, but are memorials raised to propitiate the spirits of the deceased.

Passing from India westward, Mr. Masson relates that in the temple at the foot of the Koh Assa Mahi (Hill of the Great Mother) near Kabul "a huge stone is the object of adoration," and again he affirms that the mysterious Siaposh worship "an erect black or dark-coloured stone the size of a man." The late Sir Henry Pottinger in his *Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde*, published in 1816, observed near Nushki on the Beluchistan border, west of Kelat, "some very large stones by the way-side, and was told they had been placed there by Rustam to commemorate the strides of his favourite horse; their transport from the nearest mountains must have been very laborious and costly, many of them being several tons weight, and 6 or 7 yards high." (p. 123.)[a] Little appears to be known of megalithic

[a] It may not be out of place to annex Sir H. Pottinger's account of some other remarkable antiquities, probably never before or since seen by an European, observed by him in the same region. Several miles beyond Nushki, on the west bank of the river Bale, he passed the remains of some very extraordinary tombs, of quadrangular shape, each surrounded by a low wall of curious open freestone work, like the meshes of a net stretched into a conical shape. These walls enclosed an area of 4 or 5 square yards, the entrances fronting due east, and inside each a

monuments in Persia, but doubtless many exist, and elder travellers have noticed some which do not appear to have been examined again. In his *Travels in Persia*, &c. vol. II. p. 123, Sir W. Ouseley mentions having been shown in the neighbourhood of Dârâb an extensive piece of ground enclosed within a ditch and a bank or rampart of earth proportionably high, the Persians called it *Kalâi Dehâyeh* or *Deh-i-aih* = 'a fortress.' Within the enclosure was "an extraordinary upright stone, single, and at least 20 feet high. Concerning this stone many wonderful stories are related: one that a woman in the time of king Dârâb, having been guilty of treachery towards him, was suddenly petrified, and has continued to exist, but in the form of this stone." In another part of the enclosure, on a rising ground, were "several large and rude stones forming a cluster irregularly circular,—almost Druidical, as the word is commonly used now. Some are from 20 to 25 feet high. One, very tall, stands nearly in the middle; another, toward the west, resembles a table or altar; and under two or three are recesses or small caverns." These and the first described single stone are figured in the Miscellaneous Plate at the end of the volume, and are evidently a vast circle of prehistoric stones, enclosed, as Abury and some other great circles were, by a trench and embankment,—in that, as in general appearance, closely resembling European examples. I know not whether this remarkable spot has since been visited and described. In another place, at p. 80 of the same volume, Sir William describes what he calls "a fire-altar, now called the Stone of the Fire-temple, a single upright stone between 10 and 11 feet high, each of its four sides 3 feet 6 or 7 inches broad at the lower part, not quite so much above." On the southern and western sides are circles one foot in diameter, and sunk an inch in the stone, the western containing a nearly obliterated inscription, apparently Pahlavi, the other circle blank. The top of the stone was hollowed out into a bowl 10 or 11 inches deep, which Sir William supposes to have been intended to contain the materials for the sacred fire. "A rude low fence or wall of large stones encloses the stone, having a narrow entrance on the south formed of two or three stones of very considerable dimensions." From this account, as well as from the figure of the stone (given in his plate 32), I should rather consider it to be a menhir, or simple standing-stone. The circles, with the inscription, may have been graven in after-days, and the hollow on the top, instead of being a receptacle for the sacred fire, seems rather analogous to the "rock-basins" often found on or near prehistoric stones and rocks in Europe—for example, on the tops of Kes-Tor and the 'Puggie stone' near Chagford, on the border of the Dartmoor in Devonshire; large symmetrical basins are hollowed out in the rock, which were certainly never intended for sacred fires.[3] It may be noted, in passing, that with reference to the strange custom of interring bodies piecemeal in earthen vessels, touched upon in *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII. p. 177, Sir W. Ouseley found an instance of it on the plain of Bushehr, where urns of a peculiar shape and buried in a peculiar way abounded about two feet below the surface. The urns were cylindrical with pointed ends, and at the mouth a bowl or basin, circumference 2½, thickness one-third of an inch, made of clay, without any ornamentation, and closely filled with sand and human bones. The urns lay horizontally in a straight line from east to west, the extremity of one nearly touching the head of the next. Sir William himself disinterred three or four, and found them full of skulls and bones, which must have been put in piecemeal; they were said to exist in hundreds, but he could not hear of them being found anywhere but at Bushehr. No such custom ever existed amongst Musalmâns or Parsîs: *Travels*, vol. I. p. 218, urns figured in plate 22.

Sir John Chardin, in his *Travels into Persia through the Black Sea and the country of Colchis*, in 1671, reports that a few leagues from Tauris "they passed large circles of hewn stone, which the Persians affirm to be a great sign that the *Caous* making war in Media held a council

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raised mound covered with stone, like a grave, but also possibly an altar for the sacred fire. All were evidently very old, mouldering and dilapidated, and no stone of the kind was said to be found in any part of the country. There was nothing Mahometan or Hindu in their style; the people ascribed them to the Guebres, to whom everything uncommon or inexplicable is popularly referred. Large mounds of earth and stone were scattered over the neighbouring desert for considerable distances. *Travels*, pp. 126-7.

[3] Still Sir William's supposition may probably be right. Joseph's Tomb, close to Jacob's Well, is described as having two short pillars, one at the head, and one at the foot, with shallow cup-shaped hollows at their tops, blackened by fire, the Jews burning small articles, handkerchiefs, gold lace, &c. in them. Conder's *Tent-work in Palestine*, vol. I. p. 74.

in that place, it being the custom of those people that every officer that came to the council brought with him a stone to serve him instead of a chair. Now these *Caous* were a sort of giants. But that which is most to be admired after observation of these stones is this, that they are so big that eight men can hardly move one; and yet there is no place whence they can be imagined to be brought but from the next mountains, that are six leagues off." It would be interesting could any archæologist rediscover and describe these circles, which seem analogous to Stonehenge in the peculiarity of being of *hewn* stones, and also, as is so frequently the case, in having been brought from a distance. Here too we find an instance of the wide-spread popular belief that such huge stones were transported by giants. Geoffrey of Monmouth tells a legend that when Aurelius consulted Merlin as to what monument should be raised to the Britons treacherously massacred by Hengist, the enchanter replied, "You would have the Giants' Dance brought from Ireland! Do not, lord king, vainly excite laughter; those stones are magical, and giants brought them of old from furthest Africa." Probably not unlike the circles seen by Chardin was "the gigantic circle with huge upright stones, 15 feet high, and some with long blocks laid across," encountered by Mr. Palgrave in the previously unknown wastes of Central Arabia, of which it is to be hoped more may be heard some day. The pre-Mahometan Arabians were especially stone-worshippers. Maximus Tyrius says he saw their idol, and it was only a huge square stone. Throughout Asia Minor in many famous temples the gods were represented by rough stones, and Tacitus reports that the image of the Paphian Venus herself was a tall black shapeless stone; as at present throughout India the primitive castes represent their deities by rough stones. Dr. Hunter (*Orissa*, vol. I. p. 95) observes—"At the present hour in every hamlet of Orissa the common people have their shapeless stone or block, which they adore with simple rites in the open air." Something similar probably were the "images of stone" which the Israelites were forbidden to set up or allow in their fields. Other instances of the use of non-sepulchral rude stone monuments in ancient Palestine are the memorial-pillar strangely set up by Absalom "in his life-time in the king's dale," (II. Samuel xviii. 18) the "Great Stone" set up by Joshua under an oak, that set up by Samuel between Mizpeh and Shen, and the 12 stones set up in the Jordan, and again at Gilgal, which possibly "are there unto this day." Should Persia and the adjacent countries ever be archæologically explored, the foregoing extracts are some earnest of what might be the results, not only with respect to non-sepulchral remains, amongst which the above megaliths are doubtless to be ranked, but in sepulchral, and all classes of prehistoric antiquities.

GRANT OF THE PALLAVA KING NANDI VARMÂ.

BY THOMAS FOULKES, F.L.S., CHAPLAIN OF SAINT JOHN'S, BANGALORE.

Description.—A land-grant on three thin plates of copper, 8⅝ in. long, 2⅝ in. wide, and about 1/16 inch thick. They are united by a seal-ring 3 in. in diameter, and made of ⅜ in. copper-rod. The seal is 3 in. in diameter; and has a standing bull in relief, surrounded by an obliterated inscription. The inscription of the grant occupies the inner side of the two outer plates, and both sides of the middle plate. It is written in bold well-formed letters of the Pallava character, as it may now fairly claim to be called: it is in the Sanskrit language; and all but the concluding verses, is in prose form. The first plate has an endorsement in five lines, of more recent date, in archaic Tamil characters, and in the Tamil language in prose form. The ring has been cut, apparently some time ago: and it is therefore probable that an impression of the plates has already been taken or attempted.

It is a grant of four pieces of waste or forest-land attached to the village of Kâṇchi-vâyil, to Kuḷa Śarmâ, a Brâhmaṇ resident of that village, by Nandi Varmâ, king of the Pallavas, in the first year of his reign.

The endorsement records the mutual decision of the villagers of Kâṇchi-vâyil, (which had by this time come to be called Ikanmaraimangalam) and Udayachandramangalam, formally assembled in council, to unite together to form a single village-unity. It is dated in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of the Chola king Koppara Keśari Varmâ.

Transliteration.

I. [1] Svasti. Jita[taṁ]bhagavatâ râjṇâ. Śrî vijaya Kâṇchipurât parama brahmaṇyasya sva bâhu va[ba]lâ-

[2] rjjanorjjita vidhi vihita sarvva mariyâ[ryâ]daśya[sya] Râjṇa[ḥ] Śri[Śrî] Skanda Varmmaṇa[ḥ] prapautra[ḥ] abhyarchchi-

[3] ta śakti sidhi[ddhi] sampannasya pratâpo[â]vanata râjamaṇḍalasya vaśu[su]dhâ-talaikavi[vî]ra-

[4] sya Mahârâja Śrî Singha[ṁha] Varmmaṇa[ḥ] pautra[ḥ] deva dvija guru virdha[vṛiddho]pa châyinovirdha[vṛiddha] ve[vi]-

[5] neyasya san[su]go hiraṇya bhûmyâdhi[di] pradhânai[dânaiḥ] pravir[vṛi]ddha dharmma saṇchayasya prajâ-

IIa. [6] pâlana dakṣhasya satyâtmano Mahârâja Śri[Śrî] Skanda Varmmaṇa[ḥ] putro bhagavata[vad]bakti[bhakti] sampâ

[7] dita sarvva kalyâṇa praja[jâ] saṃraṇjana paripâlano nyaye[ṇyâyo]pagata śa[sa]tata-satṛibra[travra]ta

[8] dîkṣhita naika samara sâhasâvamardda lavda[labdha] vijeyâ[jaya] prakâsa[śa]na kaliyuga do-

[9] sha[shâ]vaśak[sakta] dharmâttha[mmoddha]raṇa nitya sannadho[ddho] bhagavaka [vatkṛi] pânudhya[yâ]to Vappa[Bappa] Bhatta[ṭṭâ]rago[ka]pâda bha-

[10] kta parama bhâgavato Bhâradvâja sagotra Pallavanâ[vânâṃ] Dharmma[ma]hârâja[ḥ] Śri[Śrî] Nandi Varmmaṇa[rmâ]

IIb. [11] Adeyâra râshṭira[ṭra] Kâṇchivâl[vâyil]grâma âraṇya kṣhetra chatuṣhṭayaṇcha pûrvopabhukta mariyâ-

[12] deyâ[maryâdayâ] Kâṇchivâyil vas[vâs]tavyâya brahmâṇa[brâhmaṇâya] Kosi[Kauśi]ka sagotra[trâ]ya Daitriya[Taittirîya] charaṇa[ṇâ]ya sûtrata[ḥ]

[13] Pravachanâya Kuḷa Charm[Śarm]maṇe brahmade[ya] mariyâ[maryâ]dayâ sarvva parihâropata[petaṁ] devabhe[bho]-

[14] gahalavarjjamasmad âyu[âyur] vala[bala] vejeyaaisvariyabhavirdhae[vijayaishvaryâ-bhivṛiddhaye] dattavâ[n]. Tad avagamya sa-

[15] rvva parihâra Kâṇchivâyilgrâmavâ[mâ]raṇya kṣhetra chatuṣhṭayaṇcha parihârai[ḥ] parihâ[ha]rata Yo-

III. [16] sma svâ[chchhâ]sana matikrâmeśa[tsa]pâpa shârirammaruhat[śarîramarhat]-yapichâtra Brahma gitâsalokâ [gîtâsh shlokâ] bhavanti.

[17] Bhûmidânamparaṁdânaṁ Nabhûtaṁnab hatishyatiseva[bhaviṣhyati Tasyaiva]hara-ṇâtsa[tpâ]pan Nabhûtaṁnabhaviṣhyati.

[18] Śva[Sva]-dattaṁ[ttâm]paradattam[ttâṁ]va[vâ] [Yo]hareti[ta]vasundarâsata[dharâm Gavâmśata]sahasrasya Hantu[ḥ]piva[ba]tikilviśam[bishaṁ]-i-

[19] ti Pravardhamâna veje[vija]ya râjya pratasatsare[thama saṁvatsare] Va[i]śâk[h]a mâse shukukshe[śuklapakshe] paṇchamyâ[ṁ] datta[ttâ] paṭṭikâ.

Tamiḻ endorsement.

[1] Matinkoṇṭa Koppara Keśari Varmmarku yâṇṭirupattârâvatu

[2] Kâṇchivâyil âkiya Ikanmaraimaṇkalattu sa-

[3] bhaiyôṟum[ruṁ] [1]Udaiyachantiramaṇkalattu sabhai-

[4] yôṟum[ruṁ] îvvirantûrôruṁ kûṭi onruyinmaiyil

[5] itan merpaṭṭatu Ôrûrây vâṟvômânôm.

Some of the errata of the plates are mere clerical errors of the artizan engraver: but some of them show that the composer was most familiar with the Dravidian Prâkṛit form of some of his Sanskṛit words. Those forms, which are thus shadowed here, are interesting in so far as they indicate to us, that the genius of Tamiḻ orthography was, at the date of this endorsement,

[1] Perhaps I ought to correct 'Udaiya' to 'Udaya': but I leave it so, since this corruption may have been the usual way of spelling the name of the village in Tamiḻ.

PALLAVA GRANT OF NANDI VARMÂ.

1

IIa

PALLAVA GRANT OF NANDI VARMÂ (CONTd.)

II b

III

TAMIḺ ENDORSEMENT OF NANDI VARMÂ'S GRANT.

SEAL



thus far at least, the same as it is now: for instance, (1) its intolerance of compound consonants, as shown by the forms 'mariyâda' for 'maryâda', twice over, 'aruhatya' for 'arhatya,' 'salokâ' for 'ślokâ,' 'virdh' for 'vriddh,' four times, 'aisvariya' for 'aiśvarya'; (2) its confused use of the three Sanskrit sibilants, since the Tamil alphabet has but one form to represent them, viz., the palatal surd 'ch'; which 'ch', again, the plate substitutes for 'ś' in the word 'charmma' for 'śarmma'; (3) in the substitution of current Tamil consonants for some Sanskrit consonants which the Tamil alphabet does not contain, as shown in the words 'Vappa' for 'Bappa', 'lavda' for 'labdha', 'vala' for 'bala', 'pivati' for 'pibati', 'kilvisha' for 'kilbisha'; (4) and similarly perhaps with the vowels, as shown by the substitution of the vowel 'o' for 'au', which is not in the Tamil alphabet, in the word 'Kosika' for 'Kauśika'; (5) its employment of 'Singha' for 'Simha'.

There is an instance in line 3 of this grant of the mode of correcting errors, which is perhaps worth noting. For the words *vasudhâtalaikavîrasya*, the plate had originally *vaśudhâlaivikarasya*. To correct these mistakes, a small *ta* has been written at the right foot of the *dhâ*, a small *ka* under the *vi*, and a short stroke, as a mark of erasure, has been drawn above the *ka* of *vika*; but the short *vi* remains uncorrected.

In the Tamil endorsement, the word 'sabhai' (Modern Tamil 'chapai', Sanskrit 'sabhâ',) occurs twice, and is both times spelt with an 's' and a 'bh'; Sanskrit consonants which have no place in the Tamil alphabet. The word 'Keśari' is also spelt with the palatal 'ś' of the Grantha alphabet. This is worth noting, inasmuch as it shows, in common with other instances occurring elsewhere in other grants of this period, that letters of the Grantha alphabet were sometimes introduced into Tamil writing to spell Sanskrit words, when the Tamil alphabet has no equivalent letters.

Translation.

Health.—The worshipful king is pre-eminent. From the rich and victorious Kânchipura, Śrî Nandi Varmâ, the Dharma-mahârâja of the Pallavas, who are of the ancestral family of Bhâradvâja; who, by his piety towards God, has secured every kind of prosperity for himself and of happiness for his subjects; who is always ready to perform his vows, to offer sacrifices, righteously undertaken; who is radiant with victory obtained by the daring punishment of his enemies in many battles; who is always ready to uphold righteousness marred by the corruptions of the Kaliyuga; who constantly meditates on the mercy of God; who is a disciple of Bappa Bhaṭṭâraka, and an eminently religious man;—the son of the Mahârâja Śrî Skanda Varmâ, who reverenced the gods, the brâhmaṇs, the religious superiors, and aged men; who was willing to be directed by his elders; whose abundant righteousness was increased by his gifts of good kine, gold, land, and other gifts; who was skilled in the protection of his subjects, and was himself very truth;—the grandson of the Mahârâja Śrî Simha Varmâ, who obtained success by his celebrated might; before whose majesty the assembly of kings bowed down; the unrivalled hero of this earth;—the great grandson of the Râja Śrî Skanda Varmâ, the great patron of the Brâhmaṇs; by whom all the divinely appointed rules of right conduct were collected and confirmed by the might of his own arm;—have given four pieces of forest land in the village of Kânchi-vâyil, in the district of Adeyâr, to be enjoyed in the same manner as heretofore, to Kuḷa Śarmâ, a Brâhmaṇ residing in Kânchi-vâyil, belonging to the ancestral family of Kauśika, to the Taittirîya division of the Veda, and to the Pravachana school, together with all immunities, except the temple plough-land, in accordance with the usual custom of gifts made to the Brâhmaṇs, for the prolongation of our lifetime, and the increase of our power, glory, and riches. Knowing this, yield ye up the four pieces of forest land in the tax-free village of Kânchi-vâyil, together with the tax-immunities. He who shall disregard our royal grant, is fit for a sin-born body. Moreover, there are verses to that effect uttered by Brahma: The gift of land is the best of gifts: there has neither been any greater in times past, nor shall there be hereafter. Neither has there ever been a greater sin than the resumption of that gift, nor shall there be hereafter. Whoever shall resume land, whether given by himself or by others, partakes of the sin of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows.

This grant was delivered on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Vaiśâkha,

in the first year of our advancing victorious reign.

Tamil endorsement.

In the twenty-sixth year of the reign of the worshipful Koppara Keśari Varmâ, the village councillors of the two villages of Ikanmarai-mangalam, which is Kânchi-vâyil, and Udayachandra-mangalam having assembled together, this agreement was unanimously made,—We have become one village and will so live and prosper.

It is to Sir Walter Elliot, as is now well known, that we owe the rescue of the kings of the Pallavas from the oblivion into which they had fallen, and the consequent possibility of the recovery of some knowledge of an important portion of the early history of the Dakhan. And it is gradually becoming increasingly evident that these kings were at the head of an extensive and highly prosperous state, or of a confederation of kingdoms, from at least the commencement of the Christian era downwards.

Sir Walter's invaluable collection of ancient inscriptions, now being published by Mr. Fleet in this Journal, includes four grants of this dynasty (see Dr. Eggeling's letter in vol. iii. of this Journal, p. 152): and there is apparently a fifth, namely, the "rude and indistinct" second grant of Nandi Varmâ referred to by Mr. Fleet in *Indian Antiquary* vol. V. p. 175, which is probably the "almost entirely illegible" second grant in the Vengi character which Dr. Burnell had already mentioned in his *South Indian Palæography*, p. 14.

One of these documents, Professor Eggeling's fourth, was published with a fac-simile[2] and notes, as far back as 1840, by Sir Walter Elliot in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. XI. p. 302: but at that time it had been but imperfectly deciphered. It was subsequently republished in 1874, with a fac-simile of a printed impression of the plates, by Dr. Burnell (see pp. 14, 86, and plates xx. xxi. *S. I. Palæog.*) :[3] and it also forms No. xviii. of Mr. Fleet's Series of Inscriptions in vol. V. p. 175 of this Journal.

This grant has always been regarded as one of the Pallava dynasty, and there are circumstances which warrant this classification. Still it may be well to note that the name "Pallava" does not occur in the grant itself, nor is it once mentioned by Sir W. Elliot, Dr. Burnell, or Mr. Fleet, in their descriptions of it. It is also to be observed, that Nandi Varmâ, the grantor, is described in it as belonging to the gotra of Śâlankâyana: whereas the kings of the Pallavas, in the other inscriptions, are described as of the gotra of Bhâradvâja. There is another feature in this grant which so far distinguishes it from the other Pallava grants, though it resembles them in its general composition;—it gives the descent of the grantor only from his father, and simply describes the father as a Mahârâja: whereas the other grants trace the pedigree of the donor up to his great-grandfather, and describe the Pallava family from which he was descended. This greater simplicity of form may be nothing more than an indication of its earlier age: and in that case the more primitive general appearance of the inscription, and the greater rudeness of the character, point in the same direction. Meanwhile the Nandi Varmâ of this grant was the son of Chaṇḍa Varmâ, and is therefore a different person from the Nandi Varmâ of the present grant, who was the son of Skanda Varmâ; unless it should hereafter prove that Chaṇḍa Varmâ and this Skanda Varmâ are the same person. For the present also, the unpublished second inscription of Nandi Varmâ, Professor Eggeling's 5th, must be left at its side.

The 3rd Pallava inscription of the Elliot collection in Professor Eggeling's list contains the names of Devendra Varman and his father Râjendra Varman, names not elsewhere appearing as yet amongst the kings of the Pallavas. This grant has not yet been published.

Besides these, there remain the 1st and 2nd grants of Dr. Eggeling's list; the 1st of which has been published by Mr. Fleet as No. XII. of his Series in *Indian Antiquary* vol. V. p. 50, and the 2nd as No. XV. in vol. V. p. 154. With these the present grant of Nandi Varmâ must now be associated: for, although his name does not appear in the Elliot grants, the general character of this grant is precisely similar to them, and the language also is almost identically the same; so closely identical are

[2] The fac-simile is in my copy of the *Mad. Jour.*

[3] Pp. 16 and 186, and plate xxiv. of the second edition.

they in the pedigree as to suggest at first sight that the succession of princes in our present grant is the same as in Mr. Fleet's No. XII.

There are, however, two apparent difficulties in the way of the complete identification; the first of which is, that it requires both Nandi Varmâ and his grandfather Siṁha Varmâ to have been known by two different names; for Siṁha Varmâ I. of the Elliot grants had Vîra Varmâ for his grandfather. The father and the great-grandfather of the donor have the same names in both of these grants. This difficulty is, in reality, not a great one; for it was a common enough circumstance for old Indian kings to bear different names: and there is less than the ordinary amount of difficulty in this particular instance, since this name of "Vîra," "the champion," may well have been a mere title, of which there are examples in other old dynasties also; and more particularly so as regards this present prince, since this title of "Vîra" is found in the description of Siṁha Varmâ, in the words *vasudhâtalaika Vîrasya*, which same words occur also in the description of Vîra Varmâ in Mr. Fleet's No. XII., and the equivalent words, *prithivîtalaika Vîrasya*, in his No. XV. To this may be added the circumstance that the common practice, even at the present day, is to give the grandfather's name to the grandson; a practice founded upon Sûtra authority: and since our present grantor's grandfather bore the name of Simha Varmâ, it is almost certain that he himself bore it also. At any rate this difficulty, thus modified, seems to me to be much less than to account in any other way for the almost verbally identical description of the succession of four several kings in these two inscriptions. These descriptions are as follows:—

I. The great-grandfather;—

1. In the present grant;—

i. paramabrahmaṇyasya;

ii. sva bâhubalorjenârjjitavidhivihita sarvamaryâdasya;

iii. Râjṇaḥ; Śrî Skanda Varmaṇaḥ:

2. In Mr. Fleet's No. XII.;—

i. paramabrahmaṇyasya;

ii. svabâhubalârjitorjitakshâtratapoṇidheḥ vihitasarvamaryâdasya;

iii. sthitisthitasya; iv. amitâtmano;

v. Mahârâjasya; Śrî Skanda Varmaṇaḥ:

II. The grandfather;—

1. In the present grant;—

i. abhyarchitashaktisiddhisampannasya;

ii. pratâpâvanatarâjamaṇḍalasya;

iii. vasudhâtalaikavîrasya;

iv. Mahârâja; Śrî Siṃha Varmaṇaḥ:

2. In Mr. Fleet's No. XII.;—

i. archchitaśaktisiddhisampannasya;

ii. pratâtopanatarâjamaṇḍalasya;

iii. Mahârâjasya;

iv. vasudhàtalaikavîrasya; Śrî Vîra Varmaṇaḥ:

III. The father;—

1. In the present grant;—

i. devadvijaguruvṛiddhopachâyinovriddha vineyasya;

ii. sugohiraṇyâdipradânaiḥ pravṛiddhadharmasaṇchayasya;

iii. prajâpâlanadakṣhasya;

iv. satyâtmano;

v. Mahârâja; Śrî Skanda Varmaṇaḥ:

2. In Mr. Fleet's No. XII.;—

i. devadvijaguruvṛiddhopachâyinovivṛiddhavinayasya;

ii. anekagohiraṇyabhûmyâdipradânaiḥ pravṛiddhadharmasaṇchayasya;

iii. prajâpâlanadakshasya;

iv. lokapâlânâmpaṇchamasya;

v. lokapâlasya; vi. satyâtmano;

vii. Mahâtmano;

viii. Mahârâjasya; Śrî Skanda Varmaṇaḥ:

IV. The grantor;—

1. In the present grant:—

i. bhagavadbhaktisamraṇjanaparipâlanonyâyopagatasatatasatravratadîkshita;

ii. naikasamarasâhasâvamarddalabdhavijayaprakâśana;

iii. kaliyugadoṣhâvasanna dharmoddharaṇanityasannaddho;

iv. bhagavatpâdânuddhyâto;

v. Bappa Bhaṭṭârakapâdabhakta;

vi. paramabhâgavato;

vii. Bhâradvâjasagotra;

viii. Pallavânâm Dharmamahârâja; Śrî Nandi Varmâ:

2. In Mr. Fleet's No. XII.;

i. bhagavadbhaktisadbhâvasambhâvitasarvakalyâṇasya;

ii. prajâsaṃraṇjanaparipâlanodyogasatatasatravratadîkshitasya;

iii. anekasamarasâhasâvamardalabdhavijayayaśaḥprakâśasya;

iv. kaliyugadoshâvasannadharmoddharaṇanityasannaddhasya;

v. râjarshiguṇasarvasandohavijigishordharmavijigîshor;

vi. bhagavatpâdânuddhyâtasya;

vii. Bappa Bhaṭṭârakamahârâjapâdabhaktasya;

viii. paramabhâgavatasya;

ix. Bhâradvâjasagotrasya;

x. svavikramâkrântânyanṛipaśrînilayân âṃyathâvadâhṛitâshvamedhânâṃ Pallavânâṃ Dharmayuvamahârâjasya; Śrî Vishṇu-gopa Varmaṇo.

The second difficulty is more formidable: for, whereas Nandi Varmâ, the donor of the present grant, is described as the reigning monarch, (*Pallavânâṃ Dharma-mahârâja*), the donor of Mr. Fleet's No. XII. is only the heir apparent of his king (*Pallavânâṃ Dharma-yuvamahârâja*); and, as he is still so described in his son's grant, Mr. Fleet's No. XV., it would appear that he never came to the throne, having probably died during the life-time of the reigning king. On the whole, perhaps the discussion of this difficulty had better be laid aside until the pedigree and alternative names of these princes are better ascertained.

With regard to the probable age of this inscription, I need only say here, that Mr. Fleet has assigned his No. XII. to the fifth century A.D., (*Indian Antiquary* vol. V. p. 50), upon palæographical grounds: and the present grant must follow it. Dr. Burnell also, upon the same grounds, has assigned the earlier Nandi Varmâ inscription to the fourth century A.D. (*S. Ind. Palæog.* p. 15).

I have not succeeded in finding the precise position of the village of Kâṇchivâyil, 'the gate of Conjeveram,' or Kânchidvâra, as its equivalent Sanskrit name is given in another new grant in my possession: but its neighbourhood is fixed by a more recent inscription, in which it is named amongst the boundaries of the village of Udayachandramangalam, mentioned in the endorsement upon the present grant. From the description there given, it is clear that Kânchivâyil lay, either wholly or in principal part, on the right bank of the Pâlâr in the upper, or upper-middle, part of its course, somewhere above Vellore. In later times, as is seen from the endorsement, it was called Ikanmaraimangalam, 'the jackal's den'; but this name also has now disappeared.

This circumstance, combined with the fact that the present grant was issued at Conjeveram (Kâṇchipurât), affords direct evidence that in the reign of Nandi Varmâ, and therefore in the fourth or fifth century A.D., as we are at present advised, this portion of the basin of the Pâlâr, and we naturally conclude the whole of it, was included in the dominions of the kings of the Pallavas. The recovery of this fact is an important acquisition in our searches for the history of this grand old kingdom of the South.

It confirms, and I think stamps with certainty, the argument of my paper in *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII. p. 1, maintaining the identity of Fa Hian's 'kingdom of the Dakshiṇa,' with the dominions of the Pallavas of Conjeveram, and I may add here, to the grounds set forth in that paper, that Fa Hian's distance of 200 yojanas is the precise distance of Conjeveram from the Ganges as set down in a verse of the Kânchipura Mâhâtmya. (See Captain Carr's *Seven Pagodas*, p. 220.)

The Tamil endorsement upon the grant is dated in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Koppara Keśari Varmâ. With this endorsement may now be coupled the inscription near the Varâhasvâmi temple at the Seven Pagodas, first made known by Mr. F. W. Ellis in 1816 in his paper on Mirâsi Right (p. 291 of 1862 Edition), and given in full in 1844 by Sir Walter Elliot in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. XIII. (ii.) p. 36. The opening words of Sir Walter's revised translation run thus:—"In the ninth aṇḍu of Kopparakesari-varmâ, also called Udaiyar Sri-Râjendra Devar" . . . Mr. Ellis (p. 292) identified this prince with Râjendra Choḷa, the patron of the Tamil poet Kamban, and placed him, in accordance with a verse of that poet's *Râmâyaṇam* in SS. 808 or A.D. 886. Sir Walter Elliot (p. 39) similarly identifies Koppara Kesari with Rajendra Choḷa; but (p. 40) he places his accession in SŚ. 986, or A.D. 1064.

The re-adjustment of the dates of the Choḷa kings, which are at present in an exceedingly confused condition, cannot here be entered into: but, in connexion with the history of the Choḷa conquest of the Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, (the basin

of the Pâlâr and its neighbourhood,) from the Pallavas, we learn from the Varâhasvâmi inscription, that the lower basin of the Pâlâr, including Mahâmallapuram, or the Seven Pagodas, was in the possession of Koppara Keśari Varmâ in the ninth year of his reign; and from the endorsement upon the present grant, that its middle and upper basin formed part of his dominions in the twenty-sixth year of his reign.

MISCELLANEA.

SPECIMEN OF A DISCURSIVE GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN TERMS.

By H. Y. and A. C. B.

(Continued from p. 86.)

Bunow, s. and v. Hind. *banā'o*, preparation. fabrication, &c., from v. *banāna*, 'to make, prepare, fabricate,' &c. The Anglo-Indian word is applied to anything fictitious or factitious, 'a cram,' 'a shave,' a sham; or, as a verb, to the manufacture of the like. The following lines, which have been found among old papers of an officer who was at the Court of Sa'dat 'Ali at Lucknow, at the beginning of the present century, illustrate the way in which the word is used in the Hindustâni of English officers:—

"Young Grant and Ford the other day
Would fain have had some sport,
But hound or beagle none had they,
Nor aught of canine sort.
A luckless *Parry*[1] came most pat,
When Ford—'We' ve dogs enow!
Here, *Maitre*[2]—*Kawn aur Doom ko kaut,*
Juld! terrier *bunnow!*'
"So Saadut, with the like design,
(I mean, to form a pack),
To T . . . . s gave a feather fine,
And red coat to his back,
A Persian sword to clog his side,
And boots hussar *bra nyah*,
Then eyed his handiwork with pride,
Crying '*Meejir myn bunnayah!!!*'

"Appointed to be said or sung in all mosques, mutts, Tuckeahs, or Eedgahs within the Reserved Dominions."

Bungalow, s. Hind. and Mar. *banglâ*. The most usual class of house occupied by Europeans in the interior of India, being of one story, and covered with a pyramidal roof, which in the normal bungalow is of thatch, but may be of tiles without impairing its title to the name. Most of the houses of officers in Indian cantonments are of this character, and, in reference to the style of a house, *bungalow* is sometimes employed in contradiction to the (usually more pretentious) *packa* house, by which is implied a masonry house with terraced roof. A *bungalow* may also be a small building, of the type we have described but of temporary material, in a garden, on a terraced roof for sleeping, &c. &c.

The word has been naturalized by the French in the East, and by Europeans generally in Ceylon, China, and Japan.

Wilson writes the word *bânglâ*, giving it as a Bengâli word, and as probably derived from *Banga* = Bengal. This is fundamentally, though not formally, the etymology mentioned by Bishop Heber in his *Journal* (see below), and that etymology is corroborated by our first quotation, from a native historian, as well as by that from F. Buchanan. It is to be remembered that in Hindustân proper the adjective 'of or belonging to Bengal' is constantly pronounced as *banglâ*. The probability is that, when Europeans began to build houses of this character in Behâr and Upper India, these were called *Banglâ*, or 'Bengal-fashion' houses; the name was adopted by the Europeans themselves and their followers, and so brought back into Bengal itself, as well as carried to other parts of India.

A. H. 1041, A.D. 1631:—"Under the rule of the Bengâlis (*dar ahd-i-Bengâliyân*) a party of Frank merchants, who are inhabitants of Sundip, came trading to Sâtgâm. One *kos* above that place they occupied some ground on the banks of the estuary. Under the pretence that a building was necessary for their transactions in buying and selling, they erected several houses in the *Bengâlî* style."—*Bâdshâhnâma* in Elliot, vol. VII. p. 31.

1781-83:—"*Bungalows* are buildings in India generally raised on a base of brick, one, two, or three feet from the ground, and consist of only one story: the plan of them usually is, a large room in the center for an eating and sitting room, and rooms at each corner for sleeping; the whole is covered with one general thatch, which comes low to each side; the space between the angle rooms are viranders or open porticoes ..... sometimes the center viranders, at each end, are converted into rooms."—Hodges, *Travels*, &c. p. 146.

1784:—"To be let at Chinsurah ..... That large and commodious House ..... The out-build-

[1] *Pariah* dog.

[2] "*Mehtar* (sweeper), crop his ears and tail! manufacture a terrier of him!"

ings are .... a warehouse and two large bottle-connahs, 6 store-rooms, a cook-room and a garden, with a *Bungalow* near the house."—*Cal. Gazette*, April 15th, in Seton-Karr, vol. I. p. 40.

1787:—"At Barrackpore many of the *Bungalows* much damaged, though none entirely destroyed." —*Ibid.*, Nov. 8th, vol. I. p. 213.

1807:—"In the centre of the garden is a small but neat cottage (*Bungalo*) from which grass walks diverge in all directions."—Buchanan's *Mysore*, vol. III. p. 423.

Circa 1810:—"The style of private edifices that is proper and peculiar to Bengal consists of a hut with a pent roof constructed of two sloping sides which meet in a ridge forming the segment of a circle .... This kind of hut, it is said, from being peculiar to Bengal, is called by the natives *Banggolo*, a name which has been somewhat altered by Europeans, and applied by them to all their buildings in the cottage style, although none of them have the proper shape, and many of them are excellent brick houses."—Buchanan's 'Dinagepoor' (in *Eastern India*, vol. II. p. 922).

1809:—"We came to a small *bungalo*, or garden-house, at the point of the hill, from which there is, I think, the finest view I ever saw."—Maria Graham, p. 10.

Circa 1818:—"As soon as the sun is down we will go over to the Captain's *bungalow*."—Mrs. Sherwood, *Stories*, &c., ed. 1873, p. 1.

The original edition of this book contains an engraving of "The Captain's bungalow at Cawnpore," *circa* 1810-12, which shows that no material change has taken place in the character of such dwellings down to the present time.

1824:—"The house itself of Barrackpoor .... barely accommodates Lord Amherst's own family, and his aides-de-camp and visitors sleep in *bungalows* built at some little distance from it in the Park. '*Bungalow*,' a corruption of Bengalee, is the general name in this country for any structure in the cottage style and only of one floor. Some of these are spacious and comfortable dwellings."—Heber's *Journal*, Oct. 11th (vol. I. p. 33, ed. of 1844).

1872:—"L'emplacement du *bungalow* avait été choisi avec un soin tout particulier."—*Revue des Deux Mondes*, tom. xcviii. p. 930.

1875:—"The little groups of officers dispersed to their respective *bungalows*, to dress and breakfast."—*The Dilemma*, ch. i.

Bungalow, Dâk, s. A rest-house for the accommodation of travellers, especially travellers by palankeen *dâk* or post, provided by the paternal care of the Government in India. The *matériel* of the accommodation was humble enough, but comprised the things essential for a weary traveller—shelter, a bedstead and table, a bathroom and water, and on frequented roads a servant, who supplied food at very moderate charges. On principal lines of thoroughfare, such as the so-called Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to the N.W., these bungalows were at intervals of ten to fifteen miles, so that it was possible on such a road for a traveller to break his journey by daily marches without carrying a tent. On some other roads they were forty to fifty miles apart, adapted to a night's run in a palankeen.

Carnatic, np. *Karṇâṭaka* and *Kârṇâṭaka* (adj. formed from *Kârṇâṭa* or *Kârṇâṭa*—Sansk.). In native use, according to Bishop Caldwell, this word denoted the Telugu and Canarese people and their language, but in process of time became specially the appellation of the people speaking Canarese, and of their language. But no authority is given for this statement. The Muhammadans, on their arrival in Southern India, found that region, including Maisûr and part of Telingana, called the *Karṇâṭaka* country (*i.e.* the Vijayanagara kingdom), and this was identical with the *Canara* country of the older Portuguese writers (see under that word). The name Karṇâṭaka became extended, especially in connexion with the rule of the Nabobs of Arcot who partially occupied the Vijayanagara territory, and were known as Nawâbs of the Karṇâṭaka, to the country below the *Ghats* on the eastern side of the Peninsula, just as the other form *Kanara* had become extended to the country below the Western Ghats; and eventually with the English the term *Karṇâṭaka* came to be understood in a sense more or less restricted to the eastern low country, though never so absolutely as Canara has become restricted to the western low country. The term *Karṇâṭaka* is now out of use. Its derivation is generally supposed to be from *kara-nâḍu*, 'black country,' in allusion to the black cotton soil which characterizes much of the region originally so styled.

Circa A.D. 550:—In the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ* of Varâhamihira, in the enumeration of peoples and regions of the south, appears *Karnatic* in Kern's translation; the original form is not given, but is *Karṇâṭa*.—*Jour. R. As. Soc. N.S.* vol. V. p. 83.

In the later Sanskrit literature this name often occurs, *e.g.* in the *Kathasaritsâgara*, or 'Ocean for rivers of stories,' a collection of tales (in verse) of the beginning of the 12th century A.D., by Somadeva of Kaśmîr; but it is not possible to attach any very precise meaning to the word as there used.

The word also occurs in the inscriptions of the Vijayanagara dynasty, *e.g.* in one of 1400 A.D.—*Elem. of So.-Ind. Palæogr.* 2nd ed. pl. xxx.

1608:—"In the Land of *Karṇâṭa* and Vidyâna-

gara was the king Mahendra."—Târanâtha's *Hist. of Buddhism*, by Schiefner, p. 267.

Circa 1610:—"The Zamindars of Singaldip (Ceylon) and *Karnâṭak* came up with their forces and expelled Sheo Rai, the ruler of the Dakhin." —Firishta in Elliot, vol. VI. p. 549.

Circa 1660:—"The Râîs of the *Karnâṭik*, Mahrattâ (country), and Telingana, were subject to the Râî of Bidar."—*'Amal-i-Sâlih*, in Elliot, vol. VII. p. 126.

1698:—"I received this information from the Natives, that the *Canatick* Country reaches from *Gongola* to the *Zamerhin's* Country of the *Malabars* along the sea, and inland up to the Pepper Mountains of *Sunda*. . . . . . *Bedmure*, four Days' Journy hence is the Capital City."—*Fryer*, p. 162 (*A Relation of the* Canatick *Country*).

Here Fryer identifies the "Canatick" with Canara below the Ghâṭs.

So also the coast of Kanara seems meant in the following:—

Circa 1750-60:—"Though the navigation from the Carnatic coast to Bombay is of a very short run, of not above six or seven degrees."—Grose, vol. I. p. 232.

"The *Carnatic*, or province of Arcot . . . . its limits now are greatly inferior to those which bounded the ancient *Carnatic*: for the Nabobs of Arcot have never extended their authority beyond the river Gondegama to the north; the great chain of mountains to the west; and the branches of the kingdom of Trichinopoli, Tanjore, and Maissore to the south; the sea bounds it to the east."—*Ibid.* II. p. vii.

1792:—"I hope that our acquisitions by this peace will give so much additional strength and compactness to the frontier of our possessions, both in the *Carnatic*, and on the coast of Malabar as to render it extremely difficult for any power above the Ghauts to invade us."—*Lord Cornwallis's Despatch* from *Seringapatam*, in Seton-Karr, vol. II. p. 96.

1826:—"Camp near Chillumbrum (*Carnatic*), March 21st, 1826." This date of a letter of Heber's is probably one of the latest instances of the use of the term in a natural way.

In South India, especially among natives, 'Karnâṭaka fashion' is in common colloquial use to signify a rude or boorish way of doing things.

CANARA, np. Properly *Kannaḍa*. This name has long been given to that part of the west coast which lies below the Ghats, from Mount Dely north to the Goa territory; and now to the two British provinces or districts which that tract constitutes. This appropriation of the name seems to be of European origin. The name was properly synonymous with the *Karnâṭaka* (see *Carnatic*), and apparently a corruption of that word. Our quotations show that throughout the 16th century the term was applied to the country above the Ghats, sometimes to the whole kingdom of Narsinga or Vijayanagar. Gradually, and probably owing to local application at Goa, the name became appropriated to the low country on the coast between Goa and Malabar, which was subject to that kingdom, much as the name Karnâṭaka came at a later date to be misapplied on the other coast.

The *Canara* or Canarese language is spoken over a large tract above the Ghats, and as far north as Bidar (see Caldwell's *Gram.* p. 33). It is only one of several languages spoken in the British district of Kanara, and in only a small part, viz. near Kunḍâpûr. Tuḷu is the chief language in the southern district.

1516:—"Beyond this river commences the kingdom of Narsinga, which contains five very large provinces, with each a language of its own. The first, which stretches along the coast to Malabar, is called Tulinate (*i. e.* Tuḷu-nâḍu, or the modern province of South Canara); another lies in the interior . . . . .; another has the name of Telingu, which confines with the kingdom of Orisa; another is *Canari*, in which is the great city of Bisnaga; and then the kingdom of Charamendel, the language of which is Tamul."—*Barbosa.*[3]

1520:—"The last kingdom of the First India is called the Province *Canarim*; it is bordered on one side by the kingdom of Goa and by Anjadiva, and on the other side by Middle India, or Malabar. In the interior is the king of Narsinga, who is chief of this country. The speech of those of *Canarim* is different from that of the kingdom of the Decan and of Goa."—Portuguese *Summary of Eastern Kingdoms*, in Ramusio, vol. I. f. 330.

1552:—"The third province is called *Canará*, also in the interior (*Castanheda*, vol. II. p. 50), and as applied to the language."

1552:—"The language of the Gentoos (or pagans) is *Canará*."—*Ibid.* p. 78.

1552:—"The whole coast that we speak of, back to the Ghat (*Gate*) mountain range . . . . . they call Concan, and the people properly Concanese (*Conquenijs*), though our people call them *Canarese* (Canarijs)" . . .—De Barros, *Dec.* I. liv. IX. cap. i.

1552:—"And as from the Ghats to the sea on the west of the Decan all that strip is called Concan, so from the Ghats to the sea on the west of *Canará*, always excepting that stretch of 46 leagues of which we have spoken [north of Mount Deli]

[3] The passage is exceedingly corrupt. This version, imperfect as it is, is made up from three, viz. Stanley's English (p. 79); the Portuguese of the Lisbon Academy p. 291; and Ramusio's Italian (vol. I. *f.* 299, *v.*).

which belongs to the same *Canará*, the strip which stretches to Cape Comorin . . . . . is called Malabar."—*Ibid.*

1552:—" . . . . the kingdom of *Canará*, which extends from the river called Gate, north of Chaul, to Cape Comorin (so far as concerns the interior region east of the Ghats) . . . . and which in the east marches with the kingdom of Orisa; and the Gentoo kings of this great Province of Canará were those from whom sprung the present kings of Bisnaga."—*Id., Dec.* II. liv. v. cap. ii.

1598:—"The land itselfe is called Decam, and also *Canara.*"—Linschoten, p. 49.

1614:—"Its proper name is *Charnathacà*, which from corruption to corruption has come to be called *Canara.*"—Couto, *Dec.* VI. liv. v. ch. v.

In the following quotations the name is applied either inclusively or exclusively to the territory which we now call Canara:—

1615:—"*Canara.* Thence to the Kingdome of the *Canarrins*, which is but a little one, and 5 dayes iourney from *Damans.* They are tall of stature, idle, for the most part, and therefore the greater theeues."—De Monfart, p. 23.

1623:—"Having found a good opportunity such as I desired of getting out of Goa, and penetrating further in India, that is more to the South, to *Canara.*"—P. della Valle, vol. II. p. 601.

1672:—"The strip of land *Canara*, the inhabitants of which are called *Canarins*, is fruitful in rice and other foodstuffs."—Baldæus, p. 98.

There is a good map in this work which shows 'Canara' in the modern acceptation of the term.

1672:—"*Description* of Canara, and *Journey to Goa.*—This kingdom is one of the finest in India, all plain country near the sea, and even among the mountains all peopled."—P. Vincenzo Maria, p. 420.

Here the title seems to be applied in the modern manner, but the same author (p. 221) applies *Canara* to the whole kingdom of Bisnagar.

1727:—"This Country of *Canara* is generally governed by a Lady, who keeps her Court at a Town called *Baydour*, two Days Journey from the Sea."—A. Hamilton, vol. I. p. 280.

CHEETA, s., Hind. *Chîtâ.* The *Felis jubata*, or Hunting Leopard, so called from its being commonly trained to use in the chase. From Sansk. *chitra*, 'spotted.'

1563:—" . . . . . *Chita*, or, as we should say, Ounce."—Garcia de Orta, *Colloq.* f. 36.

1625:—Hawkins in Purchas (vol. I. p. 218) at Akbar's Court calls the Cheetas "ounces for game."

1862:—"The true *Cheetah*, the hunting leopard of India, does not exist in Ceylon."—Tennent's *Ceylon*, vol. I. p. 140.

It has been ingeniously suggested by Mr. Aldis Wright that the word *cheater*, as used by Shakspere in the following passage, refers to this animal:—

"*Falstaff.* He's no Swaggerer, Hostess; a tame *Cheater* i' faith; you may stroke him gently as a puppy Greyhound; he'll not swagger."—2nd. Pt. *King Henry IV.*, Act II. Sc. 4.

The interpretation would rather perhaps derive corroboration from a parallel passage in Beaumont and Fletcher:—

——"if you give any credit to this juggling rascal, you are worse than simple widgeons, and will be drawn into the net by this decoy-duck, this tame *Cheater.*"—*The Fair Maid of the Inn*, Act IV. Sc. 2.

But we have not been able to trace any source from which there is the least probability that Shakspere could have derived the name of the animal, to say nothing of the familiar use of it in Falstaff's mouth.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

ABHORRENCE OF THE COW.—In the Asam Hills and in Dârdistân we come upon tribes who positively abhor the cow: it would be interesting to trace how far this prevails, and the causes.

CRETINS.—In the neighbourhood of Lahor, at a place called Pul Shâh Daulah, over the Deg Nadi, are collected a number of idiots, deposited by their parents, and carried about by Muhammadans as a means of collecting alms: their facial appearance is that of a rat, and they are called Chuhar Shâh Daulah. An audacious Frenchman exhibited two in Paris in 1856, and called them Azteks of Central America. Can we get further information of this particular colony, and similar colonies in other parts of India?—R. CUST, *Lib. R. As. Soc.*

AN ACCOUNT OF SHAH DAWLA'S CHÛHÂS.

Abstracted from the Vernacular Settlement Report of Gujarât by Mirza Azam Beg.[1]

The shrine of Shah Dawlat is one of the most famous of the Panjâb. This saint lived in Gujarât, which is called after his name Gujrat-i-Shah Dawlat. His tomb, built of masonry, lies 50 yards east of the town. Round it is an enclosure called Garhi Shah Dawlat, in which the attendants of the shrine live. The man was an Afghan by descent, though the Gujars claim him as of their

[1] Communicated by direction of His Honour the Governor of the Panjâb.

kin. He is said to have belonged to the Lodi family of Dehli. Of his own free will he turned an ascetic, and became a saint. He was fond of building useful works, especially bridges, wells and tanks. Bridges called by his name exist still on the Lahor road, and a large one is in front of the eastern gate of the city. The ruins of a mosque and tank built by him lie on the same side, and the shrine of Imam Ali Hak at Syalkoṭ is also said to be his work. A special miracle is ascribed to him. It is said that the first child of any woman who asks him to pray for a child for her is born an idiot with a small head and long ears. Such children are offered to the shrine by their parents. They can only eat and lie: they are complete idiots. The custom of offering these children still prevails. They are called "Shah Dawlat's rats," and one or two are presented every year. A return of those presented between 1857 and 1866 shews that 14 boys and 3 girls were brought to the shrine in that period. The Faqirs of the shrine trade on them, taking them to different towns, and collecting alms by exhibiting them. The ignorant people of the country consider them supernatural beings. In 1866 there were nine of these unhappy beings at the shrine. The Shah died in 1074 Hijri, having lived in the reigns of Akbar and Jehângir. The shrine was built by his son. On every Thursday are gatherings there, and a fair takes place annually.

W. O. Fanshawe.

Professor Dr. H. Schaaffhausen, President of the Anthropological Society, Bonn, Rhennish Prussia, has recently sent me the following questions, in answering which I would ask the aid of contributors who may possess information on the subjects in which Dr. Schaaffhausen is interested:—

I. Do any of the Indian tribes contract, elongate, or otherwise deform the heads of their children?

II. Have any elongated or small skulls (Mikrocephalen) been found in India as in the tumuli of the Crimea, Peru, Germany, France, &c.?

III. Are imbecile persons, or those with small heads (Mikrocephalen) regarded as holy in any part of India?

IV. Is any green-stone, Nephrite, (*Fadeit brile*) met with in India, and for what purpose is it used?

V. Is the Hammer (*Thorhammer*) or Axe venerated anywhere in India?

VI. Have any representations been found on any of the old sculptures of fire being obtained by wood-friction, and do any of the wild tribes in India employ this means in the present day?

I have attempted to answer these questions as far as my information will permit me as follows:—

Taking Queries I., II. and III. together—

An Officer who had been in the Panjâb, informed me that he had seen there a half-witted creature, with an extraordinarily small head, who went about as a *Faqir*, and was treated as a privileged person. My informant heard a legend that the heads of children were sometimes purposely deformed in this manner, the growth of the skull being restricted in infancy by a clay covering. I have been unable as yet to obtain any confirmation of the statement.

If the skull is deformed by the parents during the infancy of the child, the intention would seem to be to render it an object of superstitious wonder!

As regards imbeciles being venerated, afflicted persons in India are invariably treated with great consideration, and I have been astonished sometimes to notice the patience with which villagers will tolerate a troublesome beggar, if he is blind or half-witted.

IV. Nephrite is, I believe, a species of Jade, and is sometimes called Serpentine. In India it is used freely in ornamentation. Dr. G. Birdwood, C.S.I., in his interesting volume on the Paris Exhibition, thus refers to its use in India:—

"The old Delhi work in cut and gem-encrusted Jade is priceless. The Chinese had cut Jade for ages, but never ornamented it, except by sculpture; but when it was introduced into India the native jewellers, with their quick eye for colour, at once saw what a perfect ground it afforded for mounting precious stones, and they were the first to encrust them on Jade. The Indian Museum possesses the choicest, grandest specimens of this work known, of the best Mogol period. They were exhibited at the Paris Exhibition of 1867."

If I am correct in the view that Nephrite and Jade are the same, then recently at Fatehgarh I came upon an instance of this stone being sold as a medicine. The jeweller from whom I bought a small quantity of jade as a specimen, told me it was very efficacious for those who suffered from pain in the head, and whose intellect was out of order! I have heard the word Nephrite explained as indicating the cure affected by this stone in disease of the kidneys. And others have explained the derivation by saying that the stone is sometimes found in nodules in the shape of kidneys. This latter view is, however, I believe incorrect.

As regards the use of the stone as medicine, Mr. Cockburn, of the Calcutta Museum, informed me that, when in Asam, he had seen a Jade axe, shaped

as the stone celts of Europe, which had been scraped, and the powder thus obtained used as medicine. I believe that some similar superstition regarding the efficacy of Jade stone or serpentine as a cure for impotency is supposed to have once existed in Europe.

Jade "celt" or stone axes are found in the old tumuli, and at the village of Carnac in Brittany (celebrated for its "stone-henge"),* I saw some such stone axes which had been dug out of the so-called Celtic remains there, and which were held by the local savants to indicate the eastern origin of the bodies buried there.

V. Stone celts which are found in the Banda districts, in Jabalpur and in other parts of India are often worshipped, as Lingas (Śiva's emblem), and perhaps this accounts for the stone being called serpentine—the serpent and Ling being synonymous? Mr. H. P. LeMessurier, C.S.I., Mr. J. J. Carey, C.E., and many others have found these celts set upright under trees. They are generally daubed with red paint, and thus deified, and worshipped as the *Linga.* I made over a considerable collection of Indian celts to Mr. Franks, F.R.S., of the British Museum.

These Celts resemble somewhat in shape the Linga stone found piled up as offerings at Śiva shrines, and so far as I can make out an oval stone equally with the "column" is considered to represent the "*Mahadéva.*"

Râja Śiva Prasâd, C.S.I., of Banâras, told me recently that meteoric stones are worshipped as the Linga. It is readily to be understood that the people would regard such a stone with superstitious awe, and that the same feeling would lead them to set up as a Mahadeva, under a tree, the queer-looking, polished 'celts' which the plough sometimes turns up in their fields.

VI. All the carvings found in India are of a comparatively late date. And where stone was carved the use of the flint and steel would be known. At Bhilsa the "Dasyus" are shown using the axe bound on to the handle, and a superior tribe might, in their sculpturings, show the wild habits of the aborigines. But, I imagine, the use of flint and steel must have been known in India long prior to any date of which we have a record. It may be noted that the lucifer match has found its way now into even very remote villages.

H. Rivett-Carnac.

17th March 1879.

BOOK NOTICE.

Buddhism: being a Sketch of the Life and Teachings of Gautama, the Buddha. By T. W. Rhys Davids, of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-law, and late of the Ceylon Civil Service. London, 1878.

"Knowledge shall be increased" wrote one, who, living in the time of Gautama's boyhood, looked onward through a vista of many centuries to the "time of the end." The last few years have witnessed a wondrous fulfilment of the prediction; and we venture to affirm that at no previous time in our era was there such a thirst for knowledge, or did such facilities exist for acquiring it. Subjects which until now were deemed too deep or too uninteresting for any but the scholar or the specialist, find eager readers amongst all classes; and stranger still, we find some of the best scholars of the day engaged in writing *popular treatises* on every branch of science, in order to satisfy this demand. The volume before us is one of a series published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge under the title of "Non-Christian Religious Systems."

The subject, deeply interesting, but by no means easy, has been very judiciously handled by its able expositor. The chapter on the ontology of Buddhism is especially good, and includes a lucid statement of the doctrine of Nirwâna. Mr. Rhys Davids defines it, not as the extinction of existence, but as "*the extinction of that sinful, grasping condition of mind and heart, which would otherwise, according to the great mystery of Karma, be the cause of renewed individual existence.*" In other words, it is the state attained to *in this life* by the Arhat, and results, at death, in *Parinirwâṇa* or complete annihilation of existence.

The late Professor Childers maintained that the word Nirwâṇa was itself used in both these senses. He says, "a great number of expressions are used with reference to Nirwâṇa, which leave no room to doubt that it is the absolute extinction of being, the annihilation of the individual"; but his verdict was that "the word is used to designate two different things; the state of blissful sanctification called Arhatship, and the annihilation of existence in which Arhatship ends." So, too, Professor Max Müller. When that scholar wrote his review of M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire's *Le Bouddha et sa Religion,* he understood Nirwâṇa to mean "a total extinction of being, personality, and consciousness"; but he afterwards acknowledged that in the various passages of the Dhammapada where the word occurs, "there is not one which would require that its meaning should be annihilation, while most, if not all, would become perfectly unintelligible" if that

signification were assigned. As a means, however, of avoiding ambiguity, Mr. Rhys Davids' method of using the two words to express the two distinct things is commendable: and the Piṭakas, so far as they have been explored, warrant such usage.

It is interesting to note how exactly the Buddhist *Arhat* corresponds with the *Jîvanmukta* of the Vedânta; and his must be an extraordinarily subtle intellect that can discern any appreciable difference between the final goal of the two, between the Buddhistic *parinirwâṇa* and the Brahmanic *mukti*. To him who sees a superiority in the latter state we commend the following words of an eminent scholar :—"The absolute state of the soul thus liberated is nowhere clearly defined; it ceases to transmigrate; it loses all bodily individuality; it loses all spiritual individuality; as whether, with the Vedânta, we consider it to be re-united with, or absorbed into, the Supreme Spirit, or whether, with the Sânkhyas, we hold it to be commingled with the spiritual element of the universe, *individual spirit ceases to exist. Annihilation, then, as regards individuals, is as much the destiny of the soul as it is of the body, and 'Not to be' is the melancholy result of the religion and philosophy of the Hindus.*"[1]

Before leaving this part of the subject it may be well to notice a curious statement at the foot of page 31, to the effect that the Pâli word *Nibbuta* (Sk. *nirvṛita*) "is derived from the same word as *Nibbâna*, in Sanskrit Nirvâna"! In the Pâli Dictionary, s. v. *parinibbuto* we read: "This word is regularly used as the p. p. p. of *parinibbâyati*, partly from a confusion between the roots वा and वृ, and partly no doubt to reserve the form *parinibbâna* exclusively for the noun." That is, the past participle of *nirwâ* having been appropriated to another purpose, the corresponding participle of another verb has to be used to express the participial meaning; but to assert calmly that *nibbuta* or *parinibbuta* is actually "derived from the same word" as *nibbâna* or *parinibbâna* is as ridiculous as it is unscholarly.

Buddhist chronology has hitherto been almost entirely drawn from three sources, namely, from Greek authors, from data furnished by the recorded travels of Buddhist pilgrims from China, and from the Ceylon Chronicle entitled Mahâwanso, which was compiled in the fifth century of our era. The date assigned by the Chronicle to Buddha's death is B.C. 543, but this is accepted by very few scholars. It has been recently shown however by Dr. Bühler that some at any rate of its most important dates are trustworthy. Many years ago, Professor Max Müller and General Cunningham, working independently and from different data, proposed the year B.C. 477-78 as the more probable date of the nirwâṇa; and the discovery by the latter in 1876, of three new edicts of Aśoka's, has wonderfully confirmed their view.[2]

Professor Kern, on the other hand, assigns that event to the year B.C. 380;[3] whilst Mr. Rhys Davids, for reasons not given in the work under review, differing from all the above, prefers the year 412 B.C. Unfortunately he is not quite consistent; for on page 86, he tells us that the Council of Aśoka was held at Patna "about 250 B.C., that is to say at least 130 years after the death of the teacher,"—which would bring the latter event down to Professor Kern's date; and then, on page 234, we read that the Pitakas were first reduced to writing "about 160 years after the council of Patna, and 330 years after the death of Gautama," instead of 290 according to his former computation.

At the end of the third chapter of the book which finishes the sketch of the Buddha's life, Mr. Rhys Davids denounces the not uncommon view that that reformer's system was opposed to Brahmanism. He declares that Gautama was quite unconscious of any such opposition, and "lived and died a Hindu"; nay, that "he was the greatest, wisest, and best of the Hindus," and that the growth of Buddhism, "so far from showing how depraved and oppressive Hinduism was, shows precisely the contrary; for none will deny that there is much that is beautiful and noble in Buddhism, and Buddhism was the child, the product of Hinduism."

But let us hear another well-known scholar as to the condition of Hinduism in Buddha's time. He writes :—"The system of the Brahmans had run its course. The ascendancy, at first purely intellectual and religious, had gradually assumed a political character. By means of the system of caste this influence pervaded the whole social fabric, not as a vivifying leaven, but as a deadly poison. . . . . It was impossible for anybody to move or to assert his freedom of thought and action without finding himself impeded on all sides by the web of the Brahmanic law; nor was there anything in their religion to satisfy the natural yearnings of the human heart after spiritual comfort."[4] Again,—"It was impossible to avoid sin without the help of the Brahmans. They alone knew the food that might properly be eaten, the air which might properly be breathed, the dress which might properly be worn. They

[1] H. H. Wilson's *Works*, ii. 113.

[2] Vide *Ind. Antiq.* vol. VI. p. 149 vol. VII. p. 141, and Max Müller's *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion*, p. 134.

[3] *Ind. Antiq.* vol. III. p. 79.

[4] *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. I. p. 224.

alone could tell what god should be invoked, what sacrifice be offered; and the slightest mistake of pronunciation, the slightest neglect about clarified butter, or the length of the ladle in which it was to be offered, might bring destruction upon the head of the unassisted worshipper. No nation was ever so completely priestridden as the Hindus under the sway of the Brahmanic law."[5]

Now to speak of Buddhism as "the product" of such a system as this is absurd. Brahmanism gave rise indeed to Buddhism, as Romanism did to Protestantism; but it arose as a reaction from "a degrading thraldom and from priestly tyranny."

And what was the attitude of "the greatest, wisest, and best of the Hindus" towards the creed of his ancestors? The scholar already quoted tells us that "he threw away the whole ceremonial with its sacrifices, superstitions, penances, and castes, as worthless!"[6]

And what is Mr. Rhys Davids' own account of Gautama's system? He describes it as a system of "salvation merely by self-control and love, *without any of the rites, any of the ceremonies, any of the charms, any of the priestly powers, any of the gods* in which men love to trust" (p. 41),—as "a religion which ignores the existence of God, and *denies the existence of the soul*" (p. 150); and tells us that "*it struck off the manacles of caste*" (p. 151). Will anybody who knows India venture to deny that this was a complete *revolution?* And to assert that the prime mover in it "lived and died a Hindu" is as contrary to fact and common sense as it would be to allege that Luther lived and died a Romanist.

Mr. Rhys Davids remarks (on page 151) that "beliefs very inconsistent with the practical creed of the masses met with little opposition if they were taught only in schools of philosophy," and adds that it was Gautama's "society rather than his doctrine—the Sangha rather than the Dharma.... which excited the hostility of the Brahmans," and so led to its ultimate expulsion from the country. But we demur to this. Remarking on the Hindu schools of philosophy, Professor Wilson wrote:—"These, although some of them offer irreconcilable contradiction to essential doctrines of their religious belief, are recognized by the Brahmans as orthodox... There are other schools, as those of the Chârvâkas, Buddhists, and Jains, which although in some respects not more at variance with received opinion than the preceding, are stigmatised with the reproach of infidelity and atheism. The cause of this difference is sufficiently obvious.... The orthodox schools of philosophy *do not disparage the authority of the Vedas, they do not dissuade the celebration of the acts of formal devotion*...... Again, the writings of the orthodox philosophers *meddle not with existing institutions*; and least of all do they urge or insinuate any consideration to detract from the veneration, *or trespass upon the privileges, of the Brahmans.*"[7] Now, from its very earliest institution by Gautama himself, Buddhism, in entirely ignoring the Vedas, caste, sacrifices, priests, rites, ceremonies, and gods, must have been most obnoxious to the Brahmans, and have been more and more dreaded by them as the number of its adherents increased; and this, and this alone, brought about its final overthrow in India.

Mr. Rhys Davids depicts very clearly the abhorrence felt by Gautama of a belief in anything like *soul.* Indeed the very first sin to be got rid of by a Sotâpanna was that denominated "sakkâya-diṭṭhi," or "the delusion of self"—and the doctrine of the transmigration of *soul* was changed by him to that of the transmigration of *karma* (*i. e.* of the aggregate of a man's merit and demerit). In view of this fact, it is curious that the author of the *Vedântasâra* should have brought two Buddhists forward for censure for believing 'intelligence' (*buddhi*) and 'nihility' (*śûnya*) to be soul. In his short description of their tenets, Colebrooke too says—"the Bauddhas do not recognize a fifth element, *âkâśa,* nor any substance so designated; nor soul (*jîva* or *âtman*) distinct from intelligence (*chitta*)." Now *chitta* is said to be identical with the fifth *skandha*; and it is "repeatedly and distinctly laid down in the Pitakas that none of these skandhas or divisions of the qualities of sentient beings is soul" (p. 93); so that not only did the Buddhists not recognize a soul distinct from intelligence, but they equally denied that there was one identical with intelligence. In a discourse addressed to a person named Sona, Buddha spoke on this point as follows:—"If there be any organized form, sensation, perception, thought or consciousness, past, future or present, internal or external, great or small, remote or proximate, of it all it should be clearly and distinctly known, This is not mine, I am not it, it is not to me a soul."[8]

But here we must stop. To those whose lot is cast in India—a country which "has been and is profoundly influenced by the results of the rise and fall within it of the Buddhist Church"—we commend this work, which, in spite of some blemishes, is really valuable, and is probably the best manual now available for the general reader.

G. A. J.

[5] *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. I. p. 245.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 247.

[7] *Works*, II. 88.
[8] Hardy's *Legends and Theories of the Buddhists*, p. 240.

NOTES ON THE SEACOAST OF SAURÂSHṬRÂ, WITH A FEW REMARKS ON THE EXTENT OF THE CHUḌÂSAMÂ RULE.

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It is usually considered that Saurâshṭrâ was conquered by Mahmûd Begadhâ; although other Gujarât Sulṭâns, notably Âḥmad Shâh and Mûzafar Shâh I., had made incursions therein, and though it is admitted that Ulugh Khân, in the reign of Sulṭân Alâu'd-dîn Khiljî, conquered Gujarât; it is usually assumed that his conquest was by no means a thorough one, and that it did not extend to Saurâshṭrâ. And that though Sulṭân Muhammad Tughlik made an expedition to Gujarât, and also visited the peninsula, that he departed without effecting any permanent conquest. During all this period, it is assumed that the Chuḍâsamâs of Junâgaḍh ruled over the whole peninsula; and that it was only on the conquest of Junâgaḍh by Mahmûd Begadhâ, that the Muhammadan power was first established therein. But this view will, I think, appear untenable, when the following facts and inscriptions are considered.

The entire coast of Saurâshṭrâ appears to have been populous and cultivated from the earliest times, but this belt of civilization extended but a few miles inland, and the whole centre of the peninsula appears to have been covered with the densest forest. All history and tradition now procurable are unanimous on this point. In fact, the only towns in the central portion appear to have been Junâgaḍh, Wanthali, Valabhi, Wadhwân, and perhaps Thân and Jasdan, and of these, Wadhwân and Valabhi would come within the civilization belt, for as in those days the Gulfs of Kachh and Kambay were probably more or less united, both these towns would come within the eastern border.

In later times there is no doubt whatever, but that all of Jhâlâwâḍ and part of the Panchâl, was under the direct control of the Anhilwâḍâ kings; and it will also, I think, be found, that during these times the whole of the sea coast was governed by chiefs other than the Chûḍâsamâs; and probably owing them no allegiance, afterwards, in the latter end of the twelfth, and certainly in the thirteenth century (Saṁvat) a wave of Kâṭhis appears to have occupied the Gir Forest; probably in subordination to the Chuḍâsamâs, but just as probably independent of their control, and the Gohels shortly afterwards entered the eastern and south-eastern divisions of the peninsula. When therefore we deduct from the Chuḍâsamâ rule these large portions of the province, we find their domain considerably curtailed, and allowance being made for the forest, utterly insignificant. Still this dense forest, and the entire absence of roads, together with the natural advantages of Girnâr and the Uparkot, made the fortress formidable even to powerful sovereigns.

With regard to the races who have ruled in the civilized belt above mentioned, they are as follows. In ancient times, Châvaḍâs, Wâlâs, Jeṭhwâs, and Wâjâs. Next, the Muhammadans; and in modern times, Gohels and Jâḍejâs. The Châvaḍâs certainly ruled the southern shore of the gulf of Kachh, including Dwârkâ; Bet, then called Śaṅkhodwâra, being one of their chief seats. And we find traces of them both at Miâni (now under Porbandar); and at Somanâth, which was no doubt ruled by them, and also Div.

The Châvaḍâs were dispossessed of their country by the Râthoḍs, in about the latter end of the 12th or early in the 13th century A.D. These last splitting up into the Dwârkâ branch or Wâdhels, and the Pâtan-Somanâth, Vejalkoṭ, and other branches, known as Wâjâs. Of these we have somewhat fuller accounts than of the Châvaḍâs, and they appear to have ruled also at Ûnâ, at Ûnchâ Kotḍâ, and at Jhânjhmêr; and to have been, like their predecessors, much addicted to piracy.

The Wâlâs ruled the south-east portion of the coast belt, from a point north of Walâ to as far as Jâfarâbâd on the south-west. All this strip was called Wâlâk, though now but an insignificant portion is known by that name.

The invasion of Sulṭân Mahmûd Ghaznavi doubtless fell upon the Châvaḍâs, and it is probable that they were still ruling at Somanâth Pâtan, at Ulugh Khân's conquest. But, shortly after this, they were superseded by the Wâjâs; who were speedily reduced to a subordinate position by the Muhammadan governors, who appear to have permanently occupied the

strip of country called Nâghor, stretching, roughly speaking, from Chorwâḍ, to the vicinity of Jâfarâbâd.

My own impression is, that Sulṭân Mahmûd Ghaznavi, besides converting a number of Hindus, left a governor and force of Musalmâns, in Pâtan Somanâth, on his departure to Ghazni, and that though, in progress of time, this element was reduced to insignificance, it was never completely effaced. If this were not so, what is the meaning of the celebrated inscription at Verâwal, dated Saṁvaṯ 1320, in which Muhammadans are distinctly mentioned, together with the local Châvaḍâ rulers, as great authorities at that place. For this is previous to Ulugh Khân's conquest. Ulugh Khân's expedition appears to have been directed against this belt (Nâgher), and not against Junâgaḍh; probably because the one was rich and populous; while the other presented numerous difficulties with no corresponding advantages. I hold this conquest to have been much more thorough than is usually supposed; though even after this, the Hindu element again seems to have got the upper hand at Somanâth Pâṭan, but not I think in the remaining portion of the Nâgher belt, where Muhammadan rule was now becoming more or less settled. This is, I think, clear from the inscription below, which occurs in the shrine of Hazrat Sayyi Shâh Kâdari at Unâ, and which is dated so far back as A. H. 760 (A.D. 1358) during the reign of Firuz Tughlik. The shrine occupies a prominent place in the citadel of Ûnâ, which was clearly at that time in the possession of the Muhammadans. The inscription is as follows :—

هو العلام

بعهد دولت فرخندهٔ شهید عصر جلاء کان فلک منزلت سلیمان جاه
ابوالمظفر فیروز شاه جمله مکین جهان پناه دخل بارگاه ظل الله
بملک او همیشه بعافیت خیر شد مامور ملک تا غیر اهل دین بدو راه
بجهاد زمرهٔ روزسال هفت صد وشصت بدان بهشت زیارت کرد بندهٔ درگاه
محمد اسم لقب تامثبت آن عهد خطاب بنده ظفرخان ظفر حضرت شاه
امیدوارم بندهٔ درگاه مدام بنا کرد بتوفیق این عهد شاه

آمین رب العالمین

Kâzi Aḥmad of Delwârâ considers that there are mistakes in this inscription, though he admits that it is thus in the original, and has given me a copy corrected according to his views. But though he may very possibly be correct, I have preferred the original, which may be roughly rendered thus :—

He is all-knowing.

In the happy time of the martyr of the age, who made the heaven resplendent and was of rank as exalted as Solomon.

Abû'l Muzaffar Firoz Shâh being firmly established everywhere (as king).

A protector of the world and admitted to the court of the shadow of God.

His country was always prosperously ruled and populous.

His mode of rule lasted till other times, and religious people followed in his path.

(*One of*) the band who fell in the religious war on the date A. H. 760.[1]

With those (*martyrs*), this slave of God also accomplished the pilgrimage to Paradise.

Muhammad was his name and his appellation, while his time lasted.

Zafar Khân gave him the title of Zafar Hazrat Shâh.

I am always expecting a blessing as a servant of this shrine.

This shrine of the Shâh, he built by the grace of God in this time.

Amen oh Lord of the Worlds !

This inscription shows clearly that in A. D. 1358, not only was the Muhammadan power established in Ûnâ, but that this belt of country was subject to the Emperor Firoz Tughlik. The Zafar Khân mentioned in the inscription, was the viceroy of that name, specially appointed by this emperor.[2]

The next inscription is perhaps even more interesting, as being bilingual, though the dates are very puzzling. It seems to have had originally

[1] A. D. 1358.

[2] See Elliot and Dowson's *Hist. of India*, vol. iii. pp. 308, 310, 329.—ED.

words inscribed round the border, for I can make out Malik Śri Asad in the Devanâgari letters at the top. The singular thing is that the Persian inscription says that Malik Muhammad was the builder of the mosque or fort, while the Devanâgari says that his son Malik Asad built it. The inscription is now on the left-hand side on entering the Darbârgaḍh of Pushnâvarâ. The Persian would lead one to think that a mosque or musâffar khânah had been built, while the Gujarâti rather points to repairs of the fort. Some words of the Gujarâti are doubtful, but the Persian is very clear. The date is evidently Sur-San and not A. H., though even then it is difficult to make the dates in the Persian and Gujarâti respectively correspond within a year or two.

Pushnâvarâ is situated in Nâgher, about 8 miles E.S.E. of Pâṭan Somanâth, and this inscription clearly shows that a Muhammadan governor resided at Pâṭan, and that Pûshnâvara was subject to him, and that the sovereign of this belt of country was Sulṭân Kutbu'd-dîn of Gujarât; though previous to the conquest of Junâgaḍh by his successor Sulṭân Mahmûd Begadha. The inscription runs thus:—

بسم الله الرّحمٰن الرحيم
بنا كرد اين خانه ملک محمد ولد مبارک عزت عالي نمود
در عهد السلطان قطب الدين بن محمد شاه السلطان
بتاريخ يازدهم ماه ربيع الاول ثمان مأ اين و ستين فلله الكريم
باز لنا عالم العلام

संवत १९१४ वर्षे श्रावणवदि २ रवौ सुलतान श्रीकतबदीन विजिराजे श्रीदेवपतना सुलतान[3] पल्हीमलिक श्रीःमुबारक पूत्र मलिक श्रीमहंमदपुत मलिक श्रीअसदः॥ किरियाते[3] वजेपक्षावद्धकोटग्नह पन्यात। अमारतिसाहाण्डसरखीलकबीराशिला सूत्र घीष्णापूत्र सूरापूत्र प्रुलापूत्र वस्तापूत्र सूयमहंपूत्र सलकायकासुत सारंगदेलख्यति ॥ सवत १९१४ वर्षे माहवदि ९ रिवौ लिख्यतः ॥

It may be roughly translated as follows:—

In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful.

This building was erected by Malik Muhammad, son of Malik Mubârak, who thereby acquired great fame, in the reign of Sulṭân Kûtbu'd-dîn, son of Sulṭân Muhammad Shâh, on the eleventh day of the month of Rabiu'l-Awwal of the year 860 for the sake of God the dispenser of favours. He the all-knowing, the all-wise, impelled me to do this.

Saṁvat 1514 Śrâvaṇ vadi, 2nd, Sunday. In the victorious reign of Sulṭân Śri Kûtbu'd-dîn. Malik Śri Asad, son of Malik Śri Muhammad, son of Malik Śri Mubârak of Dêva Pâtan, constructed anew? the fort of Pasnâwadar, a building of great strength.[4] This was inscribed on Sunday Mâha vadi, 8th, Samvat 1514, by Sârang De, son of Salkâika, son of Suya Mahan, son of Wastâ, son of Prulâ, son of Sûrâ, son of Ghishmâ, son of Lakbir the stonemason.

The Gujarâti inscription purports to have been engraved in Mâha, a month which precedes Śrâvaṇa in the ordinary Gujarâti computation, hence I am inclined to think that either the Hâlâri Saṁvat is here intended, which commences in Âshâḍha; or the year usually used in inscriptions and the calculations of Śâstris, which commences in Chaitra; either of these Samvats would fulfil the required condition, viz., "that Śrâvaṇa should precede Mâha."

The omission of Malik Asad's name from the Persian may possibly have been explained in the border, of which the words Malik Śri Asad, in Devanâgari characters, are plainly legible in the left-hand corner over the Persian.

In later times, *i. e.* after Sulṭân Mahmûd Begaḍhâ's conquest of Junâgaḍh, Muhammadan *thânahs* spread throughout the seacoast belt in all directions, as well as elsewhere in the interior. Unâ-Delwârâ are full of memories of the great noble **Malik Eiâz**, governor of the peninsula, in the latter part of the reign of Sulṭân Mahmûd Begaḍhâ, and throughout the

[3] Doubtful.

[4] Literally, "like a bull," a local idiom for a large or strong building.

reign of his successor Sultân Muzaffar Halim. The pomp and state of this noble during his expedition, in the latter sovereign's reign, against the Râṇâ of Udayapur, are described in glowing terms in the *Mirat-i-Sikandri*. His grave is pointed out at Ûnâ in the enclosure of Sayyid Shâh's mausoleum; and as he died in disgrace, there seems no reason to doubt that this humble tomb, not even surmounted by a dome, may cover the remains of one of the most celebrated of the local governors of the peninsula. Though the chief seat of Malik Eiâz's rule was at Div, where he commanded the navy of Gujarât, Ûnâ appears to have been a favourite residence of his, and his name is mentioned in the Sanskrit inscription at the Ûnâ tank. In this inscription, Ûnâ is described as Û n a t d û r g (the lofty fortress).

I am myself of opinion that the modern town of Ûnâ is really the ancient Delwârâ; and that the old Ûnâ was on a neighbouring eminence, and is now waste. This appears from the fact that the modern Delwârâ is called Nawânagar or the new city, in the *Mirat-i-Aḥmadi;* and from an inscription on one of the kettledrums of the shrine of Hazrat Shâh at Ûnâ. The inscription says that the kettledrum was presented to the shrine of Hazrat Shâh, (but it is now in the shrine of Sayyid Shâh). The inscription runs thus:—

این نقاره بتحفه روضه متبرکه حضرت شاه شمس الدین بن سید احمد
نواب میران سید علي ولد نواب سیادت پناه سید قاسم گذرانیده
تحریر في التاریخ ۲ ذالقعده سنه ۱۰۰۵ مقام قصبهٔ دیلواره واقع است

"Nawâb Mirân Sayyid 'Ali, son of Nawâb Syâdan Panah Sayyid Kâsim, presented this kettledrum as a gift to the blessed shrine of Hazrat Shâh Shamsu'd-dîn bin Sayyid Aḥmad. This inscription was engraved on the 6th of the month of Zilkâd A. H. 1005. It is situated in the town of Delwârâ."

This kettledrum, as above mentioned, is now in the shrine of Sayyid Shâh, just outside the present town of Ûnâ, while the shrine of Hazrat Shâh is in the very citadel of Ûnâ. This inclines me to think that the present town of Ûnâ was, even so late as Akbar's time, called Delwârâ; and that the ancient Ûnâ or Û n a t d û r g close by, is now waste. It was probably abandoned after the slaughter and expulsion of the Brâhman Kings of Ûnâ, by the Wâj â Chieftain of Vejalkoṭ, (now a ruined fort in the Gir forest) in about the 13th century A.D. The Nawâb Sayyid 'Ali appears to have been a son of the Sayyid Kâsim, who in A. D. 1591 with Gujar Khân and the Khân A'zam upheld the honour of the imperial arms on the bloody field of Bhûchar Mori.

After the expulsion of the Unewâl Brâhmans from Ûnâ, the Wâjâ chieftains governed that town and district, and extended their rule along the southern coast as far as the Manâri river at Âlang-Manâr. Their great strongholds were Ûnchâ Koṭḍâ and Jhânjhmêr; whence they practised piracy, until humbled by the Muhammadans in the reign of Sulṭân Mahmud Begaḍhâ. After this, the Wâjâs do not seem to have again asserted themselves, and the Muhammadan power henceforward was supreme throughout the entire coast belt from Somanâth to Goghâ. The portion of the coast belt between Miyâni and Navi seems, at an early period, to have fallen into the possession of the J e ṭ h w â s, who, though they in their turn were deprived of the coast line by the Muhammadans, were yet able to reconquer their ancient possessions in the declining days of the Moghul Empire. North of Miyâni came the W â d h e l s, whose rule extended as far as and east of Dwârkâ, up to at least Khambhâliâ. But they also were subdued by the Muhammadans, and had their possessions further curtailed by the J â ḍ e j â s, the latest invaders from the north. In point of fact, (with the exception of the belt from Jodiâ to Miyâni, which also has always been less of a separate country except in the times of the Châvaḍâs, when civilization had not yet penetrated far inland): the coast belt is separated from the interior of the province by physical obstacles. The Gir Hills and Forest isolate the whole of Nâgher and Bâbriâwâḍ, from Chorwâḍ to almost the gates of Mahuwâ. Then commences another hilly range,[5] which carries on the barrier, until it joins, or nearly joins, the K h o k h r â Hills near

[5] Sometimes called the lesser Gir.

Goghâ, and to this day, with the exception of Verâwal, the remainder of Nâgher is isolated from the rest of the province, by the Gir Forest. From the above, it is sought to be shown—

1. That in extremely ancient times, only the seacoast belt, a few towns excepted, was inhabited; and that of this belt the most important and populous portion was Nâgher.

2. That in the entire belt, the Châvaḍâs first ruled. That then the Rathoḍs dispossessed them of Dwârkâ, and the coast as far east as Khambhâliâ, and as far south possibly as the north bank of the Miyâni Creek. The Jeṭhwâs previous to this had established themselves not only at Nâgnah bandar,[6] but from Miyâni to Navi on the west coast. During all this period, the coast belt was directly subject to the paramount power of the Anhilwâḍâ sovereigns, and owed no allegiance to the Chuḍâsamâs of Junâgaḍh.

3. But subsequent to Ulugh Khân's conquest, the Muhammadan power was firmly established throughout Nâgher, at all events, and probably further. And the authority both of the Tughlik House of Dehli, and of their viceroys, as well as of the earlier Sulṭâns of Gujarât, was unquestioned in Nâgher, if not through other portions of the coast belt.

4. That the Chuḍâsamâ power was confined to Junâgaḍh and the interior, and that these chieftains never ruled in the seacoast belt.

If this view be accepted, as well as the theory of the greater part of the interior having been occupied by dense forest; the following facts can be accounted for: 1, The invariable occurrence of the names of the Anhilwâḍâ sovereigns, or their Muhammadan successors in the paramount power, in all inscriptions in the coast belt; and the almost invariable omission[7] of all mention of the Chuḍâsamâs. 2, The contemptuous mention of the Junâgaḍh chieftains in the *Prabandh Chintâmani*, and other Gujarât histories. 3, The almost entire absence of inscriptions of any date between Saṁ. 800 and Saṁ. 1300 in the interior of the province, and excepting at Junâgaḍh and its immediate vicinity, of all mention of the Chuḍâsamâs in inscriptions.

It may be said, when the Gohels entered the province at the end of the 13th century A.D., that the Chuḍâsamâs were paramount at all events in the interior. Possibly at that time, certain clearances had in places been made in the forest, but the grant of districts, etc. in those days probably meant that the Râ was willing to have at Sejakpur on the Jhâlâwâḍ border, a vassal who could protect him from invasion, and the grants of Arthila and Gâriâdhâr, doubtless were intended, in like manner, as checks on the Wâlâs and perhaps even Wâjâs.

Objection may be made that we find, even now, Chuḍâsamâs as far east as Dholerâ, etc. But these, it must be remembered, obtained their holdings in comparatively modern times, and indeed, roughly speaking, the Chuḍâsamâs appear to have only founded three or four subordinate *bhayâdi* holdings of any importance, in all the interior, viz. (1) Wânsâwar, (2) Lâth, (3) Sarwâ, whence the Sarvaiyâs, and (4) Bhadli. From this latter holding sprung all, or almost all, the Chuḍâsamâs of the Bhâl, or of the Dholerâ, Dhandhukâ, etc. districts under Ahmadâbâd. Almost every Chuḍâsamâ in Gujarât traces his descent from one or other of these subordinate branches, and in the peninsula we have only to add the Kesoḍ and Chorwâḍ stocks. Chorwâḍ, it is remarkable, is the only instance of a Chuḍâsamâ holding on the coast, unless Dâthâ be so considered. And I am disposed to think that it does not date further back than the collapse of Moghul rule. Dâthâ notoriously has no more ancient origin, it having been conquered from the Muhammadan thânahdâr by the Sarvaiyas of Hâthasni in Ûnd. Before, therefore, the conquest of the interior of the province, and the reduction of Junâgaḍh, we find the Râo of Junâgaḍh, besides possessing the capital, Wanthali, Dhorâji, and a few other towns and villages as crown domains,—had offshoots only at Wânsâwar, Lâth, Sarwâ, Bhadli, and Kesôd. Possibly Ânandpur and one or two other minor holdings may be added to these. These considerations show, I think, that the Chuḍâsamâ power has been much exaggerated.

The accompanying inscription, found at Dhâmlâj, will illustrate the position of the Wâjâs as local rulers at Pâṭan Somanâth, in succession to the Châvaḍâs:—

[6] Nâgnah is near Nawânagar on the southern shore of the Gulf of Kachh.

[7] They are, I think, only mentioned, and that casually, in the Chorwâḍ inscription.

धामलेजमां लेख.

॥ ॥ ॐ नम(:) श्रीगणेशाय ॥ पातु यातुकुलारातिर्विश्वं विश्वंभरो हरिः ॥ जनान पुनातु तत्तीर्थं जिष्णुविष्णुगयाख्यया । १ आसीद् गुर्ज्जरराजमुख्यसाचिव (:) श्रीतेजसूनु पुरा श्रीराणः सुजनद्विजावनधनो म्लेच्छाकुले क्ष्मातले । तत्पुत्रः सचिवाग्रणीर्जयति सत्कर्म्माह्वयः प्रज्ञया राजद्वाजकराजकाचार्यचतुरः प्राग्वाटवंशांकुरः । २ स्वस्ति श्रीमत्प्रभासाधिपतिशिवसदाराधनावाप्तलक्ष्मी स्तुत्यः श्रीभर्म्मभूपो जयति जनमनःश्रांतिहृत्कल्पवृक्षः । तन्मंत्री कर्मसिंह सचिवसुरगिरिः क्ष्मासुराधार उच्चैभातिनं साधुमार्गाचरणविनयतः सेवमानोऽसमानः । ३ यन्नाम पामरमपीह पुनाति यत्र श्राद्धे प्रयांति पितरोक्षयतृप्तिमेव । तत्तीर्थमेतदमलोपलबद्धमूलसोपानमुच्छ्रितनिपानमकारयद्यः । ४ उद्धृत्य यः सगरभास्करसद्ममूलातन्मंडपं परिकरेण समं समंतात् । नव्यं सुभव्यमिह कारयतिस्म पूजां माध्यान्हिकीमनुदिनं ननु सोमनाथे । ५ स्वभ्रातृमेघनृपतेः परलोकयात्रासौख्याय नित्यजलधान्यनिधिं द्विजेभ्यः ॥ श्रीभर्म्मभूपतिरदात्सचिवेन येन विज्ञापितो त्रिनवमेघपुराग्रहारं । ६ आद्या वंद्याः सुरांशा प्रथितमुयशसस्तेऽजनानंदनाद्या एकः श्रीकर्मसिंहः स्फुरति कलियुगे सेवकः सन्परोक्षे । ग्रामं यः स्वामिनाम प्रथितमतनुत स्वःस्थितौ मेघराज्ञो विप्राणां स्थाष्णुवृत्तिं श्रुतिचयमिह च स्थापयामास साक्षात् । ७ अमृतं पाययन गा यः सुरपत्तनगोपुरे । आहावे कीर्तिसद्धर्मा वा कौमारममेलयन् (त्) । ८ वंशवृद्धिकराः संतु रामाद्यास्तस्य नंदनाः । सुरवृक्षोपमाः श्रीमत्स्वपूर्व्वयरा(सः) समाः । ९ किं दुर्लभं महदुपासनया यदश्माकाठिन्यगेहमपि विष्णुगयातटस्थः ॥ लब्ध्वा सुदर्शनतनुं सुजनाय दत्ते ज्ञाने गदाधरनतौ च मतिः सुदृष्टः । १० ज्ञानं ददिर्भाति जनेषु भानुः सानंदामनंदपुरद्विजाग्र्यः । श्रितः श्रुतितत्सुतवासुदेवः सांगस्मृतीचक्र इमां(मां) प्रशस्तिं । ११ लिखितेयं पंडितसर्वादित्येन ॥ सुत्रमधुसुदनेनोत्कीर्णा । संवत १४३७ वर्षे आषाढवदि ६ शनौ ॥ छ ॥ श्रीः ॥ शुभंभवतु । विष्णुः प्रीयतां

The inscription is in praise of Karamśi, a Porwâl Wânia, minister of the Wâjâ Râjâ Bharma, and relates how he has repaired the kûnda or reservoir at Mûl Gayâ (near Dhâmlêj), and how he had also erected a trough for cattle to drink from, at the gate of Pâṭan. It celebrates the ancestry of Karamśi, also saying that formerly Râṇo, son of Têj, chief minister of the Gujarât râjâs, had done many excellent works, and had protected Brahmans at a time when the world was filled with Mlechhas (here Mûsalmâns), but that now Karamśi, son of Râṇo, was the shelter of the religious classes, etc. It relates also how the minister induced the Râjâ to give a village named Mêghpur to Brâhmans, to ensure the salvation of his deceased brother Mêghrâj, etc. etc. The inscription is dated Saṁ. 1437, corresponding to about A.D. 1381, a most interesting period of the provincial history. And the inscription is most instructive. It no longer bears the names of the paramount râjâs of Ânhilwâḍâ, nor of their Muhammadan successors, but merely of the local Wâjâ ruler. We know from the history of Gujarât, that A.D. 1381 was a period of great confusion in the affairs of the province generally. Zafar Khân, the viceroy appointed by the Emperor Firoz Tighluk, (and who is mentioned in the Ûnâ inscription above,) died in 1371; and the great Zafar Khân,[8] who

[8] Zafar Khân, founder of the Gujarât Sulṭanat, came to that province in about A.D. 1391.

was to found the dynasty of the Gujarât Sultâns, had not yet arrived. We know from the Persian historians that great disorder now prevailed in Gujarât and doubtless in the peninsula also. And this *lekh*, while fully confirming this, shows us the W â j a Râjâ of Pâṭan, etc. and his minister, busily rebuilding places of worship, and doubtless fondly dreaming of emancipation from the yoke of the accursed *Mlechha* It seems just possible that this Karamshi may have been grandson of the celebrated Tèjaḥpâla, minister of the Wâghêlâs of Anhilwâḍi, and the wording of the commencement of the inscription would seem to point to this.

In conclusion, let me attract the notice of antiquaries to this most interesting country, abounding in inscriptions and ancient temples, more particularly the coast belt stretching from Joḍiâ to Goghâ, and especially the district of Nâgher. The temple of Kadwâr near to both Pâṭan Somanâth and Sutrâpaḍâ, is perhaps unique of its kind, and is doubtless far more ancient than its more famous neighbour; and the numerous objects of interest at Somanâth Pâṭan itself, are hitherto unnoticed, save casually by Colonel Tod.

There are Sanskrit inscriptions of great interest, hitherto I believe undescribed, at Kàntelà (Porbandar), Kodinâr (Amreli), Chorwâḍ (Junâgaḍh), and many other places; the Chorwaḍ inscription alone, and a few others, have been translated by Colonel Tod, (*Travels in Western India*,) but with many inaccuracies and important omissions. A careful account of the coast belt, containing all the inscriptions, would throw considerable light on the ancient history of S a u r â s h t r â, and also of Gujarât, and I trust that the Archæological Department will not consider this interesting region unworthy of scrutiny.

THE CHÂLUKYA VIKRAMA-VARSHA, OR ERA OF THE WESTERN CHÂLUKYA KING VIKRAMÂDITYA VI.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S.

In Sir Walter Elliot's paper on *Hindu Inscriptions*[1],—in the account of the Western C h â l u k y a king V i k r a m â d i t y a VI., T r i b h u v a n a m a l l a, or P e r m â ḍ i,—we are told that, "having set aside the ancient Śaka, he established the Vikrama-Śaka in his own name"; and, further on, he is again mentioned as "rubbing out the Śaka, and instituting the Vikrama-era in its stead."

Three inscriptions are quoted in support of this:—1, A stone-tablet lying by the stream at Yeḍarâve in the Śôrâpûr or Surâpûr Ilâkhâ in the Nizâm's Dominions; MS. Collection, Vol. I., p. 350. It contains this verse:—*Enis-irdd=Âhavamalladêvana magaṁ Sômêśvar-ôrvvîśvaraṁg=anujaṁ Vikrama-chakri Chakradhara-rûpaṁ Vikramâditya-Naṁda-narêṁdrarkkaḷa têjam=âḍḍihadu*[2] *yinn=yâk=eṁdu tunn=âṇe yôsaney=âgal Śaka-nâmamaṁ kaḷedu Châḷukyâṁkamaṁ mâḍidaṁ* ||.—"The son of this Â h a v a m a l l a d ê v a was king S ô m ê ś v a r a, whose younger brother was the emperor V i k r a m a, possessed of the beauty of C h a k r a d h a r a[3]; having said, 'Why should the glory of the kings V i k r a m â d i t y a and N a n d a be a hindrance any longer?' he, with a loudly-uttered command, abolished that (*era*) which has the name of Ś a k a, and made that (*era*) which has the C h â ḷ u k y a figures."—2, An inscription on the roof of a room at the temple of the god V î r a-N â r â y a ṇ a at Gadag in the Gadag Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâḍ District; MS. Coll., I., 370. In the description of V i k r a m â d i t y a VI., it contains these two verses:—*Ballâḷtunadiṁ ripu-nṛiparellaran=êkâṁgadiṁdum=oragisi dharaṇî-vallabhan=âdaṁ Tribhuvanamallaṁ Châḷukya-Vikramâditya-nṛipaṁ* || *Eseva Śaka-varushavaṁ mâṇisi Vikrama-varusham=eṁdu tanniya peraraṁ vasumatige neyaḷchidaṁ sâhasigaṁ jagad-êka-dâni dharmma-vinôdaṁ* ||.—"Having slain all the hostile kings, by his amplitude, and alone,—T r i b h u v a n a m a l l a, the king C h â ḷ u k y a-V i k r a m â d i t y a, became the favourite of the world. Having rubbed out the brilliant Śaka-varsha[4],—he, the impetuous

[1] *Madras Jour. of Lit. and Science*, Vol. I., p. 193.

[2] The original probably has *aḍḍivudu*, which I adopt for my translation.

[3] Vishṇu.

[4] The Śaka era is called in the earlier inscriptions Śakanṛipakâla, Śakakâla, and Śakavarsha,—and, in comparatively recent times, Śâlivâhana-Śaka.

one, the most liberal man in the world[5], who delighted in religion, published his name throughout the world under the form of the Vikrama-varsha."—And 3, A stone-tablet on the north side of the temple of Kâḷiṅga at Kâḷige in the Teṅgaḷi Tâlukâ in the Nizâm's Dominions; MS. Coll. I., 415. In the description of Vikramâditya VI., it contains these two verses:—*Ballâḷtaṇadoḷ ripu-nṛipar-ellaran=Śiṁgadiṁdam=oragisi dharaṇî-vallabhan=âdaṁ Tribhuvanamallaṁ Châḷukya-Vikramâditya-nṛipaṁ* ‖ *Eseva Śaka-varshavaṁ mâṇisi Vikrama-varusham=orusham=eṁduṁ taṁnâ pesaraṁ vasumatiyoḷu parayisidaṁ jhasak=enalu dayâḷu Permaḍi nesaṛdaṁ* ‖.—The transcription of the second verse is obviously faulty, and I cannot emend it from conjecture to my satisfaction; what *orushaṁ* means, I do not know, unless it is for *orasen*, 'I do not rub out', or *oreven*, 'I will tell, *i.e.* publish.' But the purport of these two verses is the same as of those of the Gadag inscription.

Sir Walter Elliot himself does not seem to take these passages as referring to the Vikrama-Saṁvat, which commences,—in Northern India, on the new-moon which immediately precedes the sun's entrance into Mêsha, or originally on Sunday the new-moon of the 14th March, B.C. 57,[6]—and, in Southern India, on the new-moon of Kârttika, or, originally on Wednesday the 22nd September, B.C. 57.[7] But, elsewhere, the mistake has been made of understanding them to mean that Vikramâditya VI. abolished the use of the Śaka era, commencing with the sun's entrance into Mêsha, or originally on Saturday the 14th March A.D. 78[8],—which had been adhered to by his predecessors, and introduced the Vikrama-Saṁvat instead of it,—or, at least, to indicate that it was about his time that a change of this kind was made.

So far from any such change of era having been made at all,—out of the large number of inscriptions from Western and Southern India that have come under my notice, the only instances in which the Vikrama-Saṁvat is used are,—1, the Gûrjara grant of Jayabhaṭa of "the year 486," (published by Dr. Bühler at Vol. V., p. 110), which certainly seems to be dated in that era;—2, the Pâṭhaṇ inscriptions of Saṁvat 802, recording the accession of Vanarâja, (mentioned by Dr. Bühler at Vol. V., p. 112), which "can be referred to no other era;"[9]—and 3, the grants of the Chaulukyas of Aṇahilapâṭaka, ranging from Vikrama-Saṁvat 1043 to 1317, (published by Dr. Bühler at Vol. VI., p. 180), which are specifically dated in that era. Dr. Burnell (*So.-Ind. Palæo.*, 2nd Ed., p. 73) says that the Vikrama-Saṁvat "is all but unknown in Southern India, except in the Dekkan." And, as far as my own experience goes, it was never used, either before or after the time of Vikramâditya VI., by the Western Chalukyas and Châlukyas; nor by the Râshṭrakûṭas, who temporarily supplanted them in Western India; nor by the feudatories of those dynasties; nor by the Eastern Chalukyas of Veṅgî. Dr. Bühler, it is true, speaks, at Vol. V., p. 112, of a Râshṭrakûṭa grant of the eighth century as being dated in both the Śaka era and the Vikrama-Saṁvat; but, as I have pointed out at p. 151 above, the mistake is that of Bâl Gaṅgâdhar Śâstrî, who published this grant, at *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc*, Vol. II., p. 371. It is really dated, in words and figures, "when Śaka 675 had expired;" and no reference is made to any other era.

The mention of Vikramâditya and Nanda, in the Yeḍarâve inscription, in the same verse with the institution of a new era, indicates pretty plainly that the Vikrama-Saṁvat was *known* at that time, though it certainly was not *officially used*, in that part of the country. But the object that Vikramâditya VI. had in view was,—not to introduce that era into his dominions,—but to eclipse the fame of it, by establishing a new era under a similar title in *his own* name.

Mr. S. P. Paṇḍit (Vol. I, p. 83), evidently a good deal influenced by the coincidence of the initial date of the years of the Vikrama-Saṁvat in Southern India, interprets the date

[5] *Jagadêkadâni.* A correction, in accordance with my present translation, should be made in my translation at Vol. IV., p. 181 *a*, l. 6, and in my remarks at Vol. VII., p. 246 *b*, ll. 14-17, and *Third Archæol. Report*, p. 105, ll. 18-20.

[6] Corresponding to Sunday, the first day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra of Kaliyuga 3044. It must be observed that the Hindu dates always indicate the years completed; or, the epoch given above may be regarded as the commencement of the year O.—Ed.

[7] Corresponding to Wednesday, the first day of the bright fortnight of Kârttika of Kaliyuga 3044.—Ed.

[8] Corresponding to Saturday, the first day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra of Kaliyuga 3179.—Ed.

[9] The Editor, however, questions the authenticity of the passage containing the date.

of the Tidgundi grant (Example No. 1 below) as indicating that the initial date of his era was the first day of the bright fortnight of Kârttika, and,—partly on the authority of Sir Walter Elliot that his reign began in Śaka 998; partly on the computation that the details of the date of this particular grant are not correct for Śaka 1004, the Dundubhi *saṁvatsara*, but are correct for Śaka 1005, the Rudhirôdgâri *saṁvatsara*,—fixes the commencement of it in Śaka 998. It *might* be inferred from the wording of the date of this grant that the first day of the bright fortnight of Kârttika was the initial date of each year of his era. But it does not of necessity follow. And it is, on the contrary, entirely negatived by the dates of his very numerous inscriptions, which, with one or two exceptions, of a purely special character, make the years of his era correspond almost exactly with the years of the Śaka era, and point to some date very late in Śaka 997, or very early in Śaka 998, for the commencement of his era and his reign. Fortunately the very day itself is fixed for us by the Waḍagêri and Araḷêśwar stone-tablets (Nos. 5 and 4 below), the earliest two inscriptions of his time. The Waḍagêri inscription records grants that were made by him "on account of the festival of his *paṭṭa-bandha*, or 'coronation'[10], on Thursday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Phâlguṇa of the Naḷa *saṁvatsara*, which was the first (*year*) of the glorious Châḷukya Vikrama-Varsha." By the *Tables* in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, the Naḷa *saṁvatsara* was Śaka 998; and it was probably this fact, coupled with the specific statement of the Waḍagêri inscription, which led Sir Walter Elliot to select Śaka 998 for the commencement of his reign. If his actual coronation took place on the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Phâlguṇa of Śaka 998, the Naḷa *saṁvatsara*, we should expect the date of the Waḍagêri inscription to be expressed by *paṭṭa-bandha-kâladoḷ*,' *at the time* of his coronation,' rather than by *paṭṭabandh-ôtsava-nimittadiṁ*. '*on account of the festival* of his coronation.' Now, the Araḷêśwar inscription records grants that were made "at the time of the sun's entrance into Mêsha, on Tuesday, the fifth day of the dark fortnight of Chaitra of the Naḷa *saṁvatsara*, which was the first (*year*) of the glorious Châḷukya Vikrama-Kâla." This was the very first day of Śaka 998, the Naḷa *saṁvatsara*.[11] Consequently, Vikramâditya VI. had been reigning for at least eleven and a half months before the *paṭṭabandh-ôtsava* of the Waḍagêri inscription in Phâlguṇa of the same Śaka year and *saṁvatsara*. It follows conclusively from this, that that *paṭṭabandh-ôtsava* was merely the first anniversary celebration of his coronation, which, accordingly, actually took place on Monday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Phâlguṇa of Śaka 997, the Râkshasa *saṁvatsara*.[12] This is the initial date of the years of his era, and, as some of the instances which I shall give below will point out, the result of its being so close to the initial date of the years of the Śaka era was that the *saṁvatsaras* of the sixty-year cycle were made to commence and end with the years of his era, instead of with the years of the Śaka era as had been the case up to then.

I have found only three grants dated in his era, in which, but for the general tenour of the inscription, we might be in doubt as to the year from which the date recorded in it is to be calculated.—1, The Tidgundi grant, published by Mr. S. P. Paṇḍit at Vol. I. p. 80. The date, l. 12, is expressed by *Śrî-Vikrama-kâla-saṁvatsarêshu shaṭsu atîtêshu saptamê Duṁdubhi-saṁvatsarê pravarttamânê tasya Kârttika-su(śu)ddha-prati-pad-Âdivârê*, which, from the preamble of the inscription referring itself to the reign of Tribhuvanamalla, we know to indicate Śaka 1004, which was the Dundubhi *saṁvatsara*.[13]—2, No. II. of my Raṭṭa inscriptions; No. 88 of *Pâli, Sanskrit and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions*.[14] The second date, l. 30, (*Jour. Bo. Br.*

[10] *Lit.*, 'binding (the head) with the fillet (of sovereignty).' A very similar expression, *paṭṭâbhishêk-ôtsava-punya kâladalu*, occurs in No. 14 of my *Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions* in this Journal, l. 30 (Vol. V., p. 74). I am not yet able to decide whether it refers to the actual coronation of Krishnarâya of Vijayanagara, or only to an anniversary celebration of the ceremony.

[11] Corresponding to Tuesday, the 29th March, A.D. 1076.—ED.

[12] Corresponding to the 14th February, A.D. 1076.—ED.

[13] Subject, however, to the correction pointed out by Mr. S. P. Paṇḍit, as the result of calculation. In No. 9 below, the Dundubhi *saṁvatsara* is again said to be the seventh year of the era.

[14] Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese Inscriptions from the Bombay Presidency and parts of the Madras Presidency and Maisûr, arranged and explained by J. F. Fleet, M.R.A.S., H. M.'s Bombay Covenanted Civil Service. Prepared under the direction of James Burgess, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c., Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government, Western India. London, 1878.—This Collection embraces all of Col. Dixon's and Mr. Hope's inscriptions, and many others.

R. As. Soc., Vol. X., p. 196), is expressed by *Vîra-Vikrama-kâḷa-nâmadhêya-saṁvatsar-aika-viṁśati-pramitêshv=atîtêshu varttamâna-Dhâtu-saṁvatsarê Pushya-bahuḷa-trayôdaśyâm=Âdivâr-ôttarâyaṇa-saṁkrântô(ntau)*, which, similarly, indicates Śaka 1018, which was the Dhâtu *saṁvatsara*.—And 3, A stone-tablet at the temple of the god Basavaṇṇa at Baḷagâṁve in Maisûr; No. 172 of *P., S., and O.-C., Inscriptions*. The date, l. 58, is expressed by *Giri-Bhavalôchana-37-pramita-Vikrama-varsha-ja-Nandan-âkhya-vatsara-bhava-Paushya(sha)-mâsa-sita-paksha-chaturtthi-Mahîjavâradoḷ=be-ras-iral=uttarâyaṇadoḷ*, which, similarly, indicates Śaka 1034, which was the Nandana *saṁvatsara*.

In all the remaining instances, his era is specifically called 'the Châlukya Vikrama-Kâla,' or 'the Châlukya Vikrama-Varsha.' It is nowhere called 'Vikrama-Saṁvat,' which is the name allotted to it by Mr. S. P. Paṇḍit. But, in one solitary instance, No. 40 below, it is called 'the Châlukya Vikrama-Śaka,' if the MS. Collection is correct.—4, An inscribed pillar in the temple of the god Kadambêśvara at Araḷêśwar in the Hângal Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâḍ District; MS. Coll., I., 255. The date is expressed by *Śrîmach-Châḷukya-Vikrama-kâlada* 1*neya Naḷa-saṁvatsarada Chaitra-bahuḷa-pañchamî-Maṁgaḷavâra-Mêsha-saṁkrânti-vyatîpâtad-aṁdu*; *i.e.* Śaka 998.—5, A stone-tablet at the temple of the god Basavêśvara at Waḍagêri in the Sôrâpûr or Surâpûr Ilâkha; MS. Coll., I., 256. The date is *Śrîmach-Châḷukya-Vikrama-varsha-prathama-Naḷa-saṁvatsarada Phâlguṇa-śuddha-pañchamî-Bri(bṛi)haspativârad-aṁdu paṭṭabaṁdh-ôtsava-nimittadiṁ palavuṁ maha-dânaṁgaḷaṁ mâḍi dâna-kâladoḷ*; *i.e.*, again, Śaka 998.—6, A stone-tablet at Baḷagâṁve; No. 163 of *P., S., and O.-C., Inscriptions*. The date, l. 39, is *Śrîmach-Châḷukya-Vikrama-varsha[da*]* 2*neya Piṁgaḷa-saṁvatsarada Pushya-su(śu)ddha* 7 *Âdityavârad-aṁdu=uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrântiya parbba(rvva)-nimittaṁ*; *i.e.* Śaka 999.—7, A stone-tablet at Baḷagâṁve; No. 164 of *P., S., and O.-C., Inscriptions*. The date, l. 26, is *Śrî-Châ.-Vi.-varishada*[15] *yerade(da)neya Piṁgaḷa-saṁvatsarada Mâghada puṇṇame Sômavârad-andina sôma-grahaṇa-parvva-nimit-tadiṁ*; *i. e.*, again, Śaka 999.—8, A stone-tablet at the temple of the god Gargêśvara at Galagnâth in the Kôḍ Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâḍ District; MS. Coll., I., 289. The date is *Śri.-Châ.-Vi.-kâlada* 5*neya Raudra-saṁvatsarada Jyêshṭhad=amâvasye Âdityavâra saṁkrânti sûryya-grahaṇa-dinad-aṁdu*; *i. e.* Śaka 1002.[16]—9, A stone-tablet in front of the temple of Keri-Basappa at Kurtakôṭi in the Gadag Tâlukâ; MS. Coll., I., 294. The date is *Śrî.-Châ.-Vi.-varsha[da*]* 7*neya Duṁdubhi-saṁvatsarada Pushya-śuddha tadige*[17] *Âdityavâram=uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti-vyatîpâtad-aṁdu*; *i.e.* Śaka 1004.—10, A stone-tablet at the temple called Sûḷî-guḍi at Arasîbîḍi in the Hungund Tâlukâ of the Kalâdgi District; MS. Coll., I., 71, and my own transcription from the original. The second date, l. 29, is *Châ.-Vi.-kâlada* 10*neya Krôdhana-saṁvatsaradaÂshâḍa(ḍha)-su(śu)ddha* 1 *Budhavâraṁ dakshiṇâyana-saṁkrânti-nimittaṁ*; *i. e.* Śaka 1007.—11, A stone-tablet lying on the embankment of the tank at Arasîbîḍi; MS. Coll., I., 127, and my own transcription from the original. The first date, l. 22, is *Śrî.-Châ.-Vi.-varshada* 12*neya Prabhava-saṁvatsarada Śrâvaṇad=ama(mâ)-vâsye Âdityavâra sûryya-grahaṇad-aṁdu*; *i. e.* Śaka 1009.—12, No. VIII. of my Raṭṭa inscriptions; No. 93 of *P., S., and O.-C., Inscriptions*. The first date, l. 56, (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. X., p. 290), is *Śrî.-Châ.-Vi.-kâlada* 12*neya Prabhava-saṁvatsarada Pausha-krishṇa-chaturddaśî-Vaḍḍavârad=uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrântiy-aṁdu*; *i. e*, again, Śaka 1009.—13, A stone-tablet at the gateway of the temple of the god Vishapari-Harêśvara at Bâḷambîḍ in the Kôḍ Tâlukâ; MS. Coll., I., 308. The date is *Śrî.-Châ.-Vi.-varshada* 12*neya Prabhava-saṁvatsarada Phâlguṇa-bahuḷa yêkâdaśî Âdityavâramuṁ vyatîpâtamuṁ kûḍida puṇya-dinad-aṁdu*; *i. e.*, again, Śaka 1009.[18]—14, A stone-tablet at the Jain temple at Iṅgaḷgi in the Chittâpûr Tâlukâ in the Nizâm's Dominions; MS. Coll., I., 344. The date is expressed by *Śrî.-Châ.-Vi-kâlada* 18*neya Śrîmukha-saṁvatsarada Phâlguṇa-śuddha-daśamî-Sômavârad-*

[15] The abbreviations are, of course, my own to save space;—not in the original.

[16] This is the Galagnâth inscription spoken of by Mr. S. P. Paṇḍit at Vol. I. p. 88.

[17] *Sc., tritîyâ.*

[18] Śaka 1009, the Prabhava *saṁvatsara*, commenced on Thursday, the second day of the dark fortnight of Chaitra; corresponding to Thursday, the 25th March, A.D. 1087.—ED.

aṁdu ; i. e. Śaka 1015.[19]—15, A stone-tablet at a temple at Baḷagâṁve ; No. 19 of my Series in this Journal ; No. 165 of *P., S., and O.-C., Inscriptions.* The date, l. 27, (Vol. V., p. 343), is *Śrî.-Châ.-Vi.-varshade(da)* 18*neya Śrîmukha-saṁvatsarada Pâ(phâ)lguṇad=ama(mâ)vâsye Âdivâra sûryya-grahaṇad-aṁdu ; i. e.*, again, Śaka 1015.—16, The above-mentioned stone-tablet lying by the stream at Yeḍarâve in the Śôrâpûr or Surâpûr Ilâkhâ ; MS. Coll., I., p. 350. The date is *Śrî.-Châ.-Vi.-varshada* 19*neya Bhâva-saṁvatsarada Phâlguṇada paurṇṇime Âdityavârad-aṁdu ; i. e.* Śaka 1016.[20]—17, A stone-tablet at Baḷagâṁve ; No. 166 of *P., S., and O.-C., Inscriptions.* The date, l. 47, is *Śrî.-Châ.-Vi.-kâlada* 21*neya Dhâtu-saṁvatsarada Pushya-su(śu)*[*ddha**] 5 *Âdivâradh(d)-aṁdin=uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti-vyatîpâtad-aṁdu; i e.* Śaka 1018.—18, An inscribed stone at Kaṭṭagêri in the Bâdâmi Tâlukâ of the Kalâdgi District ; No. 32 of my Series in this Journal ; No. 71 of *P., S., and O.-C., Inscriptions.* The date, l. 1., (Vol. VI., p. 138), is *Śrî.-Châ.-Vi.-varshada* 21*neya Dhâtu-saṁvatsarada Chaitra-su(śu)ddha* 5 *Âdityavârad-andu ; i. e.*, again, Śaka 1018.[21]—19, A stone-tablet in a temple at Baḷagâṁve ; No. 167 of *P., S., and O.-C., Inscriptions.* The date, l. 39, is *Śrî.-Châ.-Vi.-kâlada* 22*neya Bahudhânya-saṁvatsarada Pushyad=ama(mâ)vâsyey=Âdityavâram=uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti-vyatîpâtad-aṁdu ; i. e.* Śaka 1020.[22]—20, A stone-tablet at Kiruvatti in North Canara ; No. 113 of *P., S., and O.-C., Inscriptions.* The date, l. 34, is *Châ.-Vi.-varishada* 24*neya Pramâthi-saṁvatsarada Jyêshṭha-śuddha paurṇna(rṇṇa)mâsi Âdityavâra sôma-grahaṇad-aṁdu ; i. e.* Śaka 1021.—21, An inscribed pillar in the temple of the god Benakâdêva at Chikka-Muddanûr in the Śôrâpûr or Surâpûr Ilâkhâ ; MS. Coll., I., 382. The date is *Śrî.-Châ.-Vi.-kâlada* 24*neya Pramâdi-saṁvatsarada Phâlguṇad=amâvâsye Bri(bṛi)haspativârad=uttarâyaṇa-saṁkramaṇa-vyatîpâtad-aṁdu ; i. e.*, again, Śaka 1021.[23]—22, A stone-tablet near a well at Narêgal in the Gadag Tâlukâ ; MS. Coll., I., 357. The date is *Śrî.-Châ.-Vi.-varshada* 25*neya Vikrama-saṁvatsarada Mârggaśirada puṇṇame Âditya-vâraṁ sôma-grahaṇaṁ viśêsha-puṇya-dinad-aṁdu ; i. e* Śaka 1022.—23, A stone-tablet in the temple of Basappa at Abbalûr in the Kôḍ Tâlukâ ; MS. Coll., I., 389. The first date is *Śrî.-Châ.-Vi.-varsha*[*da**] 26*neya Vishu-saṁvatsarada Vaiśâkhad=amâvâsye Âdityavâra vyatîpâta sûryya-grahaṇad-aṁdu ; i. e.* Śaka 1023.—24, A stone-tablet on the bank of the tank at Hirê-Kerûr in the Kôḍ Tâlukâ ; MS. Coll., I., 407. The date is *Śrî.-Châ.-Vi.-varsha*[*da**] 26*neya Vishu-saṁvatsarada Chaitra-śuddha-paṁchamî-Bri(bṛi)haspativâra*[24]........................... ; *i. e*, again, Śaka 1023.[25]—25, A stone-tablet at the temple of the god Trikûṭêśvara at Gadag ; MS. Coll., I., 410. The date is *Śrî.-Châ.-Vi.-kâlada* 27*neya Chitrabhânu-saṁvatsarada Chaitra-śuddha-dvâdaśi Âdityavârad-aṁdu mahâ-pûjeya kâladalu ; i. e.* Śaka 1024.[26]—26, A stone-tablet at Baḷagâṁve ; No. 170 of *P., S., and O.-C., Inscriptions.* The date, l. 41, is *Śrî.-Châ.-Vi.-varshada* 27*neya Chitrabhânu-saṁvatsarada Phâlguṇad=amâvâsye Âdityavâra saṁkramaṇa-vyatîpâtad-aṁdu ; i. e.*, again, Śaka 1024.—27, A stone-tablet at the temple of the god Sômaliṅga at Kammarawâḍi in the Chittâpûr Tâlukâ ; MS. Coll., I., 438. The date is, *Śrî.-Châ.-Vi.-varshada* 29*neya Târaṇa-saṁvatsarada Bhâdrapada-śuddha puṇṇame Sômavâra sôma-grahaṇad-aṁdu ; i. e.* Śaka 1026 —28, A stone-tablet at the temple of the god Mallikârjuna at Teṅgaḷi in the Nizâm's Dominions ; MS. Coll., I., 454. The date is *Śrî-Châ.-Vi.-varsha*[*da**] 31*neya Vyaya-saṁvat-*

[19] Śaka 1015, the Śrîmukha *saṁvatsara*, commenced on Thursday, the seventh day of the dark fortnight of Chaitra ; corresponding to Thursday, the 24th March, A.D. 1093.—ED.

[20] Śaka 1016, the Bhâva *saṁvatsara*, commenced on the fourth day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra ; corresponding to Friday, the 24th March, A.D. 1094.—ED.

[21] Śaka 1018, the Dhâtu *saṁvatsara*, commenced on Saturday, the ninth day of the dark fortnight of Chaitra ; corresponding to Saturday, the 22nd March, A.D. 1096.—ED.

[22] This date would point to Śaka 998, for the commencement of the era. But, either 22*neya* must be a mistake for 23*neya*, or *Bahudhânya* must be a mistake for *Îśvara*, i.e. Śaka 1019. In the MS. Collection copy of this inscription, Vol. I. p. 379, the reading is 23*neya*. In the Gadag inscription at the temple of Vîra-Nârâyaṇa (para. 2 above), the date is given as *Śrî.-Châ.-Vi.-varshada* 23*neya Bahudhânya-saṁvatsarada Jyêsthada puṇṇame Âditya-vâra sôma-grahaṇad-aṁdu.*

[23] Śaka 1021, the Pramâdi *saṁvatsara*, commenced on Thursday, the eighth day of the dark fortnight of Chaitra ; corresponding to Thursday, the 19th March, A.D. 1097.—ED.

[24] The remaining details are illegible.

[25] Śaka 1023, the Vishu *saṁvatsara*, commenced on Sunday, the sixth day of the dark fortnight of Chaitra ; corresponding to Sunday, the 24th March, A.D. 1101.—ED.

[26] Śaka 1024, the Chitrabhânu *saṁvatsara*, commenced on Monday, the second day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra ; corresponding to Monday, the 24th March, A.D. 1102.—ED.

sarada Chaitra-śuddha-trayôdaśî-Bri(bṛi)haspativâradalu; *i. e.* Śaka 1028.[27]—29, A stone-tablet at Tâḷgund in Maisûr; No. 218 of *P.*, *S.*, and *O.-C.*, *Inscriptions*. The date, l. 20, is *Châ.-Vi.-kâladi mûvatt-erade(ḍa)neya Sarvvajit-saṁvatsarada Chaitra-su(śu)ddha tadige Bri(bṛi)-haspativâradalu*; *i. e.* Śaka 1029.[28]—30, A memorial tablet at Baḷagâṁve; No. 173 of *P.*, *S.*, *and O.-C.*, *Inscriptions*. The date, l. 4, is *Śrîmatu-Châ.-Vi.-varshada 38neya Nandana-saṁvatsarada*; *i. e.* Śaka 1034.[29]—31, A memorial tablet at Hângal; No. 103 of *P.*, *S.*, *and O.-C.*, *Inscriptions*. The date, l. 1, is *[Śrî]mat-Châ.-Vi.-varshada 38neya Vijaya-saṁvatsarada Chaitra-śuddha pâḍiva.*[30] *Buddhavârad-aṁdu*; *i. e.* Śaka 1035.[31]—32, A stone-tablet at Baḷagâṁve; No. 175 of *P.*, *S.*, *and O.-C.*, *Inscriptions*. The date, l. 49, is *Śrî.-Châ.-Vi.-kâlada 39neya Jaya-saṁvatsarada Chatrada puṇṇave Âdivâra grahaṇa-vyatîpâta-saṁkramaṇad-aṁdu*; *i. e.* Śaka 1036.[32]—33, A stone-tablet at the temple of Râmêśvara at Bâḷambîḍ; MS. Coll., I., 548. The date is *Śrî.-Châ.-Vi.-varshada 42neya Hêviḷaṁbi-saṁvatsarada Phâlguna-śuddha-paṁchamî Âdivâra vyatîpâtad-aṁdu*; *i. e.* Śaka 1039[33]—34, A stone-tablet at Dâvaṇgere in Maisûr; No. 138 of *P.*, *S.*, *and O.-C.*, *Inscriptions*. The date, l. 37, is *Châ.-Vi.-varshada 46neya Plava-saṁvatsarad=Âśvija-bahuḷa-paṁchamî Âdivârad-aṁdu*; *i. e.* Śaka 1043.—35, No. III. of my Sinda inscriptions. The date, l. 16, (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XI., p. 248), is *Śrîmatu-Châ.-Vi.-kâlada 45neya Śubhakri(kṛi)t-saṁvachchha(tsa)radu Chaitra-su(śu)ddha 8 Sômavâra uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrântiy-aṁdu*; *i. e.* Śaka 1044.[34]—And, 36, A stone-tablet at the temple of the god Râmaliṅga at Bâḷûr in the Hângal Tâlukâ; MS. Coll., I., 617. The date is *Śrî.-Châ.-Vi.-varshad=aivattaneya Viśvâvasu-saṁvatsarada Chaitra-śuddha-trayôdaśî-Bri(bṛi)haspativârad aṁdu*; *i.e.* Śaka 1047.[35]

I can find no evidence of such a practice *before* the time of Vikramâditya VI. But, *after* his time, it became the custom for his successors, as a rule,—and for the kings of the Kaḷachurya, Hoysaḷa, and Yâdava dynasties, very frequently,—to date their inscriptions, not in the Śaka era, but in the years of their reigns, coupled with the name of the *saṁvatsara* of the particular year under reference. It is foreign to the scope of this paper, to give instances of this here. But there is one special case, No. 185 of *P.*, *S.*, *and O.-C.*, *Inscriptions*, which is worth noticing. It is an inscription of the Kaḷachurya king Bijjaṇa, and of his son, Sôvidêva or Sômêśvara. The date, l. 37, is expressed by *Śrîmat-Kaḷachurya-varshada 16neya Sarvadhâri-saṁvatsarada Vaiśâkha-paurṇṇami Âdittya-(tya)vâra sôma-grahaṇa-saṁkramaṇa-vyatîpâtad-aṁdu*; *i. e.* Śaka 1090, which points to Śaka 1074, the Âṅgirasa *saṁvatsara*, for the commencement of this Kaḷachurya-Varsha. Whereas—according to Sir Walter Elliot and inscriptions,—Bijjaṇa commenced to reign in Śaka 1078, the Dhâtu *saṁvatsara*, and was succeeded by Sôvidêva in Śaka 1087, the Pârthiva *saṁvatsara*. Therefore, if the details of the date are correct, this era does not date from the accession of Bijjaṇa, or of Sôvidêva; and I cannot say what it does date from.

But the era of Vikramâditya VI., unlike the others that were thus set up, had a longer duration than that of his reign. According

[27] Śaka 1028, the Vyaya *saṁvatsara*, commenced on Saturday, the first day of the dark fortnight of Chaitra; corresponding to Saturday, the 24th March, A.D. 1106.—ED.

[28] Śaka 1029, the Sarvajit *saṁvatsara*, commenced on Sunday, the thirteenth day of the dark fortnight of Chaitra; corresponding to Sunday, the 24th March, A.D. 1107.—ED.

[29] This would point to Śaka 996, for the commencement of the era. But no further details of the date are given, and 38neya must be only a mistake for 37neya. In No. 8 above, and in other inscriptions in the MS. Collection, the Nandana *saṁvatsara* is rightly called the thirty-seventh of the era.

[30] *Sc.*, *pratipadâ*.

[31] Śaka 1035, the Vijaya *saṁvatsara*, commenced on Monday, the fourth day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, corresponding to Monday, the 24th March, A.D. 1113.—ED.

[32] Śaka 1036, the Jaya *saṁvatsara*, commenced on Tuesday, the fourteenth day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra; corresponding to Tuesday, the 24th March, A.D. 1114.—ED.

[33] Śaka 1039, the Hêvilambi or Hêmalamba *saṁvatsara*, commenced on Saturday, the fourth day of the dark fortnight of Chaitra; corresponding to Saturday, the 24th March, A.D. 1117.—ED.

[34] At Vol. IV. p. 205, I have noticed another inscription, (No. 7 at Baṅkâpûr), which also makes the Śubhakṛit *saṁvatsara* the forty-fifth of the era. These two would point to Śaka 999 or 1000 for the commencement of the era. But in both of them, either 45*neya* must be a mistake for 47*neya*, or *Śubhakṛit* must be a mistake for *Śârvari*, *i. e.* Śaka 1042.—Śaka 1044, the Śubhakṛit *saṁvatsara*, commenced on Friday, the fourteenth day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra; corresponding to Friday, the 24th March, A.D. 1122.—ED.

[35] Śaka 1047, the Viśvâvasu *saṁvatsara*, commenced on Tuesday, the second day of the dark fortnight of Chaitra; corresponding to Tuesday, the 24th March, A.D. 1125.—ED.

to Sir Walter Elliot, his reign terminated in Śaka 1049. But, on examining the inscriptions of his son and successor S ô m ê ś v a r a III., or B h û l ô k a m a l l a, I find that the latter undoubtedly came to the throne in Śaka 1048, the P a r â b h a v a *saṁvatsara*. Whether V i k r a m â d i t y a VI. died in Śaka 1048, or whether he lived and reigned conjointly with S ô m ê s v a r a III. for a few years longer, as would seem possible from No. 40 below if the MS. collection is correct,—I am unable to say. But, the Baṅkâpûr inscription, which I have noticed at Vol. IV., p. 203, shows that, in Śaka 977, he was old enough to be entrusted with the subordinate government of two large provinces before his actual accession to the throne twenty years later. By Śaka 1048, therefore, he must have been at least eighty years of age; and accordingly the probability is that, as his son succeeded in that year, his death occurred then also. I give all the instances I can find of the endurance of his era after the termination of his reign; they are not many; but, whatever doubt may attend the rest, Nos. 42 and 43 amply suffice to prove the fact.—37, A stone-tablet at the temple of the god R â m a s v â m î at Hirê-Muddanûr in the Sôrâpûr or Surâpûr Ilâkhâ; MS. Coll., I., 700. The preamble of the inscription refers itself to the reign of B h û l ô k a m a l l a. The date is *Śrî.-Châ.-Vi.-kâlada 54neya Saumya-saṁvatsarada Pushya-śuddha 12 Sômavârad-aṁd=uttarâyaṇa-saṁkramaṇa-parvva-nimittaṁ; i.e.*, Śaka 1051.[36] —38, A stone-tablet at the temple of the god R â m ê ś v a r a at Hâvaṇigi in the Hângal Tâlukâ; MS. Coll., I., 703. The preamble refers itself to the reign of B h û l o k a m a l l a. The date is *Śrî.-Châ.-Vi.-kâlada 56neya Virôdhikṛit-saṁvatsarada Bhâdrapada puṇṇame Sômavâra sôma-grahaṇaṁ kûḍi baṁda puṇya-tithi[yol]*; *i.e.*, Śaka 1053.[37]—39, A stone-tablet in the garden-land of Kâlappa Kulkarṇi at Hirê-Kerûr in the Kôḍ Tâlukâ; MS. Coll., I., 706. The preamble refers itself to the reign of B h û l ô k a m a l l a. The date is *Śrî-Châ.-Vi.-kâlada 56neya Virôdhikṛit-saṁvatsarada uttarâyaṇa-saṁkramaṇa-vyatîpâtaṁ kûḍid-aṁdu*; *i.e.*, again, Śaka 1053.—40, A stone-tablet lying on the road at Kyâsanûr in the Hângal Tâlukâ: MS. Coll., I., 636. The preamble, for some reason or other, refers itself to the reign of T r i b h u v a n a m a l l a. The date is *Śrî.-Châ.-Vi.-śakha(ka) 57neya Paridhâvi-saṁvatsarada Chaitra-Suddha 5 Bṛihaspativâr-ad-aṁdu*: *i. e.* Śaka 1054.[38]—41. An inscribed pillar in the temple of the god Î ś v a r a near the Brâhmaṇical Cave at Aihoḷe in the Hungund Tâlukâ: MS. Coll., I., 640, and my own transcription from the original. It does not refer itself to any particular reign. The date, l. 1, is *Śrî.-Châ.-Vi.-varshada 61neya Nala-saṁvatsarada Śrâvaṇa-su(śu)ddha 12 Su(śu)kravâra saṁkramaṇa-vyatîpâtadalu*; *i. e.* Śaka 1057.[39]—42, A stone-tablet at the temple of the god S a ṁ g a m ê ś v a r a at Saṁgam in the Hungund Tâlukâ; MS. Coll., II., 455, and my own transcription from the original. It does not refer itself to any particular reign. The date, l. 1, is *Śrî.-Châl(lu)kya-Vi.-varishada 84neya Pra[mâdi-saṁvatsa]rada Kârttika-śuddha 5 Âdityavârad-aṁdu*; *i. e.* Śaka 1081.[40]—And, finally, 43, No. VI. of my S i n d a inscriptions, noticed at Vol. V., p. 175. It does not refer itself to any particular reign; but it belongs to the time of T a i l a p a III., or T r a i l ô k y a m a l l a. The date, l. 23, is *Śrîmach-Châlukya-[Vikramavarshada] 94neya Virôdhisaṁvatsarada*[41]………. ……. ……..; *i. e.* Śaka 1091.[42]

[36] Śaka 1051, the Saumya *saṁvatsara*, commenced on Sunday, the second day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra; corresponding to Sunday, the 24th March, A.D. 1129.—ED.

[37] Śaka 1053, the Virôdhikṛit *saṁvatsara*, commenced on Tuesday, the eighth day of the dark fortnight of Chaitra; corresponding to Tuesday, the 24th March, A. D. 1131.—ED.

[38] Śaka 1054, the Paridhâvi *saṁvatsara*, commenced on Thursday, the sixth day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra; corresponding to Thursday, the 24th March, A.D. 1132.—ED.

[39] Śaka 1057, the Nala *saṁvatsara*, commenced on Sunday, the seventh day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra; corresponding to Sunday, the 24th March, A. D. 1135.—ED.

[40] Śaka 1081, the Pramâdi *saṁvatsara*, commenced on Wednesday, the fourth day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra; corresponding to Wednesday, the 25th March A. D. 1159.—ED.

[41] The remaining details of the date are effaced and quite illegible.

[42] Śaka 1091, the Virôdhi *saṁvatsara*, commenced on Monday, the sixth day of the dark fortnight of Chaitra; corresponding to Monday, the 24th March, A. D. 1169.—ED.

LIST OF WORDS AND PHRASES WITH THEIR SÂNTÂLI EQUIVALENTS.

BY REV. F. T. COLE, TALJHARI, RAJMAHAL.

The following is a list of the Sântâli equivalents of the words and phrases submitted "as test words for the discovery of the radical affinities of languages and for easy comparison" in the *Jour. Beng. R. As. Soc.*, vol. XXXV. Appendix A.

Numerals.

1	mit′	9	are
2	barea	10	gel
3	pea	20	isi
4	ponea	21	mit′ isi mit′
5	mõṛe	22	mit′ isi barea
6	turui	30	mit′ isi gel
7	eyae	31	mit′ isi gel mit′
8	iral	50	bar isi gel

100 mõṛe isi *or* mit′ sae

Pronouns.

Animate. *Inanimate.*

I iñ iñren *my*; iñrea′, iñreañ, iña′, *my*

We two alañ, (includes the one spoken to)

We two aliñ (does not include the one spoken to)

Thou	am	*you two*	aben
He	uni	*those two*	unkin

We abo (includes those spoken to)
ale (does not include those spoken to)

You ape

they onko

There is no form equivalent to 'mine,' as *mera* in Hindi.

iñren sadom	*my horse*
iña′ oṛa′	*my house*
uniren merom	*his goat*
unia′ ṭheṅga	*his staff*

Hand	ti	*Head*	boho′
Foot	jaṅga	*Tongue*	alañ
Nose	mũ	*Belly*	lai:
Eye	met′	*Back*	dea
Mouth	mocha	*Iron*	mẽṛhet′
Tooth	ḍata·	*Gold*	sona
Ear	lutur	*Silver*	rupa
Hair	up′	*Father*	apat, baba

Mother	eṅgat, ayo	*Sister*	ajit
Brother (elder)	dadat	*Man*	herel, hoṛ
„ *(younger)*	bokot	*Woman*	maejiu, ạimại

Wife rini: from genitive *ren*, 'of'; hence *rini*: 'the one of'

Child	gidra	*Slave ?*	
Son	hopon	*Servant*	(m.) guti.
Daughter	hoponera	„	(f.) kamṛī
Shepherd	gupi	*Cultivator*	chasi
God ?	Chando;	*Go*	sen, chal
	Ṭhâkur;	*Eat*	jom
	Isor	*Sit*	duṛup′
Devil ?	marañ·buru, *lit.* 'the great mountain.'	*Come*	hiju′, he: *in past tenses*
		Beat	dâl
Sun	siñchando	*Stand*	teṅgo
Moon	ñindachando	*Die*	goju′; goi:
Star	ipil	*Give*	em
Fire	seṅgel	*Run*	ñir, daṛ
Water	da′	*Up*	chetan
House	oṛa′	*Down*	latar
Horse	sadom	*Before*	samañre
Cow	gae	*Near*	sor
Dog	seta	*Far*	saṅgiñ
Cat	pusi	*Behind*	tayom
Cock	sim sanḍi	*Who*	okoe
Duck	geḍe	*What*	chet′
Ass	gadha	*Why*	cha′, cheda′
Camel	ũṭ	*And*	ar
Bird	chẽṛẽ	*But*	menkhan
Yes	hẽ	*Alas!*	ohae, haehae!
No	bañ		

If khan (at the end of the word), as *amem he:-lenkhan*, 'if you come.'

	Singular.	Dual.	Plur.
Father	apat	apatkin	apatko
Of a father	apatren	apatkinren	apatkoren
To a father	apat, *the same as nominative; the dative is expressed by a change in the verb.*		

		Sing.	*Dual.*	*Plur.*
	A daughter	hoponera	hoponerakin	hoponerako
	Of a daughter	hoponeraren	-kinren	-koren
	To a daughter	hoponera	-kin	-ko
	From a daughter	hoponerakhon	-kinkhon	-kokhon
Nom.	*A good man*	bhage hoṛ,	bhage hoṛkin	bhage hoṛko
Gen.	*Of a good man*	-ren & rea′	-kinren, &c.	-koren
Dat.	*To a good man*	*same as nom.*		
Abl.	*From a good man*	bhage hoṛkhon	-kinkhon	-kokhon
	A good woman	bhage maejiu	bhage maejiukin	bhage maejiuko

A bad boy	baṛi: koṛa
A bad girl	baṛi: kuṛi
Good	bhage, bes
Better	uni khon bes = *better than he*
	ona khon bes = *better than that*
Best	sanam khon bes = *better than all,* hence *best.*
High,	usul
Higher	onko khon usul = *higher than those*
Highest	sanam khon usul = *higher than all.*
A horse	sadom
Horses,	sadomko
A mare,	eṅga sadom
Mares,	eṅga sadomko
A bull,	ḍaṅgra
Bulls	ḍaṅgrako
A cow	gae
Cows	gaeko
A dog	anḍia seta
Dogs	anḍia setako
A bitch	eṅga seta
Bitches	eṅga setako
A he-goat	boda
A she-goat	paṭhi
A male deer,	jhaṅkar jel
A female deer	posta jel

I am	minaña
Thou art	menama
He is	menaea
We two are	mena'liña, does *not* include the one spoken to
„	mena'laṅa, *includes* the one spoken to
We are	mena'lea, does *not* include the one spoken to
„	mena'boa, *includes* the one spoken to
You are	mena'pea
They are	mena'koa

I was	tahĕkanañ
Thou wast	tahĕkanam
He was	tahĕkanae
We were	tahĕkanale, *or* bo
You were	tahĕkanape
They were	tahĕkanako

The verb *to be* does not really exist in Sântâli. Hoyo' is *to become;* it is not, however, much used, the termination (o') generally is sufficient to express the idea.

As usul, *high,* usulo'kanae, *he is becoming tall.* Sometimes only a *rokh* is sufficient, as guti, *a servant,* guti' kanae, *he is becoming a servant;* without the rokh, *guti kanae* would mean, *He is a servant.*

Beat	dâl
To beat	dâl
Beating	dâlet'
Having beaten	dâlkate
I beat	Iñ iñ dâleda, lit. *I I beat:* the pronoun is repeated at the beginning of a sentence.
I beat	Iñ iñ dâleda
Thou beatest	Amem dâleda
He beats	Unie dâleda
We beat	Alele dâleda
„	Abobo dâleda
You beat	Apepe dâleda
They beat	Onkoko dâleda

thou, am, em; *he,* uni, e; *we,* ale, le; *we,* abo, bo; *you,* ape, pe; *they,* onko, ko: the latter forms are merely syncopated.

I am beating	Iñ iñ dalet'kana
I am beating him— (the same verb with an animate accusative)	Iñ iñ dâlekana

The shorter form of the pronoun is inserted between the root and the tense termination of the verb.

I was beating	Iñ iñ dâlet' tahĕkana
I was beating them	Iñ iñ dalet' *kokan* tahĕkana
I did beat	Iñ iñ dâlleda.
I may beat him	Uniñ dâle.
I shall beat	Iñ iñ dâlâ
I shall beat you	Iñ iñ dâlpea
I am beaten.	The Sântâls have no passive voice, speaking correctly. It is sometimes expressed by the causative particle *ocho.* Iñ iñ dâl-ocho-akana,

I have been beaten, they would say, Onkoko dâlâkâdiña, *i.e. They have beaten me.*

The other tenses are formed from the neuter verb with the addition of the particle *ocho.*

Very often the context has to tell us whether the neuter or passive sense is meant, as—

Kombṛoko sabo'a—may either mean *the thieves will hold on* (as to a branch), or *the thieves will be caught.*

I go	Iñ iñ seno'kanâ
Thou goest	Amem „
He goes	Unie „

We are going	Alele seno'kana
You are going	Apepe ,,
They are going	Onkoko ,,
I went	Iñ iñ senlena
Thou wentest	Amem ,,
He went	Unie ,,
Go (thou), Imperative	seno'me
Go (you) ,,	seno'pe
Gone, participle	senakan
What is your name?	Chele ama?
How old is this horse?	Nui sadom do tina' serma ren kanae?
How far it is from here to Kaśmîr?	Nonḍe khon Kaśmîr tina' saṅgiñu?
How many sons are there in your father's house?	Apum oṛa're tina' koṛa hopon mena'koa?
I have walked a long way to-day	Aḍi saṅgiñ iñ he:akana teheñ do
In the house is the saddle of the white horse	Oṛa're ponḍ sadom rea' palan mena'a.
Put the saddle on his back (Sânt. *Put the saddle on*)	Palan lademe
I have beaten his son with many stripes	Uniren hopontet' bebaṛi: iñ dalakadea
He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill	Buru choṭre mihũ merome atiñet'koa
He is sitting on a horse under that tree	Ona dare buṭa latarre sadom re de:akanae
His brother is taller than his sister	Uni bokot do uni miserat khone usulgia
The price of that is two rupees and a half	Ona rea' dam do bar ṭaka bar sika
My father lives in that small house	Apuñ do ona huḍiñ oṛa' reye tahenkana
Give this rupee to him	Noa ṭaka uni emaeme
Take those rupees from him	Onako ṭaka uni ṭhen hataome
Beat him well and bind him with ropes	Khub leka daleme ar baberte toleme
Draw water from the well	Kuĩ khon da' loeme
Walk before me	In laha lahate chala'me
Whose boy comes behind you?	Okoe hopon am tayom tayomteye hiju'kana?
From whom did you buy that?	Okoeṭhenem kiriñkeda?
From a shopkeeper of the village	Ato ren modi ṭhen

There are four signs that we have used that may be not well understood without a little explanation: (') (:) t' p' The last two are clearly half consonants formed by pronouncing the letters *t* and *p* but without allowing the breath to escape the lips. The former may be sounds that are the bases of *k* and *ch* respectively.

(') ra', *to cry*, becomes in the future *raga* and therefore is a guttural.

(:) de: *to mount*, dejo'a, *will mount*, is therefore a palatal.

t'—mit', *one*, mido'a, *will become one*, is therefore a dental.

p'—sap', *to lay hold of*, sabo'a, *will lay hold of*, is therefore a labial.

ñ is the Sanskrit ञ.

ã, ẽ, ĩ, õ, ũ, are nasalized vowels.

MONOGRAMS OF THE BAKTRO-GREEK KING EUTHYDEMOS.

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The monograms which are seen on the coins of the Baktro-Greek kings have by some been surmised to contain dates. Others have doubted it. I have lately had occasion to examine some Baktrian coins, and it has led me to some very curious results, confirming the opinion that the monograms express dates. They appear to consist of more or less intricate combinations of Greek (capital) letters. These, as is well known, were used by the Greeks and Greek-speaking people to express numbers. On a few Baktrian coins Greek letters, not combined into a monogram, but detached, are found; and it has been shown with much probability that they represent figures and express dynastic dates.[1] It seems probable, therefore, that when combined into monograms they subserve the same purpose.

1. On some coins of Euthydemos there appears a letter which may be either N or Z. The former is equal to 50. This might signify the 50th year of his own reign, counting from the date when he, as satrap of Sogdiana, revolted from the Seleukidian empire, about the

[1] See E. Thomas' *Bactrian Coins and Indian Dates*, or in *J. R. As. Soc.* vol. IX. p. 5.

same time that Diodotus, the satrap of Baktria, made himself independent.[2] At that date Euthydemos may be supposed to have been about 30 years old. This would make him at the date of the coin about 80 years old. There are reasons which show that he must have had a long reign and become an old man:[3] still 80 years is a long time, and, though not impossible, is not very probable. Or, again, 50 might signify the 50th year of the Seleukidian æra; the æra most in vogue at that time. This would give the year 262 B.C. as the date of the coin (*i.e.* 312—50). It is known that Euthydemos was still reigning between 213—205 B.C.[4] His reign, therefore, would include 57 years; and his age in 205 B.C. would have been about 87 even then, supposing that the year 262 B.C. was the first of his reign. This interpretation, therefore, may at once be set aside. But 50 might also signify the 150th year of the Seleukidian æra. For, as will be shown presently, the figure for 100 appears to have been often omitted.[5] This would give the year 162 B.C. as the date of the coin: a date, which, if again tested by the date 213—205 B.C., is too late; for it would make the king about 85 years of age in 162 B.C., as his reign commenced some years earlier than 213 B.C. This interpretation, then, also must be discounted. There remains that the letter is not N, but Z. The latter is equal to 7, and it might mean the 7th year of the reign of the king. In itself, there can be no objection to this. But there is a difficulty in the fact, that, on some of the coins, the monogram contains the figure for 100. This shows that the date-monograms cannot refer to the years of the reign, but to those of an æra; and that is true equally, if the letter be taken to be N=50. Neither N nor Z, neither 50 nor 7, can refer to the years of the reign of Euthydemos. Now 7, if tested by the Seleukidian æra, gives the year 305 B.C. as the date of the coin, which, of course, is out of the question as being much too early. But as already observed, the 100 is often omitted. 7 must evidently stand for 107, which, according to the Seleukidian æra, gives the very convenient date 205 B.C. It seems, then, to me hardly doubtful, that this is really the true interpretation of the monogram.

There has been supposed to be also a Baktrian æra, commencing with the Baktrian revolt. But tested by it, neither 7 nor 107 would give a possible date. Not the former, because in that year Diodotos I. was king of Baktria; nor the latter, because it would bring Euthydemos down to a too late date.

2. Another of the monograms of Euthydemos is [monogram]. It is evidently a combination of P for 100 and K for 20; the whole meaning 120. This, tested by the Seleukidian æra, gives us the year 192 B.C. (or 312—120), which is just within the time to which the long reign of Euthydemos may have extended. The monogram *might* be taken as a compound of P = 100 and Λ = 30, or 130; but this would give 182 B.C., which is too late.

3. A third of his monograms is K. This very closely resembles the preceding monogram. It only omits the loop at the top of the upright stroke, or the sign for 100. This instance clearly shows, that the figure for 100 was sometimes omitted; for K, which is equal to 20, if taken by itself, would, by the Seleukidian æra, give 292 B.C. (312—20), which is much too early. The monogram therefore must be identical with the preceding one, and mean '20 for 120, and express, as before, the year 192 B.C.

4. A fourth is [monogram] or rather [monogram]. I take it to be B equal to 2. As explained before, 2 stands for 102. According to the Seleukidian æra it is 210 B.C. (or 312—102).

5. A fifth is [monogram], which seems to be the same as the preceding one, only adding H or 8. The whole would be 108 + 2 or 110, and give the year 202 B.C. (or 312—110).

6. A sixth is [monogram], which appears to be a combination of P = 100, H = 8, A = 1, that is, 109. It would, therefore, represent 203 B.C.

7. A seventh is [monogram], probably a combination of Θ = 9 and I = 10. The whole being '19 for 119, and equal to 193 B.C.

8. An eighth is [monogram] or [monogram]; apparently a combination of Π = 80, Δ = 4 and I = 10. It would be equivalent to 94 or the year 218 B.C.

9. A ninth is [monogram] or [monogram]. This seems to be merely another way of representing the preceding monogram, and to consist of Π = 80, A (for A) = 1 and I = 10; that is 91. It would give 221 B.C.

[2] See Lassen *Ind. Alt.* (2e Auf.) Bd. II. s. 296, 305.

[3] See Lassen *Ind. Alt.* (2 Auf.) Bd. II. s. 313.

[4] See Lassen *Ind. Alt.* (2te Auf.) Bd. II. s. 311.

[5] See also E. Thomas, *ut. sup.* p. 5.

All the above monograms are taken from Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities* (ed. Thomas) vol. II., p. 180. In Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua* Pl. I, 5, there occurs the following monogram:—

10. A tenth is I, which is the sign for 10, that is, equivalent to 110, and representing the year 202 B.C.

These ten monograms, thus, include a period of 29 years, from 221—192 B.C.; the several years, represented, being 221, 218, 210, 205, 203, 202, 193, 192. This result very curiously confirms Wilson's conjecture (*A.A.* p. 220), who gives to Euthydemos the years 220—190 B.C. It assigns to him a period during which, it is known from other considerations, he must have been reigning. The length of the period makes it very probable that the coins of the years 221 and 192 are from the very beginning and close of his reign, if not actually of its first and last years.

ANCIENT REMAINS IN AFGHANISTAN.

BY REV. C. SWINNERTON, CHAPLAIN TO THE AFGHAN EXPEDITION.

In marching from Dâkâ to Jellâlâbâd we passed the little village of Basawal, about ten miles from the former place. Within a mile of Basawal there is a remarkable three-peaked hill of schist lying in the midst of the valley south of the Kâbul river. Its peaks are in a line north and south, and these are all about 100 ft. in height from the plain. This hill is one mass of almost indistinguishable ruins. One piece of the old masonry, however, stands exposed, and as it is curious I venture to describe it. The builders evidently built in regular and carefully measured layers. They appear first to have laid down blocks of white water-worn quartz about eight inches square, with divisions between them also measuring about eight inches. These intervening spaces were then carefully built up with small slabs or bricks of schist measuring about six inches in length, two inches in breadth, and about half an inch in thickness. The next layer consisted of similar slabs of dark schist, laid one on the other, for about three inches in thickness. The third layer consisted of small blocks of a light gray sandstone or grit dressed with the chisel, each block three or four inches thick and six square, and the layer itself in thickness a single block. After this the various layers were repeated in order once more, and so repeated again and again. The effect of this arrangement, both as to form and colour, was most pleasing.

On our arrival at Jellâlâbâd we became aware that there was a ruined Buddhist *tope* on the brow of one of the low hills about 2,000 yards south of the city. I took an early opportunity of examining it. It was a shapeless mass of ruins, no part of the exterior of the ancient tope apparently remaining. Among the ruined buildings round it, however, I discovered part of an ancient wall exposed, and the style of masonry was precisely similar to that of the masonry referred to above. I had therefore no hesitation in arriving at a conviction that the masonry in both cases was Buddhist. This conviction was strengthened on my visiting Âdâ, or Hadah, a village five miles south of Jellâlâbâd and peculiarly rich in Buddhistic remains. I here lighted on a scrap of wall peeping out of ruined *débris*, the exact counterpart in style of the walls just described. But all doubt in the matter has since been removed. Dr. Creagh, of I Battery, C Brigade, Royal Horse Artillery, and myself rode over to the neighbouring *tope* for the purpose of examining it more particularly. It was evident that a large slice had been cut off the top of the original monument and thrown over the sides, thus hiding and burying the exterior. At the same time it seemed probable that in more recent Muhammadan times a *burj*, or tower of large waterworn stones and earth, had been erected, probably for purposes of warfare, on the original *tope*. We were fortunate enough to detect, about 40 ft. or 50 ft. up the side of the ruin, a thin broken line of *chunam* or white plaster. As some Sappers were working near at hand, we called for a pickaxe and a spade, and carefully removed some of the *débris* from the top of this plaster, when we had the unspeakable satisfaction of finding that we had discovered the ancient cornice of the tope whence sprang the dome-shaped *dagoba*. Twelve inches in from the outer broken edge of the plaster we came on the solid masonry itself. It was still covered with beautiful white plaster an inch thick, and six or eight inches up from the top of the cornice there was a round moulding, which indicated the spring of the now, I fear, destroyed dome. We cleared away with our own hands 10 or 12 yards of the cornice, and we particularly remarked that the plaster was covered with a wash of rosy pink. The colour had penetrated the lime a sixteenth of an inch, and it was not the result of percolations through the soil, because it was regularly and uniformly laid on, and invariably of the same tint. Here and there the plaster of the masonry itself had given way, when we observed that the style of

building was precisely that of the masonry in the outer walls of the masonry at Hadah and at Basawal.

But now I may say a few words about the remarkable village of Hadah. Hadah stands on some low hills entirely composed of conglomerate, and the conglomerate itself stands on beds of sandstone or grit, as I found on an examination of certain deep torrent beds near at hand. The village of Hadah occupies but a small portion of an ancient city of Buddhist temples and monasteries. The name is said to be derived from a certain King Hodah, but as I have no books of reference in camp I am unable to give you the opinion of the learned. The chief interest about the low hills about Hadah lies in the numerous ruined *topes*, of which I counted upwards of 100, and in the numerous caves, some of them of vast extent, which have been scooped out of the conglomerate. The whole of these caves are beautifully arched or vaulted and plastered. The plaster is now black with smoke, but in one cave, where the plaster was but slightly blackened, there appeared a fresco, consisting of broad, right lines of black crossing each other at right angles. Most of these caves extend into the hills about 40 ft. But a few have just been discovered of infinitely grander proportions. Let me describe to you one of the largest, the entrance to which was pointed out by a native, and which had never before been visited by Europeans. We entered this remarkable cave on our hands and knees, and after proceeding some 12 ft. in a northerly direction found ourselves in an immense hall, lying east and west, 70 ft. long and 12 ft. broad. From each end of this hall, as well as from a point somewhat west of the centre, there ran a hall at right angles for 51 ft., which opened into a separate hall, similar in length and breadth to the first and parallel with it. From this latter hall low passages, two in number, proceeded further into the hill, but these were so blocked up with soil that we could not penetrate them. Now, contrary to the opinion of several others in the camp, who called the cave the palace of King Hodah, I venture to think it is not a palace but a temple; and I may state my reasons for this conclusion.

1. The isolated hill which contained this remarkable cave was crowned with the ruins of two Buddhistic *topes*.

2. The whole interior had been filled up almost to the spring of the roof with alluvial soil and large water-worn riverstones. The entrance, too, had been almost completely effaced with similar conveyed soil and stones. This soil and these stones are altogether foreign to the geological formation, which, as I said before, consists of conglomerate, resting immediately on sandstone. Such soil, however, exists in the adjoining fertile little valleys. Now, the Muhammadans, on conquering this land, were most careful, as we know, to "break down all the images of Baal," and to destroy all the temples of the heathen. These stupendous caverns, however, it was not possible for them to destroy. But they most diligently broke up all the carved work, as they did elsewhere, and at Hadah simply buried it within the temple-caves under heaps of earth and stones carried in for the purpose. By this means both idols and temples were alike consigned to oblivion.

This cavern, then, is, I believe, a temple which once contained gigantic Buddhas and carved lotos flowers, and other emblems in stone, wood, or metal of the Buddhist faith. Its true floor is probably six or eight feet below its present one of alluvial soil, and it probably consists of the lower sandstone rock. I shall feel greatly surprised if sculpture is not found in considerable quantities in these caverns.

The whole of this country is almost virgin soil to the archæologist, and it is strongly hoped that one of our learned societies may be induced to make grants of money for the purpose of exploring its many historical and antiquarian treasures.

I have here described to you the singularly interesting style of masonry which seems to be characteristic of Buddhist work, and of Buddhist work only, in this part of Afghanistan. I have seen similar masonry in the structure of some beautiful *topes* eight miles west of Jellâlâbâd, on either bank of the Kâbul river; but I wish now, with your permission, to describe a later visit I paid to Hadah, five miles to the south of Jellâlâbâd. As I remarked before, this village occupies a small part of the site of an ancient Buddhist sacred city, the hills on which it stood being entirely undermined with caves, most of which appear to have been filled up by the hand of man. On Saturday, January 18, I was so fortunate as to discover a set of caves, all of which have domed roofs. Most of these caves are about 14 ft. square, but they are choked with earth to within 3 ft. of the ceiling, while the entrances are so nearly obliterated with accumulated rubbish that I had to crawl in, not on my hands and knees, but literally on my stomach. Archæologists will be able to say whether *domed* caves are a discovery or not in the history of Buddhist architecture. All I can say is that these particular caves differ from the rest of the Hadah caves, which are merely vaulted or arched. The diameter of the dome is, as a rule, 12 ft.; but there is one small cave where the diameter is not more than 3 ft. These domes are well moulded in plaster at the edges, and they are beautifully proportioned.

In one of the domed caves I was fortunate enough to find unmistakable traces of fresco painting. The dome was surrounded with two rows of Buddhas, bust-size, enclosed in borders, the whole being imitations of panelling. The roof, as in other cases, was dreadfully obscured with the effects of smoke, and the plaster had evidently been wilfully broken; but enough remained to shew that there were twelve Buddhas in each row; that round the head of each Buddha was the *nimbus*, giving the whole representation greatly the character of pictures of the saints; and that some of the colours used by the old artists were certainly blue, yellow, and black. Thus the ground of the dome was blue, and on this blue ground were painted the Buddhas, apparently in black with yellow outlines. In another cave of the ordinary kind I found the arched ceiling had been painted in a similar manner; but in this case black only had been used. What were these small, black, domed caves? Were they separate shrines? And why were the domes in their roofs painted blue? Were they typical of the vault of Heaven?

The immense tope called *Khaiṣta*, or the "Beautiful," deserves a few words of description. I visited it in company with two other officers—Dr. Creagh, of I Battery, C Brigade, Royal Horse Artillery, and Captain Bax, of the 11th Bengal Lancers. After passing through Jellâlâbâd we rode along the right or southern bank of the Kâbul until we reached its tributary, the Rud-i-Bala Bagh, a mile beyond which there rises a precipitous ridge of rocky mountains with an eastern aspect. The triangular piece of ground at the foot of this ridge contains, probably, three or four square miles of the richest land, and is enclosed by the ridge on the west, the river Kâbul on the north-east, and the Rud-i-Bala Bagh on the south-east. Scattered over this magnificent estate there are the ruins of no fewer than twelve *topes*. They are all extremely ruinous, but some of them are less ruinous than others. Of these latter, the Khaista *tope* is by far the most perfect and the most beautiful. It is situated on the apex of a conical hill at the very foot of the mountains. Much of the square base is still entire, as well as most of the round base which stands upon the square base, and about half of the dome-shaped top. Each side of the square base measures 115 ft. in length, and the diameter of the round base is about 60 ft. The height of the entire *tope* cannot be less than 100 ft. The exterior masonry consists of slabs of dark-blue schist, most carefully cut to size, measuring about a foot square, and not more than an inch in thickness. Built in with these at regular intervals are blocks of quartz. The lower as well as the upper part of the sides of the square base were ornamented with numerous mouldings, bold and deep, and the sides of this base were further ornamented with pilasters a foot wide, divided from each other by spaces in width 5 ft. 9 in. The upper half of the circular base was likewise richly ornamented with mouldings and shallow pilasters, with round arches between and a cornice of Grecian type. These pilasters were very narrow, and the spaces between them only 3 ft. They were all built with thin pieces of well-dressed schist. It is curious that all the other *topes* here still exhibit traces of the plaster which once covered them, giving smoothness and polish to their exteriors and completeness to their mouldings. From the entire absence of any trace of plaster on the Khaista *tope*, and from the existence in every alternate panel on the round base of small square holes, which I imagine to be scaffolding holes,[1] I suppose that this beautiful *tope* was never completely finished. But, finished or not, it still forms one of the most imposing and graceful objects the mind can conceive, and its commanding position, in the midst of so much beautiful scenery of mountain, plain, and river, is striking and picturesque to the last degree.

At the foot of the conical hill on which this *tope* stands there is an old Muhammadan graveyard, and within the precincts of one of the tombs which this graveyard contains lives an ancient, gray-bearded Faqir. This old man remembers perfectly well the former Afghan war and our occupation of the country. With reference to the *tope*, he informed us that the English employed a gang of coolies to drive a gallery to the centre of the tope, and then to sink a shaft, and that they discovered a small stone chamber, in which were several brazen vessels. In one of these vessels there were ashes, in another a string of pearls, and in another records in manuscript. It is well known that all our documents, both official and private, were lost in the disastrous retreat from Kabul. It may be, however, that some reference to the opening of this *tope* and to that of the other *topes* in the neighbourhood is preserved in the correspondence, either published or not, of some who took part in the events of the occupation of Afghanistan. The publication of any such reference just now, when the archæological treasures of the country are once more undergoing examination, would be exceedingly interesting.—*Jellâlâbâd, Feb.* 3.

—*The Times*, 12th April 1879.

[1] Possibly holes for a wooden covering.—Ed.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

ON TALAPRAHÂRI.

(By Professor H. JACOBI, Münster, Westphalia).

Treating of the forged Châlukya inscription, published in the *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII. p. 94 sqq., Mr. Lewis Rice happily identifies its author Vîra Noṇamba, surnamed Ari-Râya-Mastaka Talaprahâri, with the Sthira Gambhîra Nolamba, who was named Vîra Talaprahâri for the valour he displayed in defending his chief queen Srî Dêvî, as is mentioned in the Châlukya and Koysala inscription at Heggere.

Now in the *Vîracharitra*, an epic poem of Ananta, treating of the wars between Śâlivâhana and Vikrama, and between their sons Śaktikumâra and Bemba[1]—Talaprahâri is one of the most famous of Śâlivâhana's fifty champions. He was the son of the Sun and the Moon, and killed the 300,000 sons of Svarbhânu (Râhu) to revenge his parents, but was, in return, swallowed by Siṅhikâ, Râhu's mother, from whose belly he was extracted, by Śâlivâhana. Thenceforth he serves Śâlivâhana and Śaktikumâra.

It is interesting to learn from the abovementioned inscriptions that the name of this Indian Hercules was turned into an honorary title for valiant warriors, and that, consequently, the epic cycle of Vikrama, Śâlivâhana and their sons, etc. was generally known in the 11th and 12th centuries of our era. Another proof of the correctness of the latter assertion is the fact that two knights of Vikrama, Chandraketu and Vyâghrabala, who play a part in the epic poem of Ananta, are also mentioned by Bâṇa and Somadeva respectively (*Ind. Stud.* XIV. 121, 130). The popularity which the epic cycle in question seems to have enjoyed in old times, would make it worth while to search for earlier mention of it than Ananta's modern work.

Münster, 7th June 1879.

SPECIMEN OF A DISCURSIVE GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN TERMS.

BY H. Y. AND A. C. B.

(*Continued from p.* 176.)

COBILY-MASH, s. This is the dried *bonito* (q. v.) which has for ages been a staple export of the Maldive Islands. It is now especially esteemed in Acheen, and other Malay countries.

Circa 1345 :—"Its flesh is red, and without fat; but it smells like mutton. When caught each fish is cut in four, slightly boiled, and then placed in baskets of palm-leaf and hung in the smoke. When perfectly dry it is eaten. From this country it is exported to India, China, and Yemen. It is called *Kolb-al-más*."—Ibn Batuta, vol. IV. p. 112; see also p. 311.

1615 :—"Ce poisson qui se prend ainsi, s'appelle generalement en leur langue *cobolly mass* c'est à dire du poisson noir. . . . Ils le font cuire en l'eau de la mer, et puis le font secher au feu sur des clayes, en sorte qu'estant sec il se garde fort long temps."—Pyrard de la Val, vol. I. p. 138.

1727 :—"The *Bonetta* is caught with Hook and Line, or with Nets. . . . . They cut the fish from the Back-bone on each Side, and lay them in a Shade to dry, sprinkling them sometimes with Sea Water. When they are dry enough. . . . . . they wrap them up in Leaves of Cocoa-nut Trees, and put them a foot or two under the Surface of the Sand, and with the Heat of the Sun they become baked as hard as Stock-fish, and Ships come from *Atcheen*, and purchase them with Golddust. I have seen *Comela mash* (for that is their name after they are dried) sell at *Atcheen* for 8*L*. *Sterl.* per 1000."—A. Hamilton, vol. I. p. 347.

1813 :—"The fish called *Commelmutch*, so much esteemed in Malabar, is caught at Minicoy."—*Milburne*, vol. I. p. 321 (see also p. 336).

1841 :—"The sultan of the Maldiva Islands sends an agent or minister every year to the government of Ceylon with presents consisting of . . . . a considerable quantity of dried fish. consisting of *bonitos*, *albicores*, and a fish called by the inhabitants of the Maldivas the black fish, or *comboli mas*."—*Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. VI. p. 75.

The same article contains a Maldivian vocabulary in which we have : "*Bonito*, or *goomulmutch* . . . . *Kannelimas*" (p. 49). Thus we find three different presentments of the word in one paper. As the foundation of the Maldivian language is old Singhalese, the meaning of the word must be sought there. 'Mutch' or 'mas' is, however, clearly the common corrupt form of the Sanskrit 'matsya' fish.

COMPETITION-WALLA, s. A hybrid name (English-Hindustânî) applied in modern Anglo-Indian colloquial to members of the Indian Civil Service who have entered it by the competitive system introduced in 1855. The phrase was probably an invention of some member of the same service belonging to the elder, or Haileybury section thereof, whose nominations were due to interest, and who being bound together by the intimacies and *esprit de corps* of a common college, looked with more or less disfavour upon the children of modern innovation. The name was readily taken to in India, but its familiarity in England is

[1] A detailed abstract of this poem I have given in the *Indische Studien*, XIV. 97 sqq.

probably in great part due to the *Letters of a Competition-walla* (1864), written by one who had himself no claim to the title,—Mr. G. O. Trevelyan, now M.P. for the Border burghs, and author of the excellent life of his uncle, Lord Macaulay.

The second portion of the word, *wála*, is properly a Hindi adjectival affix, corresponding in a general way to the Latin—*arius*. Its usual employment, as affixed to a substantive, makes it frequently denote 'agent, doer, keeper, man, inhabitant, master, lord, possessor, owner,' as Shakespear explains it, and as in Anglo-Indian usage is commonly assumed. But this kind of denotation is an accident; there is no real limitation to such meaning, and the very multiplicity of Shakespear's explanations shows that the root of the meaning is missed. What the syllables truly imply is evident from such common phrases as *Kábul-wálá ghorá*, 'the Kabulian horse,' and from the common form of village nomenclature in the Panjâb, *Mír-Khán-wálá*, *Ganda-Singh-wálá* and so forth, implying the village established by Mîr Khân, by Ganda Singh, &c.

1864:—"The stories against the *Competition-wallahs* which are told and fondly believed by the Haileybury men, are all more or less founded on the want of *savoir faire*. A collection of these stories would be a curious proof of the credulity of the human mind on a question of class against class."—Trevelyan, p. 9.

1867:—"From a deficiency of Civil Servants.. it became necessary to seek reinforcements, not alone from Haileybury . . . but from new recruiting fields whence volunteers might be obtained ... under the pressure of necessity such an exceptional measure was sanctioned by Parliament. Mr. Elliot, having been nominated as a candidate by Campbell Marjoribanks, was the first of the since celebrated list of *Competition-Wallahs*."—Notice of Sir H. M. Elliot, prefixed to vol. I. of Dowson's ed. of the *History of India*, &c., p. xxviii.

1878.—"The Competition Wallah, at home on leave or retirement, dins perpetually into our ears the greatness of India .... We are asked to feel awe-struck and humbled at the fact that Bengal alone has sixty-six millions of inhabitants. We are invited to experience an awful thrill of sublimity when we learn that the area of Madras far exceeds that of the United Kingdom."—*Sat. Review*, June 15th, p. 750.

COMPOUND, *s.* The enclosed ground, whether it be a garden or a waste, which surrounds an Anglo-Indian house. Various derivations have been suggested for this word, but its history is very obscure. The following are the principal suggestions that have been made as to its origin:—

1. From some supposed Portuguese term.

2. From the Malay *kampong*. This is alleged by John Crawfurd.

3. From the French *campagne*.

The authors of this *glossary* have been as yet unable to reconcile their differences in regard to this word, so they will state their views separately.

(*a.*) The general use of the term in India would be almost inexplicable, if Crawfurd's derivation from the Malay were allowed. Favre indeed (p. 166) explains the Javanese *kampuñ* or *kempuñ* by "Maison avec un terrain qui l'entoure," but I could not trace this meaning in Java. *Kampuñ* is 'a native village,' and is not at all used in the sense of 'compound.' Douwes-Dekker doubts if the latter is a Malay or Javanese word (*Max Havelâar*, pp. 360-361).

Neither can it be Portuguese. In books of the 16th century, so far as I have seen, *campo* is nearly always 'a camp.' It may also have had the meaning of 'a plain,' but that would not answer better. I find only one instance of *campo* with a meaning approaching that of 'compound,' and there it means 'site': "queymon a cidade toda ate não ficar mais que ho *campo* em que estevera." (Castanheda, vol. VI. p. 130.)

In the early Portuguese histories of India (*e.g.* Castanheda, vol. III. pp. 436, 442; vol. VI. p. 3) *jardim*, *patio*, *hortá*, are used for what we term 'compound.' I have looked in all the passages of the Indo-Portuguese Bible where the word might be expected, but have found only *hortá*, and I am told that 'compound' is not an Indo-Portuguese term, nor is there any one like it.

The Portuguese origin is alleged by Sir Emerson Tennent (*Ceylon* vol. II. p. 70), who suggests *campinho*; but this does not suit, for it means only 'a small plain.' Bishop Heber, again, calls the word "an easy corruption from the Portuguese word *campaña*" (*sic.* vol. I. p. 22), whilst in another place he derives it from *campao* (*sic.* vol. III. p. 539). *Campanha* is used only for 'a campaign,' or applied to the Roman *Campagna*. *Campao* is no word at all.

The word does not occur in the earlier books, and is probably comparatively modern. The important part taken by the French everywhere in South India during the last century would account for a French derivation, and I have little doubt that it is a corruption of *campagne* for *maison de campagne*. (A. B.)

(*b.*) I still, on the other hand, incline to regard Mr. Crawfurd's Malay derivation as the most probable yet suggested. Present usage in Java is not sufficient proof of Malay usage elsewhere or in time past.

ɼ ɔld *Dict. Malaico-Latinum* of David Haex,

Romae, 1631, gives: "*Campon* coniunctio, vel conuentus. Hinc viciniae, et parua loca, *campon* etiam appellantur." And in Marsden's *Malay Dictionary* we have: "*Kampong*, an enclosure, a place surrounded with a paling: a fenced or fortified village; a quarter, district, or suburb of a city; a collection of buildings. *Mem-bûat* [to make] *rumah* [house] *serta dañgan* [together with] *Kampong-nia* [Kampong thereof], to erect a house with its endosure.........*Ber-kampong*, to assemble, come together; *meñgampong* to collect, to bring together," p. 267. The Reverse Dictionary gives: "YARD, *alaman, Kampong.*" p. 588.

In Crawfurd's: "*Kampung*......an enclosure, a space fenced in; a village; a quarter or subdivision of a town."

In Pijnappel (*Maleisch-Hollandisch Woordenboek*, 1875): "*Kampoeng*—Omheind in Erf, Wijk, Buurt, Kamp," *i. e.* "Ground hedged round, village, hamlet, camp."

In P. Jansz (*Javaansch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, Samarang*, 1876): "*Kampoeng*—omheind erf van woningen; wijk *die onder één hoofd staat*," *i. e.* "enclosed ground of dwellings; village which is under one headman."

These definitions confirm my own impressions, received in the Straits and in Java, that the essential idea of the word *kampung* is 'enclosure;' and that even in its application to a village the proper sense is a group of houses in one ward or enclosure, forming perhaps a portion of a village. A friend who held office in the Straits for twenty years assures me that the word *kampung* is habitually used, in the Malay there spoken, as the equivalent of the Anglo-Indian 'compound.'

It is not, I think, difficult to suppose that the word, if its use originated in our Malay settlements, should have spread to the continental presidencies, and so over India. Our factories in the Archipelago were older than any of our settlements in India Proper. The factors and writers were frequently moved about, and it is conceivable that a word so much wanted (for no English word does express the idea satisfactorily) should have found ready acceptance. Perhaps it is not impossible that *kampung* was itself a corruption of the Portuguese *campo*, 'a camp'; and thence an enclosed area. The Chinese quarter at Batavia—*kampong Tzina*—is commonly called in Dutch "het Chinesche Kamp" or "het Kamp der Chinezen." *Campagne* seems hardly applicable; at least, nothing like this sense is found among the seven or eight classes of meaning assigned to the word in Littré. (H. Y.)

1772:—"Yard (before or behind a house), Aungâun. Commonly called a *Compound.*"—*Vocabulary* in Hadley's *Grammar*, p. 129.

1785:—"To be sold by Private Sale............... A very large Upper-roomed House, with extensive godowns and outhouses, with a large *compound.*"—Seton-Karr. vol. I. p. 109.

"To be let......a handsome roomy house near the Esplanade, enclosed by a spacious uniform *Compound.*"—*Ibid*, p. 113.

1788:—"*Compound*—The court-yard belonging to a house. A corrupt word." *The Indian Vocabulary*, London, Stockdale.

1810:—"The houses (at Madras) are usually surrounded by a field or *compound*, with a few trees and shrubs, but it is with incredible pains that flowers or fruits are raised."—Maria Graham, p. 124.

"When I entered the great gates, and looked around from my palankeen,........ and when I beheld the beauty and extent of the *compound*...... I thought that I was no longer in the world that I had left in the East."—*An account of Bengal, and of a visit to the Government House, by Ibrahim the son of Candu the Merchant*" (in the above, p. 198). This is a Malay narrative translated by Dr. Leyden. Very probably the word rendered *compound* was *kampung*, but that cannot be ascertained.

Circa 1817:—"When they got into the *compound*, they saw all the ladies and gentlemen in the verandah, waiting."—Mrs. Sherwood's *Stories*, p. 6.

1824:—"He then proceeded to the rear *compound* of the house, returned, and said 'It is a tiger, Sir.'"—Seely, *Wonders of Ellora*, ch. I.

1860:—"Villas, each in its *compound* of flowers." —Tennent, vol. II. p. 146.

We have lately found this word singularly transformed, in a passage extracted from a recent novel:—

1877:—"When the Rebellion broke out at other stations in India, I left our own *compost*"—*Saturday Review*, Feb. 3, 1877, p. 148. "A little learning is a dangerous thing."

DOAI, interj.—properly (Hindi) *dúhâ'î*—a word of obscure etymology, which is shouted aloud by a petitioner for redress (something like the *Haro!* of the Channel Islanders), as the great man passes who is supposed to have it in his power to render the justice sought. Every Englishman in Northern India has been saluted by the calls of *Dúhâ'î* Khudâwand! ("Justice, my lord!") *Dúhâ'î* Mahârâj! *Dúhâi* Company Bahâdur! "Justice, O King! Justice, O Company!" perhaps in consequence of some oppression of his followers, perhaps in reference to some grievance which he has no power to redress. Ibn Batuta relates (vol. III. p. 412) that it was the custom in India for a creditor of a courtier who would not pay his debts to watch at

the palace-gate for his debtor, and there assail him with cries of *Darúhai-us-Sultán!* ("O enemy of the Sultan!) Thou shalt not enter till thou hast paid." But it seems probable that the exclamation really was this of which we speak, "Dûhâ'î Mahârâj! *Dûhâ'î* Sultân!" Such, too, doubtless was the cry heard by Hawkins at Agra in 1608-9:

"He is severe enough, but all helpeth not; for his poore Riats or clownes complaine of Iniustice done them, and cry for justice at the King's hands."—In Purchas, vol. I. p. 223.

1878:—"As I was walking down to my boat to my dinner, I met a villager in the company of a constable, who shouted 'Duhai, justice, my lord; I have been arrested by warrant, though I came in obedience to a summons.'"—*Life in the Mofussil*, vol. II. p. 154.

(To be continued.)

METRICAL VERSIONS FROM THE *MAHÂBHÂRATA.*

BY J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., &c.

(*Continued from p.* 152.)

The Genesis of Rudra the destroyer.

M. Bh. xii. 2791.

Whence springs the god whom mortals fear,
The god with awful form severe?
From sin, destroying Rudra springs,
On this our world who ruin brings.
He is that self who dwells within
In men, the source and seat of sin,
Which plunges both in woe, the good,
As well as all the guilty brood.

I do not recollect to have before met in any Indian author a passage like this, in which the destroying god Rudra (or Mahâdeva) is rationalistically represented as being apparently nothing else than the Nemesis or natural and inevitable retribution following upon sin.[1] I translate literally some of the lines, Kaśyapa is the speaker:—2791. "When sin is committed by sinners O Aila, then this god Rudra is born. The wicked by their sins generate Rudra; and then he destroys all, both good and bad." 2792. Aila asks: "Whence comes Rudra? Or of what nature is Rudra? An existence (or creature, *sattva*) is seen to be destroyed by creatures. Declare to me all this, O Kaśyapa, from what this god Rudra is born." 2793. Kaśyapa replies: "The self in the heart of man is Rudra; it slays each its own and others' bodies. They tell us that Rudra is like the hurricane; his form is like the celestial clouds (*devair jîmûtaih*)."

The commentator remarks as follows on these lines:—"'*Rudra*' means '*himsra*,' 'destructive'; 'god' means 'king'; 'Rudra' (further on in the accusative) means the 'Kali' age. To the question whence arises the King's destructive character (*Rudratva*), he replies in the words, 'The self,' &c. It is the self (or soul, '*âtmâ*'), the living principle (*jîva*), in the heart of men, which is (or becomes) Rudra, the destroyer. And just as the body of a person possessed by an evil spirit is not the property of the (proper) owner (or master) of that body, but at the time of the possession is the property of the being so possessed, just so at the time of his being possessed by Rudra, the King's body belongs to, or takes the character of, Rudra (*Raudram bhavati*). Then in reply to the inquiry whence is it that the tranquil self (or soul) takes the character of Rudra? he answers in the words 'The hurricane,' &c. As the hurricane in the air drives hither and thither the cloud-goddess residing in the air, makes her thunder, and causes lightnings, thunderbolts, and rain-falls to be manifested from her, just so the passions of desire, anger, &c., which have sprung from the self (or soul) impel the principle of life (*jîva*), which has sprung from the self, to perpetrate all destructive acts."

Moral Goodness essential.

Mahâbh. xiv. 2835 (compare xiii. 5544).

The knaves, untrained in wisdom's schools,
Who smile at honest men as fools,
Who, never vexed with scruples, long
Have wealth amassed by fraud and wrong,
And then their gains, with hearts elate,
To pious uses dedicate,
On costly sacrifices spend,
Or ample gifts to Brâhmaṇs send,—

[1] Another apparent instance of rationalising, which may not, however, be seriously meant, occurs in Manu ix. 301f., and *Mahâbhârata* xii. 2674ff., 2693, and 3408, where it is stated that the four Yugas or great mundane periods (which are represented as differing in regard to the physical and moral condition of the men who lived in each of them,—the first being the most highly blest in these respects, while the others undergo a gradual declension), are really only names for the better or worse character of the king, on which the welfare of his subjects depends. I translate the essential verses of the *Mahâbhârata*, xii. 2674: "Either the king causes the time, or the time causes the king. Doubt not as to this alternative; the king causes the time. When the king completely fulfils the duties of criminal justice, then the Krita Age, a product of time, exists." This principle is then applied to the other three Yugas (or ages). It is then said, v. 2693: "The king is the creator of the Krita, Tretâ, and Dvâpara ages, and the cause of the fourth (the Kali)." The same idea is afterwards repeated in v. 3408 (= Manu ix. 301): "The Krita, the Tretâ, the Dvâpara, and the Kali Yugas (ages) are modes of a king's action; for it is the king who is denoted by the word Yuga." The commentator on Manu ix. 302 says, however, that that verse (which declares that the king is one or other of the Yugas, according to the character of his action) is merely designed to intimate that a king ought to be intent upon the performance of his duties, and not to deny the real existence of the four Yugas (ages).

Such knaves can never gain the meeds
Ordained for truly righteous deeds:
Their riches, sprung from poisoned roots,
Can bear none else than deadly fruits.

Bad men, who goodness only feign,
In hope the world's esteem to gain,
With lavish gifts and dainty feasts
In vain delight a host of priests.

Esteem that Brâhmaṇ's doom assured,
Whoe'er, by lust of gold allured,
From virtue's hallowed path departs,
And heaps up wealth by wicked arts.

But those who others' wants relieve,
By giving what they have to give,—
The scantiest harvest-gleanings, roots,
A draught of water, herbs, or fruits,—
These righteous, self-denying men
At length the bliss of heaven attain.[2]

A king's best treasure, and the best castles.
Mahâbh. xii. 2020^b f.

Though other treasures kings may boast,—
Of gold and gems a glittering hoard,—
The richest far is he, the lord
Of stalwart men, a numerous host.

Amid impending war's alarms,
Though round us lofty castles rise,
The fort that best assault defies
Is formed by manly warriors' arms.[3]

The Watch-tower of Wisdom.
Mahâbh. xii. 530 (= xii. 5623).

As men who climb a hill behold
The plain beneath them all unrolled,
And thence with searching eye survey
The crowds that pass along the way,
So those on wisdom's mount who stand
A lofty vantage-ground command.
They thence can scan the world below,
Immersed in error, sin and woe;
Can mark how mortals vainly grieve,
The true reject, the false receive,
The good forsake, the bad embrace,
The substance flee, and shadows chase.
But none who have not gained that height
Can good and ill discern aright.[4]

There is a certain similarity between this passage and Lucretius ii. 10ff.:

Sed nil dulcius est bene quam munita tenere
Edita doctrinâ sapientum templa serena,
Despicere unde queas alios, passimque videre
Errare atque viam palantes quærere vitæ," etc.

"But nothing is more welcome than to hold the lofty and serene positions well fortified by the learning of the wise, from which you may look down upon others, and see them wandering all abroad and going astray in their search for the path of life," &c.—Munro's *Translation.*

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SUCCESSION OF SISTERS' SONS.—The existence of this custom should be chronicled where it occurs. I have found it prevailing in the Asam Hills, as well as in Travankor. Do any families in India count their pedigrees by their mothers?—R. CUST, *Lib. R. As. Soc.*

SUCCESSION OF SISTERS' SONS.—Amongst the Gâros and Khâsiâs this custom is in full force, and all inheritance is regulated in accordance with it. Among the Khâsiâs the succession of the chiefs or Seims as they are called descends entirely in the female line. Among the Gâros, too, descent is regulated in the same way. They have what they call "Mahâris" or clans: every person belongs to his mother's Mahâri, the consequence is that husband and wife belong to different Mahâris, in fact marriage between persons of the same Mahâri is prohibited. A strong bond of union exists between members of the same Mahâri, and should any member incur any penalty for misconduct or otherwise, the whole Mahâri subscribes the amount of the fine or damages in equal shares. All land too is held in common by the Mahâri, and they divide it among themselves by mutual agreement; but it cannot be sold or alienated without the con-

[2] Literally: "The unlearned man who, without firm faith in righteousness (*dharmâbhiśankî*), sacrifices with wealth gained by wrong, shall not obtain the reward of righteousness. That sinner, the lowest of men, who gives gifts to Brâhmaṇs in order to gain the confidence of the world, is a mere feigner of righteousness. A lax Brâhmaṇ, who, governed by passion and illusion, acquires riches by sinful practices, comes to a miserable end. 2489. He who, having thus gained riches by fraud, bestows gifts or sacrifices, obtains no reward in the next world, because his wealth comes from an unholy source. Righteous men, rich in austerities, who give—according to their power, gleanings of grain, roots, fruits, vegetables, a vessel of water,—go to heaven."

[3] Literally: "Kings have no treasury superior to an assemblage of men; and among the six (*kinds of*) forts which are defined in the Śâstras,—of all forts,—the fort of men [or the man-fort] is the most impregnable."

[4] More literally: "[*The wise man*], ascending the palace of intelligence, [*beholds*] men lamenting for those who are no fit objects of lamentation, just as a man standing on a mountain [*perceives*] those standing on the plain; but the man dull of understanding does not behold them." The readings in the parallel passage xii. 5623 are in some respects different.

sent of the Mahâri, who are the owners,—individuals having merely a usufruct. The reason given for this mode of succession is that it preserves the purity of descent.

ABHORRENCE OF THE COW (*ante*, p. 176).—I have not found that any abhorrence of the cow exists among any of the Hill tribes which inhabit the mountain ranges of Asam; they nearly all keep cattle and eat the flesh, and I feel confident that no abhorrence of the animal is to be found among them. But these tribes do, with hardly any exception, abhor cows' milk, which they look upon as an unclean thing, and will neither drink nor touch it, nor will they allow their cattle to be milked. To my own knowledge this dislike exists among the Gâros, Khâsiâs, Nâgâs, Lushais, Kukis, Mikirs, and some of the Hill Kachâris, and it is the more extraordinary when we remember that these people are almost omnivorous. They will eat rats, snakes, elephants, and carrion of every description; in fact, it may be said that milk is the only thing they will not eat. I have quite failed to discover any reason for this dislike; a Nâgâ whom I once asked for milk answered me—"You have drunk your mother's milk, why should you want more now?" and it may be that there is some superstition of that kind.

NAGA CUSTOMS (*ante*, p. 88).—I have myself on several occasions seen Nâgâs wearing the ring in the manner described. It is universally so worn by the Tangkhol and Luhupa Nâgâs, who consider themselves clothed in a perfectly decent manner as long as they wear the ring. In the cold weather they throw a cloth over their shoulders, but dispense with this covering when at work or in warm weather. The ring is made of deer's horn or a dark wood resembling ebony. These two tribes inhabit a tract of country lying to the north-east of Manipur between that country and Burmâ. There is very little difference between them except in name, the portion lying nearest Manipur being called Tangkhol, and the more distant Luhupa (Manipuri—*luhup* = a helmet) from the cane helmet which they wear in battle. They are a large and powerful tribe, numbering not less, and probably considerably more, than 20,000 souls. The greater part of them are entirely independent, and their country unexplored; they are a fine warlike set of men, and have hitherto resisted all attempts of the Burmese and Manipuris to subdue them. They are armed only with a long heavy spear, the shaft of which is about ten feet, and the blade from two feet to two feet six inches in length. The northern members of this tribe practise tattooing, and the men of the whole tribe shave their heads on both sides, leaving a ridge of hair in the middle resembling a cock's comb; their reason for this they say is to distinguish them from the women. The women are well and decently clothed contrary to the custom of a neighbouring tribe, in which the men are decently clothed, while the women are entirely naked.—G. H. DAMANT.

BUNGALOW (*ante*, p. 173).—In the song of Mânik Chandra, a Rangpurî poem published by me in the *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal* for 1878, the first half of verse 244 runs as follows:—

वान्धिलाम बङ्गला घर नाई पाड़ काली ।

Translated—

"I built a humble dwelling, nor yet is it sullied by old age."

In Northern Bengal there are two kinds of houses, the बङ्गला *baṅgalá*, and चौआरी *chaudrî*. The first means "*Baṅgáli*," or "after the Baṅgâl fashion," and is a style of architecture imported from the south. The people of Dinâjpur and Rangpur (*i.e.* Northern Bengal) do not consider themselves Baṅgâlîs.

The second word means "four-sided," and the difference between the two kinds of houses is as follows:—a *Baṅgalá* has two sloping roofs, with their top edges meeting on a central beam,—and is, in fact, the style of *bungalow* in ordinary use throughout the country. A *chaudrî* has four triangular sloping sides to its roof, which meet in the centre in a point, resting on a central pillar.

In Rangpur, the poorer classes live in houses of the *baṅgalá* style, and hence the word comes to mean generally, "a small house." The *chaudrî* style is adopted by the upper classes.—GEO. A. GRIERSON.

FIRE CAUSED BY FRICTION OF STICKS.—Some eight or nine years ago, while shooting in the Hills between Vizagapatam and Jeypur, I took refuge from a storm in the hut of a hillman just under Endrika mountain.

I asked the owner of the hut if he could make fire by rubbing two sticks together, and to show me how he did it.

He took a piece of dry bamboo, split it lengthways, and cut a notch on the convex side. He then tore a bit of rag from his cloth and placed it on the ground, under the notched bamboo, which he held tightly between his toes. He then got a bit of dry tamarind-tree wood (as far as I can recollect), and cutting a knife-like edge to it, shaped it to fit into the notch. He then rubbed this stick violently to and fro in the notch until dust began to drop on to the cloth. By and by the dust-laden cloth commenced to smoke; and after perhaps two minutes, he took it up and blew the cloth into a flame.

CROMLECHS.—There are several well preserved Cromlechs on the Southern slopes of the Aneimallies, on the ledges of rock overlooking the cardamom gardens, at an elevation of from 4000 to 5000 feet.

I saw quite twenty there a month or two ago.

They consist of a huge cap-stone 10 or 15 feet by 5 to 8 feet, supported on upright slabs of rock. They are about 4 feet high, and 10 feet by 4 feet inside.

The hillmen say that they were built by people who lived in days when fire rains were common. There are also many groups of upright stones—menhirs—all over the Cardamom Hills.—H. G. TURNER, C.S.

MÂNGROL.—With reference to Note 2 on p. 154 *ante*, it may be worth noting that two villages near Sholâpur, situated politically the one in the British district and tâluka of Sholâpur, the other in the Akalkot state, are both called by the Hindus Mangrul, and by Musalmans Manglur. It is well known that Lakhnau (Lucknow) is locally called Nakhlau.—C. E. G. C.

RÂMÂNUJAS—Mr. V. N. Narasimmiyengar points out with reference to Pandit Bhagwanlâl Indraji's statement (p. 88), that no caste in Southern India is 'more exclusive or punctilious in the matter of eating,' than the Râmânujas or Śrî Vaishṇavas, and there they would not eat with people of other castes even in religious festivals.

ŚASAMINE LOGS, (*ante*, pp. 115, 138, and 144). As the *σαντάλινα ξύλα*, *σάνταλον*, and *τζανδάνα* of the *Periplûs*, Solinus, and Kosmas Indikopleustes doubtless indicate Sandalwood,—Sanskrit *Chandana* (*Santalum album*), so *σασάμινα* must be Blackwood (*Dalbergia latifolia*), the *Śiśam* or *sisam*[1] of the Western Coast of India, the Virugudu-chava of Machhlipatam; Tamiḻ *Viti*; and the *Eruvadi* of Arkat.—EDITOR.

Prof. de Harlez, of Louvain, has issued his *Manuel de la Langue de l'Avesta* (Paris: Maisonneuve). It consists of a Zend grammar, a good anthology—printed half in Zend type, and half (according to the advice of Dr. Weber) in Roman type,—and a vocabulary. The work will be a great boon to the Iranian student. M. de Harlez announces also the speedy issue of a companion volume, *Manuel de la Langue Pehlevie*, arranged in the same manner. Lastly, he has sent to the press a second edition of his translation of the *Avesta*, the first edition being already out of print. The new edition will be entirely revised, with a new Introduction, "purement scientifique."—*The Academy*.

BOOK NOTICE.

TRAVELS of Dr. and Madame HELFER in SYRIA, MESOPOTAMIA, BURMA, &c. By Pauline Countess Nostitz (late Madame Helfer). Translated by Mrs. George Sturge. London: Richard Bentley and Son: 1878.

A few Anglo-Indians still survive who remember Dr. Helfer; while to others his name is familiar from his association with General Chesney's explorations of the Euphrates, and his reports upon British Burma probably still moulder in the local records and those of the Government of India. The details, however, of his short and adventurous career have hitherto been known to few, and it was not till 1872, that his widow found herself able to publish the present 2 volumes in German. The translator has rendered good service in presenting to the English public a work which may fairly rank with those of Jacquemont and von Orlich as a sketch of Eastern society and politics from the point of view of an observant and cultivated foreigner. Its value in this respect is perhaps enhanced by the fact that Dr. Helfer, though he ultimately accepted service under the Company, started on his own account; and not, like the other writers mentioned, upon deputation from a Continental Government.

Johann William Helfer was born at Prague in 1810, and after studying there and at Pavia graduated as M.D. of the latter University in 1832. He had already developed a taste for natural history, especially entomology, much superior to his inclination for the practice of medicine, and, instead of setting up in practice, employed the first year of his liberty in a scientific tour on the shores of the Mediterranean; returning through France. In 1834 he married the Countess Pauline Degranges, a lady of a French family long settled at Zinnitz in Lusatia, to whom we are indebted not only for the present memoir, but for the assistance without which Helfer's labours could not have been so valuable. Her brief and modest account of their courtship is a little German novel in itself, and though it concerns the subjects of this journal chiefly on account of the services which the lady has since rendered to Oriental research,

[1] The *sisu*, the wood of an allied species (*Dalbergia sissoo* शिसपा) may have been included under the general name of *Sasamina*.

it adds much to the interest of her work for the general reader.

Dr. Helfer soon found that even domestic felicity could not reconcile him to passing his life in the routine of medical practice at Prague, and in 1835 he and his wife started from Trieste for Smyrna, on board an Austrian brig. Troubles between the captain and crew induced the former to run into Syra, which was the scene of a scientific idyll so amusing that we must give it in Madame Helfer's own words.

The beach of Syra, abounding in insects, and especially in staphylinidæ, was a happy hunting ground for entomologists who had for a fortnight been chiefly familiar with the cockroaches of a coaster's cabin. "Helfer left it to me and Lotty to catch the staphylinidæ in butterfly nets, while he sought out the almost invisible but interesting beetles in sand and moss. In spite of the glowing noonday sun we diligently pursued our fugitive prey, and did not observe at first that we were being attentively watched. Among the many vessels lying near the shore was an English war schooner, on the deck of which a telescope was directed to us. The unusual spectacle of ladies at midday on the beach, running and jumping in the pursuit of insects invisible from the vessel, had excited the captain's curiosity. We could not be natives, as a matter of course no Greek lady would ever think of walking at this time of day, even if she ever wandered as far as the shore; nor would she ever depart from her slow, shuffling gait, least of all to catch insects on the wing. The young seaman who took an interest in other things besides his profession—(not often the case with Englishmen, who mostly pursue one thing only, and that thoroughly)—soon discovered the motive of our singular movements, and was curious to get a nearer view of the ladies collecting insects in this temperature. He landed, and walked up and down, but at a respectful distance. What else could he do, there was no one to introduce us, and without this indispensable ceremony no Englishman can bring himself to begin an acquaintance." Madame Helfer's Englishman, however, was equal to the occasion, for he guessed that any traveller of sufficient culture to hunt staphylinidæ would be certain to visit the school of the ubiquitous American Missionaries, to which accordingly he walked off, and was there introduced to our authoress as Captain Owen Stanley, (*clarum ac venerabile!* women among hydrographers !), and they afterwards became great friends.

Our travellers experienced considerable difficulties in settling at Smyrna, seeing that every house had put "the people next door" in quarantine for the plague. One of their adventures, which sounds curiously modern, was the formation of an intimacy with two Afghan princes, nephews of Dost Muhammad Khân, who had been travelling in Europe incognito, and were on their way back "enthusiastically intent on introducing European culture and manners into their own country." With these gentlemen they travelled to Beirût, Latakia and Aleppo, at which last place they made acquaintances with Thahim Pasha, and what is more important, with some members of the Euphrates expedition, which they eventually joined, riding over the mountains to Port William on the Euphrates where the steamers were being put together. The Afghan princes proceeded by another route to Baghdad, and eventually to India, where (the reader will not so much be surprised as Madame Helfer was to learn) they were promptly reduced to the rank of half-caste swindlers, and appear again in this narrative, once in the prisoners' dock at Calcutta, and again in a chain-gang at Tenasserim. The Helfers accompanied General Chesney and his comrades to Baghdad, and their narrative of the expedition forms an interesting complement to that published by its distinguished chief in 1868. They went on to Bushire, intending to settle in Persia for a time, but not liking the sample of Iran and its inhabitants, which they got at that port, changed their course to Calcutta, calling at Maskat, where Madame Helfer's experiences in the zenana were even more than usually amusing. After some time in Calcutta Dr. Helfer accepted a commission from the Government of India to explore the forests of British Burma, landed at Maulmain early in 1836, and was employed on this duty, with head-quarters latterly at Mergui, until the end of 1838, when he transferred his operations to the islands of the Bay of Bengal. On the 30th April 1839, he was killed by an arrow wound received during an unprovoked attack made upon his boat's crew by the inhabitants of the great Andaman Island. His widow returned to Calcutta, and after a short stay at Darjiling sailed in company with Mr. and Mrs. Prinsep, landed at Koseir, and crossed the desert on donkey back to Kenneh on the Nile, so that she was one of the pioneers of the present overland route as well as of that still in the clouds of the future. In London she spent some time as guest of the Bunsens, which she devoted to obtaining from the Court of Directors a grant of land at Mergui, and a widow's pension, to which, as Dr. Helfer had been only in temporary employ, she had no regular claim. The Court, however, allowed her £100 a year, which, she was told, she owed to a personal expression of opinion on the part of Her Majesty the Queen. Be this so or no, the reader of her spirited and interesting narrative will probably think that it was well-spent money.

NOTES ON INDIAN FOLK-LORE, &c.

BY MONIER WILLIAMS, D.C.L., &c. BODEN PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, OXFORD.

HAVING been long engaged in researches into the religious customs, superstitions and usages of India, I have sometimes applied for information to friends stationed in those outlying parts of the country which I was unable to visit during my travels, but, I regret to say, have seldom received satisfactory replies. It is very true that the stress of official business makes it difficult for civilians to turn their attention to subjects which take them out of the sphere of their regular work. Yet I cannot help wishing that those who have to make annual tours in remote districts far removed from European influences, could be brought to feel the importance of gathering up the fragments of their time, and utilizing occasional spare moments in looking out for and noting down any peculiarities of native life, or any primitive practices that may come under their observation. The establishment of an *Indian Folk-lore Society*, in connexion with the *Indian Antiquary*, would, I think, be highly desirable. It might lead to a more systematic collection of popular traditions and legends, folk-tales and ballads, local proverbs and sayings, idiomatic words and phrases, current among the peasantry. Such a Society would, of course, make it its business to urge upon all educated persons laboring officially in country districts the importance of folk-lore investigations, as well as of searching for and preserving old inscriptions and antiquities. It would take care to impress upon civilians and Government officers of all kinds in all parts of India, that by employing their leisure in such work, they would assist in throwing light on the physical, moral, and religious condition of the people, and so add to the merit of their public services.

Examples in point might be adduced. Mr. Beames, of the Civil Service, cannot be accused of neglecting a single official duty, and yet he has found time to produce a highly commendable and useful *Comparative Grammar* of the Aryan Dialects. Again, every scholar knows what Dr. Burnell, the Judge of Tanjore, has done for the better knowledge of Indian religions, while the columns of the *Indian Antiquary* can testify to the value of what Mr. Fleet has effected in another field of research. It is unnecessary for me to allude to the labours of many eminent men who have left India.

Other names might easily be singled out from the catalogue of junior members of the civil and military services; and I may be permitted here to make special mention of one of my most distinguished Sanskrit Scholars in this University, Mr. James Wilson, who is now a rising civilian in the Panjâb. He has not yet come before the public as an author, but I venture to predict that an honorable career is before him, and he is not the man to neglect his opportunities. He has recently sent me a few folk-lore notes jotted down in the midst of arduous work while camping out or travelling officially in his own district south-west of Dehli. I feel sure that they will interest the readers of the *Indian Antiquary* as they have interested me, and I therefore give them almost in his own words, interspersing a few remarks, and concluding with some observations of my own :—

There is a large tribe of people called Meos, who give their name to the country of Mêwât (to the south-west of Dehli), and who also inhabit Alwar. They call themselves descendants of the Râjputs; but are believed by some authorities to be a portion of the aboriginal tribe of Minas who have become Musalmâns. I have several times in the Meo villages come upon the standard of Sâlâr (properly a Persian word meaning General) their patron saint, who is said to have been the nephew of Muhammad Ghorî, and the conqueror of 989 forts in Hindustan. He is buried at Bharech in Oudh. It was in his time the Meos were converted to Islâm. The standard is generally about 25 or 30 feet high, and is adorned with a fine large flag of brilliant colours ornamented with numerous representations in needle-work of men on horseback, &c. There are many of these standards in the Meo country. The erection of them is supposed to be the special privilege of the members of a family of Shaikhs who call themselves Majâwir (Mosque attendants), and have divided the Meo villages among them. Each man annually sets up a standard in each village of his own circle, receiving one rupee from the village for so doing,

and appropriating all offerings made by the villagers. The usual offering is a kind of sweetmeat made of bread crumbs, ghî, and sugar called *Mâlîda*, which is brought by the worshippers, and put into the hands of the attendant Majâwir, who places it at the foot of the standard, reciting the *Al hamdu l'illâh*, while the worshipper makes obeisance (*salâm*) to the standard. The attendant then appropriates the sweetmeats, and in return for the offering deposits in a dish brought by the worshipper some parched rice or millet (*khîl*), which is taken away, and eaten as sacred food sanctified by its connexion with Sâlâr. These offerings are made by men, women, and children, and sometimes even by Hindu Baniyas. The standard is also set up and worshipped in villages of the Khânzâdas, a tribe having a close connexion with the Meos. Recently, however, an interesting religious revival has taken place among the Meos. Till within a few years ago they used to worship the Hindu deities and keep Hindu festivals. Formerly, too, there were very few *Masjids* to be seen, and few Meos performed *namâz*. Now there is a mosque of some kind in every small village, and every Meo goes through his appointed prayers at least occasionally. Moreover, the worship of Sâlâr's standard is gradually falling into disuse as the Maulavîs tell the people it is idolatrous. The Meos themselves ascribe this reformation to the influence of the Maulavîs, who visit them regularly from Dehli, Mîrat and other centres of Muhammadanism, and also to the fact that they are gradually becoming more civilized and better able to understand the advantage of religion. Along with this religious revival, there is a great change in the habits of the Meos, and a general marked advance in prosperity. When we took the country 75 years ago, it was a great waste inhabited by turbulent savages, who mounted on little ponies used to make distant raids on quietly-disposed villages, and sometimes when the central power was weak, rob travellers almost under the walls of Dehli. They were wretchedly and scantily clad, and lived on poor food. Now, though by no means highly civilised, they clothe themselves decently and live better. They have altogether given up their wandering habits, and cultivate their fields quietly though lazily. The temptation of the mutiny was too much for them. The old Adam broke out, and the whole of British Mêwât rose to plunder. They have however borne the severe scarcity of the past year with wonderful patience. Unfortunately, as they advance in civilization, they fall more into the power of the moneylenders, and their land is slowly passing out of their hands.

To pass on to another subject:—

The people in the south of Gurgaon firmly believe in the existence of demons, which inhabit their Black Mountains (Kâlâ Pahar), a continuation of the Arâvali range. There are several kinds of demons. One is the *Jinn* (Arabic plural *jinnât*), generally handsome and not maliciously disposed. Another is the *Paret* (Sanskrit प्रेत *Preta*), a filthy ugly goblin with feet turned backwards instead of forwards. When a man dies unpurified (*nâpâk*), or has suffered a violent death—as, for instance, when he is hanged or drowned—so that his funeral ceremonies (*kriyâ karm*) cannot be properly performed, he becomes a *Paret*. Similarly, when a woman dies unpurified within the 15 days after childbirth, she becomes a *churâl* (चुड़ेल) or female goblin, and is always ready to attack a woman after childbirth, before purification; so that it is necessary to have some one always at hand, with a weapon, to defend a woman in that condition from the assaults of *churâl*, which take the form of beating, and sometimes cause the death of the victim.

The caste system prevails very strongly among the Chamârs in the south of the Gurgaon district. The four headmen (called *Mihtar*) of the tribe at Firozpur have under their control the Chamârs of 84 villages, and within this circle their word on caste matters is law. If any one disobeys their mandate, they order him to be excluded from caste, and forthwith no one will eat, drink or smoke with him. He is thus soon reduced to sue for readmission, which is granted on his obeying orders, and giving a general feast to the headmen and the brotherhood. There are two sub-tribes of the Chamârs which do not drink together or intermarry. One of these is the Chândaur, which does not make though it mends shoes, and which sews canvas and coarse cloth. The other is the Jaṭiya, which makes but does not mend shoes. Chamârs consider the flesh and skins of cattle, buffaloes, goats and sheep as their right, but will not touch those of the camel, horse, donkey and pig, which are left

to the Chûhṛâs (a sweeper caste called also Bhangî). The Chamârs regularly buy their wives, sometimes paying as much as Rs. 100 for one.

There is in the Gurgaon district a famous shrine (called Masânî), of one of the Mâtâs called Śîtalâ, goddess of small-pox. It is a small sanctuary enclosed within a domed structure, surrounded by open arches. Inside is a wooden seat (Siṅghâsan) covered with a dirty cloth, on which is placed a little ugly gilt doll six inches high, clad in red cloth embroidered with gold. This is the goddess Sîtalâ.

Beside her there sits a shapeless image in green stone, and a curious point to be noted is that this represents another female deity called Sedhûlâlâ, inferior to Śîtalâ, and yet often worshipped before Śîtalâ, because she is regarded as her servant and intercessor. Of worship, however, there is really none. All the so-called worshippers ever do is to throw down offerings. The coppers are thrown into a little recess behind the shrine (called the *mâlkhâna*), while the rupees are dropped into an earthen pot through a slit in its leather lid. The rice and other articles of food offered are poured into a hole in front of the shrine, and afterwards distributed to Chamârs and dogs. The offerings are appropriated by the Jât landowners of the village, who sell the contract for them by auction in a shrewd, business-like way. The value of the contract last year was Rs. 12,000. It has sold for as much as Rs. 17,000. People of all classes come very long distances to this shrine. The offerings are generally made by mothers or other relatives in payment of vows made for the recovery of children attacked by small-pox.

The Jât proprietors do not employ a Brâhman or priest of any kind to attend the shrine. They are evidently no believers in sacerdotal mediation, and think only of the rupees. The shrine has been famous for some time, but the attendance has increased greatly within the last few years.

In connection with Mr. James Wilson's description of Śîtalâ, goddess of small-pox, I may state that any similar notes on the worship of divine mothers (mâtâs) would be full of interest. I have myself elsewhere described the homage paid to some of the 120 different Mothers of Gujarât, but I have not been able to succeed in obtaining accurate information about the distinctive attributes of some of them. For example, many interesting particulars have yet to be collected with reference to the worship of some of the most popular mothers, such as Becharâji and Âśâ-purî.

There are others also about whom I could learn very little, such as Untâ-î, Berâ-î, Hadakâ-î, Hingrâj (Hinglâj), Kâlkâ, Tuljâ.

These Mothers are the real Grâma-devatas of India. They probably belong to a time antecedent to the advent of the Âryans, as does also in my opinion the Male Village Deity (afterwards connected with the worship of Śiva) called Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati.

Another merely local male god, very popular in some parts of the Dekhan, is Khandobâ, specially worshipped at Jijuṛi. He is regarded as a form of Śiva, and represented as riding on horseback and accompanied by a dog. Another local deity is Vitthoba (worshipped particularly at Pandharpur). He is held to be a form of Kṛishṇa, and has his arms a-kimbo.

In the south of India the Village Mothers are called Ammans. For example there is Mârî-amman, who corresponds to the goddess of small-pox. Other Ammans are Ella—a boundary goddess, Draupadî, Kâlî, Pidârî, Kateri, Maruḍâyî and Kulumândî.

There is also the singular male village deity Ayenâr (said to be the son of Hari and Hara,) who is supposed to ride about the fields by night, and is propitiated by offerings of huge clay horses, tigers, &c. which are placed round his shrine in the precincts of villages.

Very little has yet been written about this remarkable village god, and I conclude my present paper by expressing a hope that any one resident in Southern India, who may be interested in Indian Folk-lore, and who is able to collect particulars about Ayenâr, or throw any light on the nature of his worship, will send the result of his investigations to the *Indian Antiquary*.

Oxford, June 1879.

SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C. S., M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from p. 47.*)

No. LIV.

Of the Gaṅga or Koṅgu dynasty, six copper-plate grants have been published in this Journal by Mr. Rice, at Vol. I., p. 360, Vol. II., p. 155, Vol. V., p. 133, and Vol. VII., p. 168;—three stone-tablet inscriptions have been published by Mr. Kittel, at Vol. VI., p. 99;—and one stone-tablet inscription has been published, and another noticed, by myself, at Vol. VII., pp. 101 and 112.

Sir Walter Elliot's collection of original copper-plates includes two more grants of the same dynasty.—One of them, without date, carries the genealogy down to Navakâma,—the younger brother of Śrîvallabha, who is either identical with, or the successor of, Bhûvikrama-Koṅgaṇimahâdhirâja,—and then records a grant made by a certain Eṟegaṅga, who was governing the Toṟenâḍu Five-hundred, the Koṅgaḷnâḍu Two-thousand, and the Male Thousand. Who Eṟegaṅga was, is not made clear. I have not as yet succeeded in deciphering the whole of this grant to my satisfaction; but I shall publish it before long.—The other is the grant of Arivarmâ, dated Śaka 169, spoken of by Prof. Eggeling in his paper *On the Inscriptions of Southern India*, of which an abstract is given at p. 38 of the *Report of the Second International Congress of Orientalists.* I now publish this grant from the original plates.

The plates were obtained by Sir Walter Elliot from Tañjâvûr, through Mr. W. H. Bayley. They are three in number, about 8¾" long by 3¾" broad, and, with the seal, they weigh fifty-nine tolas. They have no rims. The ring connecting them has been cut; it is about ¼" thick, and 2¾" in diameter. The seal is circular, about ⅞" in diameter; it has the representation of a standing elephant, facing to the proper left, in relief on a countersunk surface. The first and second plates are in a state of perfect preservation, and the writing on them is very clear. The third plate has had a piece knocked out of it, and is also almost broken in half. The writing on the inside of it is very clear. The writing on the outside is somewhat defaced, but, with the exception of the first two letters of the first two lines, is still perfectly legible. It would not appear so from the facsimile, but this is only owing to the plate not having been cleaned before the facsimile was taken. The language is Sanskṛit, down to l. 10; after that, it is a mixture of Sanskṛit and Old Canarese. I shall notice the characters further on.

The inscription purports to record that in Śaka 169 (A.D. 247-8), the Prabhava *saṁvatsara*, king Arivarmâ bestowed a title of honour and the village of Oṟekôḍu, in the circle of villages called the Maisunâḍu Seventy, upon Mâdhavabhaṭṭa, the son of Gôvindabhaṭṭa of the Bhṛigu *gôtra*, in recognition of his defeating in public disputation an opponent who maintained the Bauddha doctrine of the non-existence of the living soul.

If this grant were genuine, it would be the earliest yet known. But, as has already been pointed out by Dr. Burnell[1], the characters in which it is engraved shew conclusively that it is a forgery of not earlier than the tenth century A. D. In addition to palæographical grounds, there are other substantial reasons for stamping as forged, not only this, but also the other published copper-plate grants of the same dynasty; such, for instance, as that the dates contradict each other, and that this grant of Śaka 169, and the Merkâra grant[2] of the year 388, and the Nâgamaṅgala grant[3] of Śaka 698, were all engraved by the same Viśvakarmâchârya. These reasons I shall discuss in detail, when I publish the remaining grant in Sir Walter Elliot's collection. In the present case, even the name of the king who is said to make the grant is a mistake; for in all the other inscriptions of this dynasty in which he is mentioned, he is called 'Harivarmâ,' and that is, undoubtedly, the correct form of his name.

Transcription.

First plate.

[¹] Svasti Jitam=bhagavatâ gatâ(ta)-ghana-gagan-âbhêna Padmanâbhêna [||*] Śrîmaj-Jâhnavê(vî)ya-kul-a(â)ma-

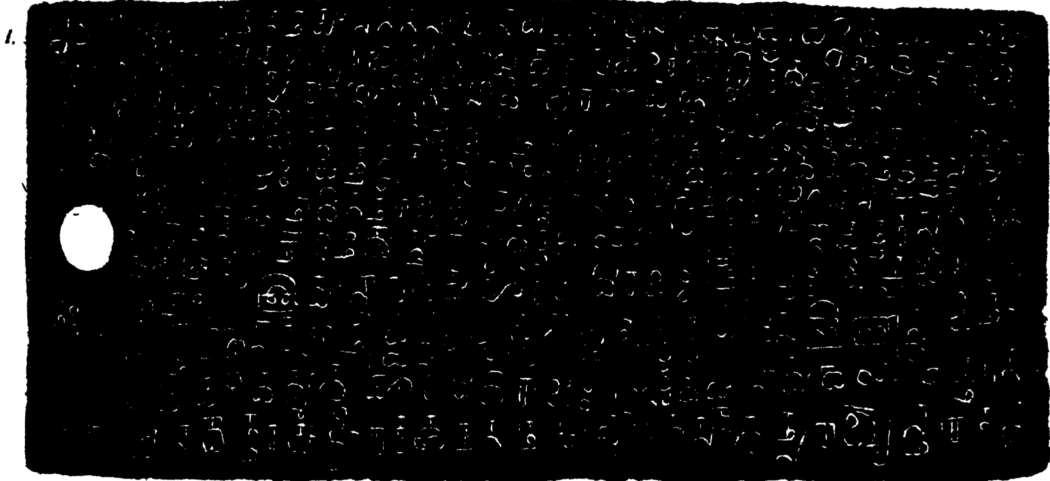
[1] *South-Indian Palæography*, 2nd edition, p. 34.

[2] Vol. I., p. 360.

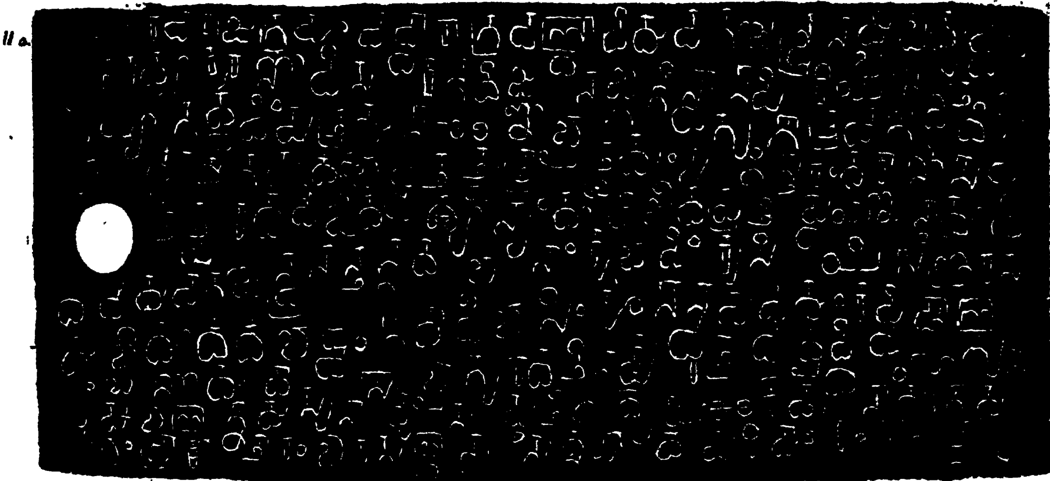
[3] Vol. II., p. 155.

COPPER-PLATE PURPORTING TO BE A GRANT OF THE KOṄGU KING ARIVARMÂ, DATED ŚAKA 169.

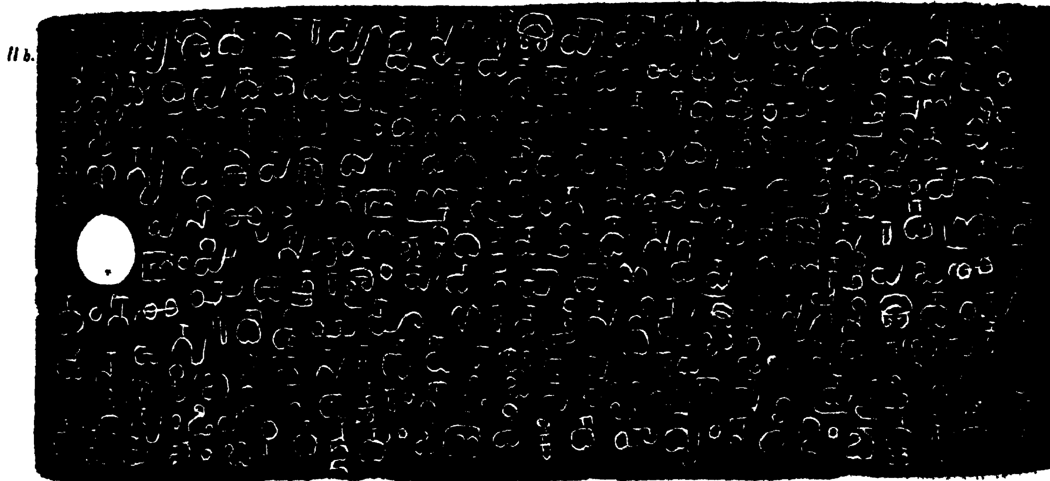
I.



II a.

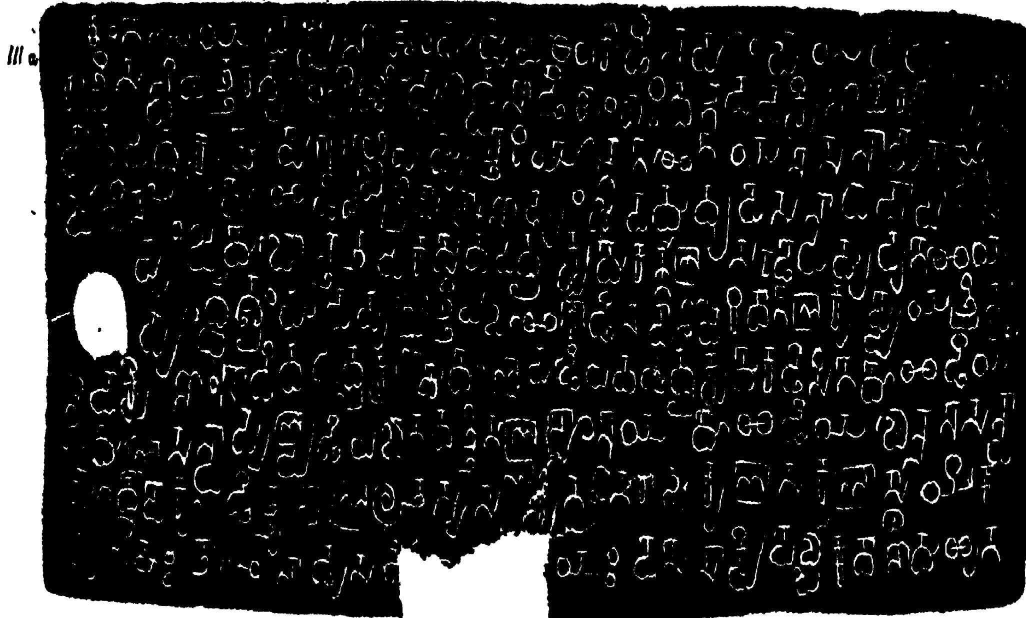


II b.

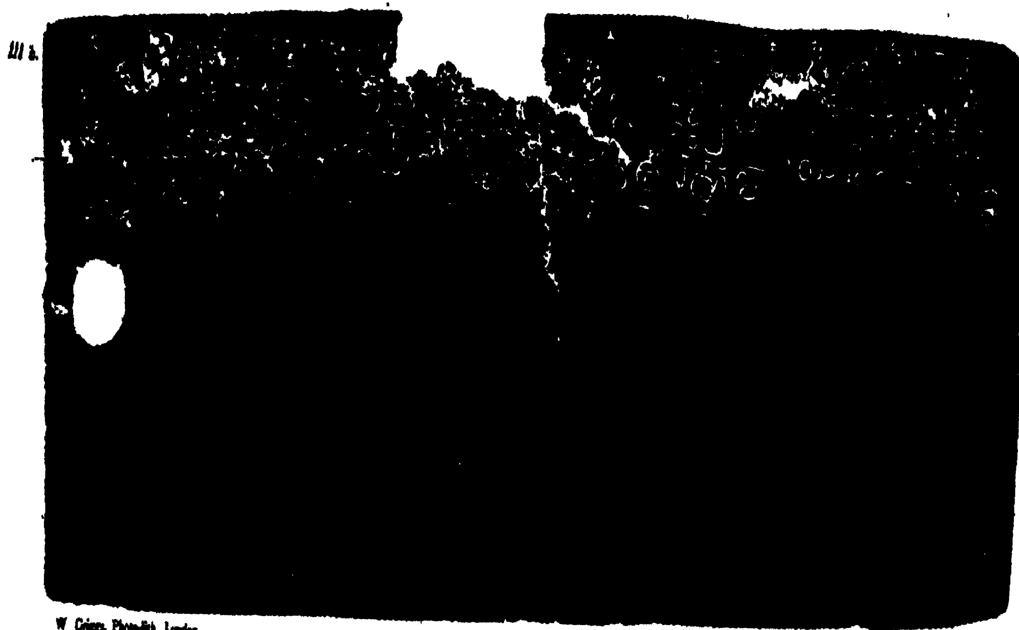


COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE KONGU KING ARIVARMÂ,

III a.

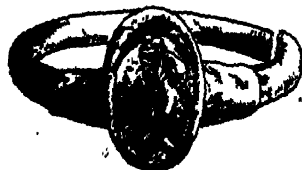


III b.



W. Griggs, Photo-lith. London.

SEAL



[3] la-vyôm-âvabhâsana-bhâsura-bhâskara(raḥ) sva-khaḍg-ê(ai)ka-praha(hâ)ra-khaṇḍita-mahâ-śilâstambha-

[3] labdha-bala-parâkramô dâra(ru)ṇ-ô(â)ri-gaṇa-vidâraṇ-ôpalabdha-vraṇa-vibhûsha-

[4] ṇa-vibhûshi[4]taḥ Kâ(ka)ṇḍâ(ṇvâ)yana-sagôtrasya(traḥ) śrîmân=Koṅga[5]ṇivarmma-dharmmamahârâj-a(â)dhirâ-

[5] jaḥ ‖ Tat-putraḥ ‖ Pitr-anvâgata-guṇa-yuktô vidyâ-vine(na)ya-vihita-vṛitta(ttaḥ) samyak-pra-

[6] ja(jâ)-pâlana-mâtr-âdhigata-râjya-tpra(pra)yôjana(nô) vidvat-kavi-kâñchana-nikâ(ka)-

[7] shôpala-bhûtô ni(nî)ti-śâstrasya vaktri(ktṛi)-prayôktri(ktṛi)-kuśalô dattaka-sûtra-vṛi-

[8] ttiḥ(ttêḥ) praṇêtâṁ(tâ) śrîmân=Mâdhava-mahârâj-âdhirâjaḥ ‖ Tat-putraḥ ‖ Pitṛi-pitâmaha-

[9] guṇa-yuktô(ktô=) anê(=nê)ka-châ(cha)turddanta-yuddh-a(â)vâpti(pta)-chatur-udadhi-salil-âsvâdita-ya-

[10] śâ(śâḥ) śrîmad-Arivarmma-mahârâj-âdhirâjaḥ ‖ Arivarmma-nâmadhêya-datta ‖ Sa(śa)-

[11] kâ(ka)-kâlê nav-ôttara-shashṭir=êka-śata-gatêshu[6] Prabhava-saṁvatsar-âbhyantarê Tala-

Second plate; first side.

[12] vana-purada râja-gra(gṛi)hada dvâr-âgradal=Vâdimadagajêndran=emba Bavu-(*sc.* bau)ddha-vâ-

[13] di tarkka-vyâkaraṇ-âdi-sakala-vijña(jñâ[7])naṅgaḷind=âne piriyen=endu tanna

[14] vidyâ-garvvadiṁ patraman=eṟe Bhṛigu-gôtrada Gôvinda-

[15] bhardda(ṭṭa)ra maga Madhava-bhaṭṭa tat-patr-ârtthamaṁ sa-vistaraṁ vakkhâ(kkha)ṇise

[16] tat-para-vâdi jîva-śûnyaṁ mâḍe jîva-pratipṭe(shṭe)y-antâ mâḍi

[17] Vâdimadagajêndranan=tanna vachan-âṁkucha(śa)diṁ kusiyise arasa-

[18] r=mmechchi Mâdhava-bhaṭṭaṁge vâd-îbha-siṁhan=endu paṭṭamaṁ kaṭṭi Shâ(Phâ)lgu-

[19] ṇ-âmâvâsô(syâ)-Bhṛigu-[vârê*] Rêvati(tî)-nakshatrê Vṛiddhi-yôgê

[20] Vṛishabha-lagnê Maisunâḍu-saptati-madhyê Oṟekôḍu-nâma-grâma

[21] chaṁdr-ârkka-târaṁ bara(raṁ) salv-antu sarvva-bâdhâ(dha)-parihâraṁ koṭṭar=ttasya

Second plate; second side.

[22] grâmasya śi(śî)mântara [| *] Pûrvvasyân=diśi pâshâṇa-puṁjame dakshiṇaṁ nô-

[23] ḍi -nî(ni)mba-vṛikshame vaṭa-vṛikshame kar-galla-moraḍiē(ye) Aḍukuṁgalle Oṟe-

[24] kôḍina Komaramaṁgalada Uguṟevâḍiya tri-sandhi [| *] Da-

[25] kshiṇasyâṁ diśi paśchimaṁ nôḍi Gurdda(ṭṭa ?[8])da-pallame Mutteriē(ye) Handiva(vâ?)ḍi-

[26] ē(ye) Ni(nî ?)ruṁgalle Âyaṁgeṟeya uttara-śriṁgha(ga)maṁ

[27] laṁghisi Chaṁchari-vaḷḷada ti(tî)rame sandâ beḷ-galla-saraḍe Âna-

[28] vaṁgeṟeya uttara-śṛiṁgha(ga)da pâshâṇa-prakṛitiē(ye) Oṟekô-

[29] ḍina Uguṟevâḍiya Hâṇarada tri-sandhi [|*] Paśchimasyân=diśi vâyâ(ya)-

[30] vyaṁ nôḍi beḷ-galla-saraḍe Peroḷbeē(ye) Erepaḍiē(ye) Peroḷbeē(ye) Kaḍa-

[31] veguṁḍiē(ye) uttaraṁ nôḍi Peroḷbeē(ye) pâshâṇa-prakṛitiē(ye) vaṭa-

[32] vṛikshame Chaṁchari-vaḷḷamaṁ balad-ikki vâyâ(ya)vyâṁ(vyaṁ) nôḍi chiṁcha(châ)-vṛikshame Ko-

Third plate; first side.

[33] kkaṁ(?)geṟeya dakshiṇa-śriṁgha(ga)me Oṟekôḍina Haṁcheyada Huttâ[9]-

[34] ra tri-sandhi [|*] Uttarasyâṁ diśi pûrvva(rvvaṁ) nôḍi Chaṁchari-vaḷḷada dakshiṇa-ti(tî)rame saṁ-

[35] dâ vaṭa-vṛikshame Peroḷbeē(ye) Mutteriy-oḷa-geṟeyane sandâ Peroḷbeē(ye)

[36] jâdina-moraḍiē(ye) tri-pâshâṇa-puṁjada mavya(dhya)de sandâ pâshâṇa-

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[4] Here, and in ll. 7, 28, and 31, the *sha* is formed differently, by the centre stroke running quite across, to what it is in l. 8 and throughout the rest of the grant.

[5] The *ṅa* is imperfect here. Contrast the perfect *ṅa* in *vijñânaṅgaḷinda*, l. 13.

[6] *Sc.*, *nav-ôttara-shashṭy-adhik-aika-śatêshu varshêshu gatêshu.*

[7] There is a faint scratch, as if the *â* had been commenced and left unfinished.

[8] Compare *bharddara*, by mistake for *bhaṭṭara*, l. 15. I can find no such word as *gurda* in the dictionary; but Sanderson gives *guṭṭa* as another form of *guḍḍa*, 'a hill.'

[9] The distinctive mark of the *û*,—see *pûrvva*, l. 22, and *kûḍi*, l. 41,—is distinct in the original; but it does not appear in the facsimile, where it reads as *u*.

[37] puṁjame Chonta-taṭa(ṭâ)kame vaṭa-vṛikshame kar-ggalla-saraḍe Mudugereya
[38] pûrvva-śṛiṁgha(ga)da pullattiĕ(ye) Oṟekôḍina Hâdarivâgila Kuppeya tri-sa-
[39] ndhi dakshiṇaṁ nôḍi vaṭa-vṛikshame Molapaḍiĕ(ye) vaṭa-vṛikshame kaḍisige-moṟaḍiya
[40] mêle sandâ Pulpaḍiĕ(ye) Bhagavatti(tî)-galle honneya-moṟaḍiya bennane sandâ
[41] pûrvvade kûḍ-ittu pola ||* Tasya sâkshi Gaṁga-râja-kula-sakal-âsthâyikka(ka)-
[42] purushaḥ Toṟenâḍu-sa[10] . . . . yaḥ [|*] Dese-sâkshi Perbakkavâ[11]ṇamaṟuga-

Third plate; second side.

[43] [reya[12]] Sêṁdrikagaṁje-nâḍa [Nirgg]u[n]d[a][13] [|| Sva]-dattaṁ(ttâṁ) para-dattaṁ(ttâṁ) va yô harêti(ta) vasuṁ-
[44] [dharâṁ shashṭi]-rvva(va)rsha-sahasrâṇi vishṭâyâṁ jâyatêḥ(tê) kṛimiḥ || Keṟe kavile Vâra-
[45] ṇâsiya sarvva-liṁgaman=aḷida chitraka-Viśvakarmm-âchâriya(âchâryyêṇa) śâsana(naṁ) likhi-
[46] tam=idaṁ ||*

Translation.

Hail! Victory has been achieved by the holy one, Padmanâbha, who resembles (*in the colour of his body*) the sky when the clouds have left it!

A resplendent sun to irradiate the clear sky which is the glorious family of Jâhnava; possessed of (*a reputation for*) strength and prowess acquired by cleaving asunder a great pillar of stone by a single stroke of his sword; decorated with ornaments which were the wounds sustained in massacring the forces of his pitiless enemies; belonging to the lineage of the Kaṇvâyanas;—(*such was*) the glorious Koṅgaṇivarmâ, the pious Great King, the supreme king.

His son (*was*) the glorious Mâdhava, the Great King, the supreme king,—who was possessed of virtuous qualities that imitated (*those of*) his father; whose conduct was regulated by knowledge and modesty; who attained the objects of sovereignty only by properly governing his subjects; who was a very touchstone for (*testing*) the gold which was learned men and poets; who was skilled among those who pronounce and those who apply the science of polity; and who was the promulgator of a treatise on the law of adoption.

His son (*was*) the glorious Arivarmâ[14], the Great King, the supreme king,—who was possessed of the virtuous qualities of his father and his father's father; and whose fame was flavoured with the waters of the four oceans, (*the sovereignty of*) which he had acquired in many battles (*in which use was made*) of elephants.

The gift of him whose name was Arivarmâ.—When one hundred and sixty-nine [*years*] had expired in the Śaka era, in the Prabhava *saṁvatsara*,—a Bauddha disputant, named Vâdimadagajêṇdra[15], in the pride of his learning published a paper in the doorway of the palace of (*the city of*) Taḷavanapura to the effect that he was preëminent in logic and grammar and all other kinds of knowledge. And when Mâdhavabhaṭṭa, the son of Gôvindabhaṭṭa, of the Bhṛigu *gôtra*, having declared the meaning of that paper in detail, established the existence of the living soul,—while his opponent maintained the non-existence of the living soul,—and vanquished Vâdimadagajêndra with the elephant-goad which was his theory,—the king was pleased, and conferred on Mâdhavabhaṭṭa the *paṭṭa* of 'a lion to the elephants which are disputants,' and,—on Friday, the day of the new-moon of (*the month*) Phâlguṇa, under the Rêvatî *nakshatra*, and in the Vṛiddhi *yôga*, and (*while the sun was*) in conjunction with the Bull,—gave him, free from all opposing claims, and to continue as long as the moon and sun might last, the village of Oṟekôḍu[16] in the Maisunâḍu Seventy.

The boundaries of that village are:—On the east, there is a heap of stones; looking towards the south (*from which*), there is a *nimbı*-tree; and a fig-tree; and the hill of the black stones; and (*the village of*) Aḍuḳuṁgal; and the

[10] Part of one letter,—*ḍa*, *ḍha*, *da*, *dha*, *pa*, *pha*, *ma*, *va*, or *ha*,—and three or four entire letters, are lost here, the plate being broken away.

[11] This letter may be read as either *vâ*, or *mâ*; but it is plainly *vâ* in l. 32 of the Merkâra plates.

[12] These two letters are obliterated. I supply them from l. 32 of the Merkâra plates.

[13] Here, again, I supply the broken away letters from l. 33 of the Merkâra plates.

[14] This is a mistake for 'Harivarmâ.'

[15] Sc., 'a very elephant, infuriated with rut, of a disputant.'

[16] This village probably took its name from being at the foot of a hill, the summit (*kôḍu*) of which was crooked or out of course (*oṟe*).

junction of (*the villages of*) Oṟekôḍu and Komaramaṅgala and Ugurevâḍi.—On the south, looking towards the west, there is the stream called (?) Gurdada-paḷḷa[17]; and (*the village of*) Mutteri; and (*the village of*) (?) Handivaḍi; and (*the village of*) (?) Niṟuṁgal; and, having crossed the northern highest part of (*the village of*) Âyaṁgeṟe, the . . . .[18] of the white stones, where it joins the bank of the stream called Chañchari-vaḷḷa; and the natural rock[19] of the northern highest part of (*the village of*) Ânavaṁgeṟe; and the junction of (*the villages of*) Oṟekôḍu and Ugurevâḍi and Hânara.—On the west, looking towards the north-west, there is the . . . .[20] of the white stones; and (*the village of*) Peroḻbe; and (*the village of*) Erepaḍi; and (*the village of*) Peroḻbe; and (*the village of*) Kaḍavegunḍi; and, (*thence*) looking towards the north, (*the village of*) Peroḻbe; and a natural rock; and a fig-tree; and, keeping the stream called Chañchari-vaḷḷa on the right hand, and looking towards the north-west, a tamarind tree; and the southern highest point of (*the village of*) (?) Kokkaṁgeṟe; and the junction of (*the villages of*) Oṟekôḍu and Hañcheya and Huttûr.—On the north, looking towards the east, there is a fig-tree on the south bank of the stream called Chañchari-vaḷḷa; and (*the village of*) Peroḻbe; and (*again, the village of*) Peroḻbe, where it joins the tank in (*the village of*) Mutteri; and the hill of the red soil; and a heap of stones standing in the middle of three heaps of stones; and the tank called Chonta-taṭâka; and a fig-tree; and the . . . .[20] of the black stones; and the . . . .[21] of the eastern highest part of (*the village of*) Muḍugeṟe; and the junction of (*the villages of*) Oṟekôḍu and Hâdarivâgil and Kuppe; and (*thence*) looking towards the south, a fig-tree; and (*the village of*) Moḷapaḍi; and a fig-tree; and (*the village of*) Pulpaḍi, where it joins the hill called *Kadisige-moṟaḍi*; and (*the village of*) Bhagavatîgal; and (*in this way*) the land unites again (*at the point from which the boundaries started*) to the east and behind the hill of the *honne*-tree.

The witness of this is . . . . of Toṟenâḍu, the general manager (?) of the family of the Gaṅga kings. The country witness is Perbakkavâṇamaṟugareya-Nirgunda, of the district of Sêndrikagañje.

He is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty-thousand years, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another!

This charter has been written by the *chitraka*[22] Viśvakarmâchârya, who measured out tanks and tawny-coloured cows and all the *liṅgas* of Vâraṇâsi.

[17] See note 8, above.

[18] *Sarade*; meaning not known.

[19] This seems to be the meaning of *pâshâṇa-pravṛitti*; but it is rather doubtful what is intended.

[20] *Sarade*.

[21] *Pullatti*; meaning not known.

[22] *Chitraka*, lit. 'a painter'; but the *Chitrakas* combine other arts with their profession of painting.

THE BHADRACHELLAM AND REKAPALLI TALUQAS.

BY Rev. JOHN CAIN, DUMMAGUDEM.

(*Continued from p. 86.*)

Castes.

Many of the castes which are mentioned below are to be found in other parts of the Telugu-speaking districts of the Madras Presidency, and have been noticed in other books, so I shall only mention special points of interest which I have not yet come across in any articles on the castes of S. India. The list on p. 500 of *The Central Provinces Gazetteer* is inaccurate and most defective, and seems to have been drawn up by some one unacquainted with Telugu.

I. Brâhmaṇs.

1. Śri Vaishṇuvulu.—These are regarded as the most venerable of the Brâhmaṇs, and are looked up to as the chief spiritual preceptors by nearly all the Hindus here who are Vaishṇavas.

2. Vaikhânasulu.—These are the *pûjâris* in the different Vaishṇava temples here, and are not esteemed as the most holy and moral of men.

3. Vaidika Brâhmaṇulu.—These are chiefly *purôhitulu*, but many of them also engage in cultivation and trade.

4. Niyôgulu.—Secular Brâhmaṇs, said by some Brâhmaṇs to be descended from a Brâhmaṇ father and a Vaiśya mother.

5. Vyâpârulu.—Secular Brâhmaṇs.

II. Kshatriyalu.

6. Sûyravamsapu Razulu.—Most of these are immigrants from the Godâvarî Delta. I have only met with one Razu who professed to be a Chandravaṁsapu Razu, and he came from the neighbourhood of N. Arkâdu (Arcot). In the Godâvarî Delta there are several families of the Sûryavaṁsapu Razulu, who are called Basava Razulu, in consequence, it is said, of one of their ancestors having accidentally killed a *basava* or sacred bull. As a penalty for this crime before any marriage takes place in any of these families they are bound to select a young bull and a young cow, and cause these two to be duly married first, and then they are at liberty to proceed with their own ceremony.

7. Velivêyabaḍina Razulu.—These are descendants of excommunicated Sûryavaṁsapu Razulu, as the prefix *Velivêyabaḍina* signifies, and have come from the Godâvarî Delta. There they live chiefly in a group of six villages.

8. Razulu.—These are reckoned, and most probably rightly so reckoned, an impure caste. They seem to have come originally from the Vijagapatam district, and they mostly live in a village three miles from Dummagudem. Strange to say, they had forgotten their family names some few years ago, but they have adopted a family name suggested to them by a great friend of theirs.

III. Vaisyalu or Komatlu.

9. Gaura Komatlu.—These are reckoned as the most honourable of all.

10. Komatlu.—The Gaura Komatlu and Komatlu may eat with one another but may not intermarry.

11. Bêri Komatlu.—The lowest in the scale: they have but little social intercourse with the above two sections of the Komathi caste. Formerly, before a marriage took place between any two Vaisyalu they had to arrange for and pay all the expenses of the marriage of two Madigas (shoemakers), but this custom has been abandoned, and they content themselves by giving an invitation as described *ante*, p. 36.

IV. Vellamalu or Yellamalu.

12. Raça Vellamalu are a most highly respected caste, and several of the leading zamindârs in the Telugu districts are members of this caste, *e.g.* Venkatagiri, Bobbili, Pitapur, Nuzaviḍu, the Aramgir Sârkar, and the late Bhadrachellam Zamindâr. The members of this caste are honoured by the affix *doralu* (see p. 34). In one of the verses of Vemana, the exact words of which I cannot now recollect, it is said that the scorpion has poison in his tail, the serpent in his head, but the whole body of the Vellama is full of poison.

13. Vellamalu are another caste who claim to be Vellamala doralu, but the Raça Vellamalu disclaim all connection with them. They are chiefly cultivators.

14. Gûna Vellamalu or Gûna Tsâkalîlu (washermen).—Formerly this was regarded as quite an inferior Śûdra caste, but as many members of it have been educated in the different Anglo-vernacular schools, and are not troubled very much by caste scruples, they have found their way into almost every department, and have consequently greatly risen in the social scale. A large proportion of the girls in the caste girls' schools are of this caste. The caste occupation of the Gûna Vellamalu is that of dyeing cloth, which they dip into large pots called *gûnas*, hence their name. The term Gûna Tsakalalu is one of reproach, and they much prefer being called Vellamalu to the great disgust of the Raca Vellamalu. Many of them call themselves Naiḍus, but this honorific title is generally exclusively claimed by the Telagalu.

In years gone by, members of this caste who were desirous of getting married had to arrange and pay the expenses of the marriage of two of the Palli (fisherman) caste, but now it is regarded as sufficient to hang up a net in the house during the time of the marriage ceremony. It is said that generations ago, when all the members of this caste were in danger of being swept off the face of the earth by some of their enemies, the Pallilu came to the rescue with their boats, and carried off all the Gûna Vellamalu to a place of safety, and that out of gratitude the latter pledged themselves never to marry without having first borne all the expenses of a marriage amongst their rescuers.

15. Koppu Vellamalu.—In these two taluqas the members of this caste are simply coolies, but probably they pursue more respected occupations in the Vijagapatam district from which they emigrated to these parts.

V. Gollalu.—The herdsmen caste.

16. Gollalu.—These form the highest section.

17. Pûja Gollalu.

18. Erra Gollalu, *i.e.* Red Gollalu.—These are chiefly cultivators, and some few are peons.

19. Basava Gollalu.—See Vol. V. p. 359.

VI. Various other Śûdra castes.

20. Vantaralu; 21. Nagarilu; 22. Telagalu.—These are often called simply Telagalu. They are a most respectable class of Śûdras, and follow a variety of occupations.

23. Bondilu. These often arrogate to themselves the title of Râjputs, and say they came originally from Bundelkaṇḍ.

24. Mutarasulu.—Cultivators and peons.

25. Sutârlu.—Bricklayers and masons.

26. Gavaralu.—Cultivators.

VII. Kamsalilu or goldsmith caste.

27. Kamsililu.—Goldsmiths and jewellers.

28. Kammaravaṇḍlu.—Blacksmiths.

29. Vadlavaṇḍlu.—Carpenters.

30. Kansaravaṇḍlu.—Workers in brass, tin, and other metals.

All the above eat with one another, and intermarry. Some years ago two or three members of this caste married women of the Iḍige caste, and were accordingly excommunicated, and for some time their descendants had to be content to intermarry amongst themselves. Last year, however, they were all received back into the Kamsali caste after paying Rs. 3,000 to the leading Kamsalilu at Dhavaleśvaram, and distributing Rs. 2,000 amongst those resident in Dummagudem. To strengthen the reunion intermarriages immediately took place. The so-called right-hand castes object most strongly to the Kamsalilu being carried in a palki, and three years ago some of them threatened to get up a little riot on the occasion of a marriage in the Kamsali caste. They were deprived of this opportunity, for the palki was a borrowed one, and its owner more anxious for the safety of his property than the dignity of the Kamsali caste recalled the loan on the third day. A ringleader of the discontented was a Madras Pariah. The Kamsalilu were formerly forbidden to whitewash the outside of their houses, but municipal law has proved stronger in this respect than Brâhmaṇical prejudice.

VIII. Tailors.

31. Jangamvaṇḍlu; 32. Mêrilu.

IX. Fishermen.

33. Vajralu.—These will not carry a palki.

34. Jalarlu.— Do.

35. Pallilu.— Do.

36. Bestavaṇḍlu.—Fishermen and bearers.

X. Cultivators purely.

37. Kammavaṇḍlu. As a rule, these are a fine well-built class of cultivators, very proud and exclusive, and have a great aversion to town life. Many of them never allow their wives to leave their compounds, and it is said that many never do any field work on Sundays, but confine themselves on that day to their house work.

38. Motadu Reḍḍivaṇḍlu.

39. Panṭa Reḍḍivaṇḍlu.

40. Konḍa Reḍḍivaṇḍlu, *i.e.* the hill Reddis. These live on the Eastern Ghâṭs on the banks of the Godâvarî. They have been compelled to leave off their former warlike habits, and they now confine themselves to cultivation and trade in timber.

XI. Artisans and labourers.

41. Oḍḍîlu.—These are principally raftsmen, and the village marked Woḍḍegudem (*i. e.* Oḍḍiguḍem) on most maps of this district is so called from the number of Oḍḍîlu who live there. Some who have raised themselves in life call themselves Sishṭi Karanamalu.

42. Sunkaravâṇḍlu.—Cultivators and raftsmen. They came from some part of the Central Provinces, and their language and customs seem to shew that they are one of the original races. They are not regarded as outcastes as stated in the *C. P. Gazetteer* p. 500.

43. Arilu.—Shoemakers who confine themselves to the manufacture of the ornamental kinds of shoes, and are consequently regarded as Śûdras.

44. Gaunḍlavaṇḍlu; 45. Iḍigevaṇḍlu.—Toddy drawers and bearers.

46. Salilu.—Weavers.

47. Devangulu.—Weavers. These are liṅgam worshippers.

48. Tellâkulavaṇḍlu.—These are really washermen who in consequence of having obtained employment as peons in Government offices feel themselves to be superior to their

old caste people. In their own town or village they acknowledge themselves to be washermen, but in other places they disclaim all such connection.

49. Tsakalilu.—Washermen. Sometimes called Bâna Tsakalilu in contradistinction to the Gûna Vellamalu. *Bâna* is the Telugu name for the large pot which the washermen use for boiling their clothes.

50. Nâyakalu.—Evidently one of the aboriginal races. They are cultivators, coolies and raftsmen. Cf. vol. V. p. 303.

51. Reḍḍikilu.—These are chiefly coolies from the Vijagapatam district.

52. Bukkavaṇḍlu.—These travel about selling turmeric, opium, &c.

53. Baljilu; 54. Linga Baljilu.—Makers and sellers of glass and other bracelets.

55. Mangala.—Barbers.

XII. Bards.

56. Baṭrâzulu.—These are to be found chiefly at Zamindâr's courts, but it is a mistake to suppose that there is any connection between them and any of the Kshattrya caste.

57. Sâtânivaṇḍlu.—These are Vaishṇava beggar minstrels. The term is one of reproach amongst the higher castes.

XIII. Conjurors, jugglers, &c.

58. Dasarivaṇḍlu.—These are chiefly actors.

59. Kâtikâpârla.—Conjurors.

60. Dommarivaṇḍlu.—Jugglers.

61. Kâsâlu; 62. Dasilu.—The members of these castes are chiefly to be found in attendance on the zemindârs and other rich people, and report says they are not unfrequently their illegitimate children. They are not always proud of their caste, and sometimes endeavour to pass off themselves as Telagalu.

63. Bogavaṇḍlu (dancing girl). This caste chiefly live at Bhadrâchellam.

XIV. Beggars who beg from the higher classes.

64. Bunzavaṇḍlu; 65. Panasavaṇḍlu.—These ask alms from the Kamsallu only.

XV. Beggars who ask from all classes.

66. Buḍaluḍḍakhulavaṇḍlu.

67. Kommulavaṇḍlu.—So called because they blow a horn when on their begging enterprises. *Kommu* = a horn.

XVI. Other beggars.

68. Mâstilu.—These beg from Gollalu, Mâlalu, and Mâdigalu only, and are regarded as low in the scale as the Mâdigalu.

XVII. Outcastes. This is rather an ambiguous term, but I have chosen it for want of a better. Low castes is perhaps more suitable.

69. Mâlalu. The Pariahs of the Telugu districts. They have as strong caste feelings as the purest of the Brâhmaṇs. The Mâlalu of these parts were called Mannepuvaṇḍlu, from *Mannemu*, a high land, but this term is gradually being disused. I believe this term *highlanders* is applied to many of the hill settlers farther south, but cannot say whether it is restricted to persons of a very low caste. The Pariahs from Madras, the Mâlalu from the lower districts, and the Mannepuvaṇḍlu of these taluqas freely intermix and will eat with one another but not intermarry. The Mâla Vaishṇava priests regard themselves as decidedly superior to the rest of the Mâlalu. The Netkanivaṇḍlu (*C. P. Gaz.* p. 500) are Mâlalu who weave as well as follow other employments. *Neyyuta*=to weave.

70. Mâdigalu.—The shoemaker caste.

71. Ḍekkaḷavâṇḍlu.—Beggars who ask alms of the Mâdigalu only.

72. The Upparavaṇḍlu and the Vaḍḍevaṇḍlu.—Tank-diggers. The former are supposed to be slightly higher in the social scale. A disturbance in a little camp of tank-diggers in a village three miles away lately brought to my remembrance, and confirmed a statement which I heard some six years at Masulipatam as to the manner in which the tank-diggers divide their wages. They had been repairing the bank of a tank, and been paid for their work, and in apportioning the shares of each labourer a bitter dispute arose because one of the women had not received what she deemed her fair amount. On enquiry it turned out that she was in an interesting condition, and therefore could claim not only her own but also a share for the expected child. This had been overlooked, and when she asserted her right to a double portion those who had already received their money objected to part with any although they acknowledged that the claim was fair and just.

73. The Vaḍḍevaṇḍlu are not regarded as the most satisfactory workmen, and I well remember when travelling in the Nizam's dominions near Kammamumett, and staying in

a village where there were a few native Christians whom my fellow traveller was urging to deepen their well, and so render themselves independent of the filthy water of the tank, a bystander suggested that the Vaḍḍevaṇḍlu might be employed, when a Muhammadan cried out, Oh do not employ them, if you do, they will dig up the very roots of your house, the lazy fellows.

74. The Paki or sweeper caste is the lowest caste of all. All these have come from the neighbourhood of Vijagapatam, and are great sticklers for their caste rules.

There are the various sects of Muhammadans, but as there is nothing connected with them deserving of special notice, I have refrained from enumerating them.

The Erakalavaṇḍlu have already been spoken of (p. 106. Cf. also Vol. III. p. 151, Vol. V. p. 188). The habitat of these people is not so confined as Mr. Cust supposes (*Languages of the East Indies*, p. 78), but must extend at least to the Nellur district.

XVIII. 75. Banjârîlu, also called Lambaḍivaṇḍlu.—These are the great travelling traders who bring in produce from the Bastar country, where a number of them have settled down and cultivate the soil in addition to trading. On the side of one of their roads from Bastar are several large heaps of stones which they have piled up in honour of the goddess Guttalamma. Every Banjârî who passes the heaps is bound to place one stone on the heap, and to make a salaam to it. In other parts they fasten small rags torn from some old garment to a bush in honour of Kampalamma. *Kampa*= a thicket. Not very long ago a Banjârî was seen repeating a number of *mantrams* over his patients, and touching their heads at the same time with a book, which was a small edition of the Telugu translation of *S. John's Gospel*. Neither the physician nor the patients could read or had any idea of the contents of the book. They treat their sick and old people very cruelly, and frequently leave them to die in the jungles. Several thus left have been brought into Dummagudem and well cared for, but they have always declined staying here on recovery, and have rejoined their heartless friends. Many of them confess that in former years it was the custom amongst them before starting out on a journey to procure a little child, and bury it in the ground up to its shoulders, and then drive their loaded bullocks over the unfortunate victim, and in proportion to the bullocks thoroughly trampling the child to death, so their belief in a successful journey increased. Probably very little credence can be given to their assertions that they have completely left off such cruelties. Is it not a great mistake to call these people 'wandering gypsies?' The gypsies of England at least are not travelling traders. The people in this country who seem to me most to resemble the gypsies are the Erakalavaṇḍlu.

76. Sukâlîlu.—These may be regarded as a class of Banjârîlu, as their occupation is the same as that of the latter. They do not however travel in such large companies, nor are their women dressed so gaudily as the Banjârî women. There is but little friendship between these two classes, and the Sukâlî would regard it as anything but an honour to be called a Banjârî, and the Banjârî is not flattered when called a Sukâlî.

XIX.—77. Kois.—See Vol. V. p. 357, Vol. VIII. p. 33.

78. Liṅga Kois.—There are a number of Kois who have become Śaivites on the Bastar plateau in the neighbourhood of Liṅgagiri.

79. Gutta Kois.—See Vol. V. p. 357. These call the Kois who live near the Godâvarî Gommu Kois and Mayalotîlu.—The word *gommu* is used in these taluqas to denote the banks and neighbourhood of the Godâvarî. Thus for instance all the villages on the banks of the Godâvarî are called *gommu ûllu*. I never heard the word *gommu* thus used in any of the lower districts. *Mayalotîlu* means 'rascal.' The Gutta Kois say the lowland Kois formerly dwelt on the plateau, but on one occasion some of them started out on a journey to see a Zamindâr in the plains, promising to return before very long. They did not fulfil their promise, but settled in the plains, and gradually persuaded others to join them, and at times have secretly visited the plateau on marauding expeditions.

80. Oḍḍîlu.—These Kois are regarded as rather more honourable than any of the others, and have charge of the principal *vêlpu*. See p. 33. These only pay visits few and far between to these taluqas.

81. Koi Nayakalu.—Very few of these

are to be found outside the Bastar territory. There is no connection between them and the Kois.

82. Koi Kammaravaṇḍlu—*i.e.* Koi blacksmiths. These live in the Koi villages, and will eat in Koi houses, but the Kois will not eat in their houses nor allow of any intermarriage.

83. Dôlivaṇḍlu or Dôlôllu. These are the chief guardians of the inferior *vêlpu* (p. 33; cf. Vol. V. p. 359): attend the marriage feasts, recite old stories, &c. They live by alms from the Kois, as many Brâhmaṇs live by alms from Hindus. The Kois however regard them as an inferior class, and will neither eat with them nor allow of any intermarriage. The Dôlivaṇḍlu obtain their presents chiefly by threatening evils upon those whom they regard as close fisted.

84. Paṭṭiḍivaṇḍlu.—These are Koi cultivators and beggars; whenever they see a stranger Koi or a wealthy Koi they go and fall at his feet, and beg of him. Probably their name is derived from the Telugu *paṭṭuṭa*, to seize hold of.

A few weeks ago there was an outcry raised in a Koi village not very far from my bangalâ, as it was reported that one of its inhabitants had been seized, and was about to be offered up to the goddess Mamili (cf. vol. V. p. 359). It appears that this man, a Koi, professed to be a physician, and had been called some fortnight previous to attend to a patient living in a village six miles away, where there is a stump supposed to represent the goddess Mamili. After a careful examination of the sick man the doctor pronounced the disease to have arisen through the evil influence of some enemy, and that in consequence the patient's stomach was full of tin which it was impossible to remove, and that there were no hopes whatever of his recovery. The friends of the sick man, however, placed full faith in the physician's powers, and begged him to use his healing powers to the utmost. Fowls, *sara* (strong liquor), benzoin, turmeric, etc. were brought; the fowls slain, and the blood smeared over the sick man's face. Then all present (except the invalid) set to work to feast upon the fowls and the liquor, after which the turmeric was made into small balls and well rubbed over the face and body of the patient, and then the medicine man departed. Unfortunately, before he had crossed the boundary of the village the sick man died. Fifteen days afterwards the friends of the dead man assembled, according to their custom, to slay and eat an ox belonging to the dead man's estate. But they were in great distress, as they feared that the man had died in consequence of the want of care and skill on the part of the physician, and that therefore the spirit of the dead man could not approach the spirits of those who had died before, but must remain alone and desolate. The only remedy in such a case is to call the physician, and to persuade him to remove the impurity attached to the departed spirit, and so enable it to be welcomed by the spirits of those who had before died. The man was sent for and came, but as the people of the village had formerly been votaries of the goddess Mamili, he feared lest he should become a victim, and fled, but was soon brought back. However, the man's friends had taken alarm, and had complained to the police in Dummagudem, who soon sent and brought the accused would-be sacrificers into Dummagudem. These then explained the whole circumstance, and assured the police that they had no intention of sacrificing any human being, and that when a human sacrifice had to be offered to Mamili, only a few of the leading men of the village would know of it, since they only would secretly seize a stranger, kill him in the night, sprinkle the blood on the image, and bury the corpse before any one knew anything of the sacrifice. The native clergyman here pointed out to them that as long as they kept the image in their village, such suspicions were likely to arise, and, strange to say, they offered to destroy it in his presence if he would go to their village. As a rule, the Kois, when they are not satisfied as to the cause of the death of one of their friends, continue to meet at intervals for a whole year, sacrifice and eat one or more oxen, and enquire diligently of the reputed physicians in their midst whether the spirit of their lost friend has joined the spirits of his predecessors. When they obtain a satisfactory assurance of the spirit's happiness, then they discontinue these sacrificial feasts.

A fortnight ago, when in the Rekapalli taluqa I saw some of the tombstones which many Kois erect, but which the Kois around Dummagudem have left off using. After the corpse is burnt, the ashes are wetted and rolled up into small balls, and

deposited in a small hole about two feet deep close to the side of a road. Over the hole is placed a small slab, and close to the slab a perpendicular stone like the head-stone of a tomb. Whenever the friends of the deceased pass by, and have any tobacco with them, they place a few leaves on the stone, frequently remarking how fond the deceased was of tobacco during his life-time, and that as he cannot now obtain any, they have deposited a few leaves for his use. The horizontal stones which I saw were about 18 inches square, and the perpendicular ones about three feet high. In some parts of Bastar these stones are said to be much larger.

On a number of tamarind trees outside the villages in the Rekapalli taluqa I noticed a number of small cords made of rice stalks hanging to the branches, and on enquiring the Kois said that when they offered the *Kolulu* (p. 34) at the foot of a tree they tied these cords to it, and that when accompanying a *vēlpu* after its visit to their village they marked the distance they accompanied it by fastening such cords to the nearest tree.

It must not be supposed that the Koi customs are uniform wherever the Kois are to be found, for I have noticed varieties even in the same *samutu* (vol. V. p. 303).

Dummagudem, 27th March 1879.

REPORT ON THE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE HAMBANTOṬA DISTRICT, CEYLON.

BY DR. E. MÜLLER, ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEYOR.

The only two parts of the Southern Province which show traces of ancient civilization are the village of Dondra near Matara, and the district that extends about 70 miles to the east of Tangalla. There are ruins scattered all over this district, but we have no great centre here like Anurâdhapura and Pollonaruwa, and often it is very difficult to find the inscriptions, especially at the present moment, when all is overgrown with jungle owing to the continual rain during the last year.

By far the greater part of the inscriptions are flat on the rock, so that it is impossible to take photographs of them, and the only way left is a paper impression, which of course can only be done in dry weather. Most of these inscriptions which are flat on the rock are very much effaced by their being exposed to the rain, so that it is sometimes impossible to make out the sense with anything like certainty.

The first temple which I reached in coming from Tangalla is the Mulgirigala temple, celebrated by its collection of ancient manuscripts (Upham, *Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon*, vol. III. p. 33). It is situated on the top of a steep rock 4 miles from Udukiriwila tank. There are some so-called cave-inscriptions at this temple similar to those at Wessagiri Anurâdhapura (Goldschmidt's *Report*[1]) and in almost perfect preservation. The following are the transcripts :—

1. At the bottom of the rock just behind the priest's house,

...................Bati Chaḍatisaha leṇe.

'Cave of Chaḍatisa, brother of...................'

2. In the jungle on the left side from the steps that lead to the temple,

[*Paru*] makaha Banaka bati upaśakaha lene agata an [agata cha] tudiśa śagaśa dine.

'The cave of the lay-devotee, the brother of the Brahman Banaka, is given to the priesthood in the four quarters, present and absent.'

3. At Bisogala near Gowagala, half a mile from the temple,

Parumaka Sumana puta Parumaka Tiśa leṇe Mahadaśaka nima agata anagata chatudiśa śagaśa padi [*ne*].

'The cave of the Brahman Tisa, son of the Brahman Sumana called Mahadaśaka, is given to the priesthood of the four quarters present and absent.'

It is interesting in these inscriptions to observe the old form of the Gen. Sing., in *śa* (corresponding to the Pâli *ssa*, Sanskrit *sya*) used contemporaneously with the more modern one in *ha*, for instance *śagaśa* compared with *parumakaha* in No. 3. This modern form is universally used as early as the time of king Gajabâhu Gâmini (A.D. 113—125) as we see from the very first words of his inscription at the Ruwanwaeli dâgoba, Anurâdhapura :—

Wahâba râjaha manumaraka Tisa maharajaha puti maharâja Gajabâhu Gâmiṇi Abaya :

[1] *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 319.

'King Gajabâhu Gâmiṇi Abhaya, son of King Tisa, grandson of King Wahaba.'

There are two more inscriptions, one on the steps that lead to the temple about half way up, the other one at the bottom of a small tank close to the Wihâra; but they are so much effaced that I cannot attempt a translation. Close to the jungle-road that leads from Udukiriwila to Ranna, I found two wihâras containing fragments of old rock inscriptions. The first, in coming from Udukiriwila, is called Naygalwihâra, and is situated on the left side on a hill. The inscription, although in square characters, shows a first step of transition to the round form, inasmuch as the vowel *i* is represented by a curve over the consonant; unfortunately this, as well as the inscription at Kahagalwihâra on the right side of the road, is so much weather-worn that I gave up the hope of deciphering it.

A little off the same road at Attanayâlawihâra there is a pillar inscription of more modern date, of which one side is tolerably well preserved. It bears the name of a king Siri Sang Bo, but as there are so many of this name (*cf.* Goldschmidt's *Report*[3]) it is difficult to find the exact date of the inscription. At any rate it must belong to the tenth or eleventh century. I give the transcript as far as it could be made out:—

1 Siriwat
2 apiriya
3 ——— nau-
4 rahi tâ (?)
5 k [*aeta*] kula pâ-
6 mil [*i*] kala O [*kd*] -
7 was parapure-
8 n baṭ rad puru-
9 muwanaṭ ag me
10 [*hesu*] n wû
11 raha—ma [*Si*] r [*i*] sa-
12 nga bo maharad hu
13 urehi dâ kaeta [*ku*] -
14 la kot w [*i*] yat da-
15 ham niyae kala
....

'The glorious endless .... who was an object of respect to the Kshatriya tribe, being descended from the unbroken line of Ikshwâku, being born in the womb of the chief queen to his Majesty the King, son of king Siri Sanga Bo, the pinnacle of the Kshatriya caste, the sage who learned the doctrine.....................'

Nearly the same words, only connected with other names, occur in the inscription of Aepâ Mahinda at Mayilagastoṭa, eight miles from Tissamahârâma, which is now in the Colombo Museum, and of which a part has been published in Dr. Goldschmidt's *Report* (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 324, No. iv.) I give here one of the following parts, as unfortunately some portions of the rock are too much effaced as to allow a translation of the whole inscription :—

A. 32 .... d[*u*] n[*u*]
33 [*maḍul*]u melâ[*t*]
34 [*śrî*] rad kol [*kae*] m [*i*]

B. 1 yan no
2 wadnâ i-
3 sâ gam
4 gon rada
5 hara bili
6 bun gael
7 miwun wae
8 riyan no
9 gannâ
10 is mangi
11 wa piyagi
12 wa no wad-
13 nâ isâ.

'The officers of the royal family shall not enter the place belonging to the priesthood, enemies shall not take away the villages, the cattle, the royal taxes, the revenue .... the cart buffaloes, travellers, and pilgrims (?) shall not enter.'

The same contents are to be found in the inscription at Mahâkalattewa now in the Colombo Museum (Goldschmidt's *Report*, *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 323, No. i.), and in a short inscription found at Kudawaewa near Ralapanna (N. W. Prov.), which runs as follows :—

Śrîrad kol kaemiyan duṇumaṇḍalan no wadnâ isâ.

The term *dunumaṇḍala*, a very common term for priest, is probably the same as the modern *tunmaḍulla*, the robe of a priest which covers and ornaments three parts of the body.

For the sake of comparison I give here the transcripts of two other hitherto unpublished inscriptions of the same time, which do not belong to the Southern Province.

One of them is now in the Colombo Museum,

[3] *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. pp. 323ff.

and was taken from Abhayawaewa (now called by its Tamil name Bassawa Kulam) near Anurâdhapura. It runs as follows:—

A. 1 Siri sang
2 boy ma purmu-
3 [k]â dasana-
4 wanne Maendi di-
5 nae pura teḷes-
6 wak dawas Ba-
7 yaê waew mâwaḷ
8 karwanukoṭ wat
9 himiyan wahan-
10 se wadâḷeyi-
11 n waewae satar ka-
12 nae satar . pahaṇak
13 hinwâ me waew-
14 hi mas maerû
15 kenekun raekae
16 genae no pae-
17 ṭ wu wa nuwar
18 laddâ atin da-
19 sa hanak ran ma-
20 [haweher piri]-
21 wahana mâḍae bi-
22 yâ tamâ ne we-
23 he [r] awu [d] miyan·

B. 1 wâ..........................
2 .... lawâ ge-
3 nae me waew-
4 hi mehe [ka]-
5 rawâ re (?) kas wa
6 me waewhi mas
7 marana ta.........raekae
8 haṭ kewuḷ
9 usu

I give a literal translation, although I am aware that it will be very deficient, especially as the inscription seems to have occupied more than one pillar originally:—

'His Majesty Śri Sang Boy in the 19th year (of his reign) on the 13th day in the bright half of Maendindina (*March—April*) at the Abhaya-tank having made .... the lord having ordered to put at the four corners of the tank four pillars, that whoever might kill fishes in this tank may be taken into custody, not to be concealed, but to be taken to the town............ by the overseer of the Mahawihâra, may be made to work at this tank' ....

Kana is Sanskrit *koṇa* 'corner,' not as Goldschmidt believed = *skanda* 'embankment,' *pahan* is = *pâshâṇa*, *kewuḷ* = *kaiwarta*.

This inscription belongs most probably to Kassapo V. (A.D. 937—954 according to Turnour; 914—931 according to the editors of the 2nd Part of the *Mahâwaṁso*), although he is said to have reigned in his 19th year, as such inaccuracies occur frequently enough. The following one belongs to his son-in-law and successor, Kassapo VI., and is to be found on a pillar in the jungle near Mihintale. I give the transcript from a photograph and squeeze:—

A. 1 Swast [i śri]
2 Abhay Si-
3 ri sa[ng]boyi
4 ma Purmukâ na-
5 wawanne Hi-
6 mate mashi
7 dasa wak da-
8 was Saê-
9 giri weheri-
10 n pere dunumanḍ-
11 lan gannâ k[o]-
12 ṭ isâ manga
13 mahawar is[d]
14 melâṭ no
15 wadnâ i-
16 sâ mang-
17 diwa pediwa

B. 1 No wadnâ
2 isâ.....................
3 .... r[a]d ko-
4 l kaemiya-
5 n no wadnâ
6 isâ Saê-
7 girigal
8 waḍatalan
9 puḷapan mi-
10 wan sini-
11 balân
12 no kapanu i-
13 sâ kaepu
14 .... kamṭaen
15 genae da-
16 ṭ (?) gannâ
17 isâ pawu
18 sangwael-
19 la piriwen
20 sangwael-

C. 1 La kulî mahawar
2 aḍakkalam
3 aetî no kiyaê
4 weheraṭ ga-
5 nnâ isâ me
6 tuwâk ayat
7 rad kolaṭ ga-
8 nmin siṭiya
9 weheraṭ me
10 wadâḷamhayi
11 ârogya
12 sidhî

Translation.

'Hail! [We] king Abhaya Siri Sang Boy in the 9th year of [*our*] reign on the 10th day of Himanta (*November*) order that the former priests shall be removed from the Chaityagiri wihâra, that roads and high-roads (*shall be made*)......................that travellers and pilgrims shall not enter, that the officers of the royal family shall not enter, that palmyras and cocoanuts and ferns and tamarinds shall not be cut, and, if cut, they shall be given to the owners, that the priest from the mountain and the priest from the temple if judging half a *kalanda* not sufficient as wages for the [*maintenance* of the] high road, shall take the rest from the temple and unto that from the taxes of the royal family (?) ....good prosperity!'

The Chaityagiri wihâra is the same mentioned in the long inscription of Mahindo III. at Ambasthala, Mihintale, of which the beginning has been published in Goldschmidt's *Report* (*I. A. u. s.* p. 325). There, however, it is called Seygiri according to the tendency noticeable in this inscription to spell the words after the old fashion. *Mangdiwa* and *piyadiwa* must be according to the context the same as *manggiya* and *piyagiya* in the inscription at Mahâkalattaewa C., and *diwa* therefore be derived from √ *dhâw* 'to run' cf. *Sidd. Sang.* I., 41. The expression also occurs in the inscription of Komgollaewa (Colombo Museum), where we find *pe* instead of *piya* = *pada*: *m* [ang] *diw pediw rad kol samadaruwan*, wrongly translated by Goldschmidt: 'The princes of the royal family which is the lustre of this Island.'

On the same road about two miles from Ranne there is a wihâra called Wîgamuwa containing two ancient rock inscriptions, of which photographs were taken by me. Both of them seem to be hopelessly defaced. In much better preservation I found an inscription at Wâdigala, one mile and a half from Ranne on the road to Tangalla, although it is like the others flat on the rock. The following is the transcript:—

Hamaraketahi pahaṇakubare me weherahi saga asati.

'In the plain of Hamara(?) the.........paddy-field [is given] to the priesthood in this wihâra.'

Asati is, according to Dr. Goldschmidt's explanation, a subjunctive of the root as "to be," later changed into *isâ*, which occurs frequently in inscriptions of the 10th and 11th centuries and later still into *nisâ* by a mistake of the pandits, who thought it to be derived from the Pâli *nissâya*.

There are two more partly-effaced inscriptions on the same rock and two at Kahandagala, in the jungle half a mile off the high road.

In proceeding further towards the east we find two inscriptions of King Niśśanka Malla, of which one, a pillar from Kaeligatta, has been removed to the Colombo Museum. The other one is at Wandarûpa wihâra, on the border of the Walawe river one mile and a half from the Ambalantoṭa resthouse. The following is the transcript:—

1 ....Kâlinga chakrawarttîn wahanse raja......................
2 siri paemiṇi dewana hawurddehi paṭan Laṃkâwa sisârâ gam niyam ga-
3 [m] âdi wû no ek prasiddha sthâna hâ jala durgga paṃka durgga wanadurgga
4 Samanoḷa âdiwû giridurgga at ambulu pakak sê balâ wadârâ daśa digantarayehi
5 tun rajayehi no ek satra naṃwâ aneka yâchakayanṭa ran waḷan ridî waḷan din
6 ...... hoṇḍa nadaḷî wadârâ bisowarun wahansê aetuḷu wû pas dena wahansê tulâbhâra naengi
7 hawurudu patâ pas tulâ bhârayak baegin dî dukpatun suwapat koṭae suwapatun............
8 koṭae tun rajayehi noek be........... ya naṃwâ tun nakâ samanga koṭae tawa da sa.........ya
9 koṭae liyawâ sa ...... antaḥpurastrîn Ruwanmaeli wahasae wahansê dâ wandanâ karan kaemae
10 ta baegae kiyaê ga[ṇ]it ne sêmae raja darukenakun kaeraewû yê wehe dayi wadârâ
11 ananta wasa daewiya ....dura koṭae mehe karuwan ânanda karawâ Pihiṭirajayaṭa pi
12 yumak sê wû Ruwanmaeli dahagab wahansê karawâ antaḥpurastrîn dâ wandawâ pe-
13 ra ...... aya genae dustha kaḷa Laṃkâwâsînṭa ran waḷan ridî waḷan âdî wû boho saepa-
14 t dewâ wadârâ uttê am[u]ṇakaṭa aya ekamuṇu tun paêḷak hâ maṇḍaran sakak hâ
15 maendê amuṇakata ekamuṇu depâeḷak hâ maṇḍaran hatara aka hâ paessê amuṇakaṭa
16 .... ekamuṇu .... hâ [*maṇḍa*] ran tunaka baegin aya gannâ niyâyenwyawasthâ koṭa wadârâ

Translation.

'......The king born from the Kâlinga race, who went since two years round Ceylon, who saw towns and villages and several fortresses, strongholds in water, in marsh, and in forest, Adam's Peak and other fortified mountains like a ripe neli-fruit in his hand, in ten directions, who established different white canopies in the three kingdoms, who gave gold and silver ornaments to many poor people......... together with his queen's 5 people raising the balance, giving yearly 5 times his own weight, making unhappy people happy, happy people ......raising..... in the three kingdoms, uniting the tree nîkâyas into one and made still more ...... made the women of the harem salute the Ruwanwaeli Dâgoba .... Having pleased the working people, having made the kingdom of Pihiṭi like a lotus, having built the Ruwanwaeli Dâgoba, having made the women of the harem salute the relic, having given to the people of Laṃkâ that were unhappy through the taxes of former kings, gold and silver ornaments and much wealth, he gave orders to fix the tax for the first *amuṇam* at 1 *amuṇam* 3 *paelas* 6 *maṇḍaras*, for the middle one at 1 *amuṇam* 2 *paelas* 4 *maṇḍaras*, for the last at 1 *amuṇam*.........*paelas* 3 *maṇḍaras*.'

The same passage concerning the tax occurs also in the inscription at Dambulla, *l.* 2, and in the so-called Galpota at Polonnaruwa A 17. The derivation of *utta* is not clear; *maenda* is Saṅskṛit *madhya*, Pâli *majjha*; *paessa* is = *paścima*.

There is another inscription of the same king at Rambha Wihâra twelve miles from the Ambalantoṭa rest-house; it consists of seven fragments, of which only two are tolerably well preserved. The content is almost to the word the same as in his other numerous inscriptions that are scattered all over the Island, and of which three have been published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society N. S.*, vol. VII. pp. 152ff.

The last inscription before we reach Hambantoṭa is one of king Nâga Mahâsêna (A.D. 275—302, Mah. chap. xxxvii.) at Karambagala, nine miles to the north of Ambalantoṭa rest-house, not far from the Walawe river, where there is hardly anything legible except the name of the king. This, however, is interesting as he is only called Mahâsêna in the *Mahâwaṁso*, whereas we find his other name besides in an inscription of his son and successor Mêghawarna, at the Ruwanwaeli Dâgoba, Anurâdhapura. I may mention here also the rock inscription at Badagiriya, nine miles from Hambantoṭa, two miles off the old road to Badulla, which belongs to the same king Mahâsêna, and of which I took a photograph.

Unfortunately many letters are either missing or partly effaced, so that I cannot attempt a translation. There are however some interesting words which I may mention. In the fourth line we find a word *nayariya*=*nâgarika* (modern *nuwaru*), in the same line the form *wajeriyi* 'he declared' derived from Pâli *avadhâreti*. The modern verb is a corrupted tatsama *wadâranawâ*, the noun *waedaêruma* (*Sid.-Sang.*) In this old form *wajeriyi* the *e* seems to represent the sound *æ*, which at that time (2nd or 3rd century) had not yet its proper character. In the same fourth line we find *apayaha*[3] *batiya* 'our brother' and in the fifth *apayaha pute* 'our son,' with which may be compared *apayaha pali* 'our sire' (Goldschmidt's *Report, I. A. u. s.* p. 322) in the Tissamahârâma inscription.

There was another very much effaced inscription on a pillar about half a mile north from the rock, which has been removed to the Colombo Museum.

We now go on at once to Tissamahârâma. Although I had heard that there were extensive ruins at this place, I only succeeded in finding two octagonal inscribed pillars, of which one was photographed. It is called Aetabaendûwa, the pillar to which the king's elephant was tied. The inscription, belonging to the sixth or seventh century, is almost totally effaced. The other pillar at Sandagiri wihâra bears the name of Rohiṇika Gâmiṇi, son of king Gajabâhu, grandson of king (Wankanâsika) Tisa. There is also mentioned a queen Silâdevî, which I was not able to identify; and the tanks of Dûrà and Tissa, which according to the 35th chapter of the *Mahâwaṁso* were enlarged by king Ila nâga.

[3] Mr. Childers in his *Notes on the Simhalese Language, Jour. R. As. Soc.* N.S. vol. VIII. p. 136, gave up the attempt to explain this word. I believe that it can easily be derived from the pronomical stem *asma*, like *bhappa*=*bhasman*, *bhippa* for *bhishma* in Mahârâshṭri (*Hemac.* II. 51, 54).

By far the most interesting inscription at Tissamahârâma is that inside the Dâgoba, which was visible at the time when Dr. Goldschmidt visited the place. I give the transcript according to his notes :—

Siddham! Mahanaka rajaha pute Aḷunaka raja Nakamahawihera kara [*hi*] Goḷagamavila ca Goḷagamaketa waga............ gama ca nama.

'Hail! king Aḷunaka, son of king Mahânâga, built (or enlarged?) the Nâgamahâwihâra, the tank, and the field of Goḷagama ....'

The fact alluded to in this inscription concerning the Nâgamahâwihâra is also related in the 35th chapter of the *Mahâwaṁso*, (p. 217 of Turnour's edition). It was built according to the *Mahâwaṁso*, p. 130, by king Mahânâga, the second brother of Dewânampiya Tissa. It is not the same wihâra which is called Mahagamaraja Mahawihâra, after king Kâkavanna Tissa, the father of Duṭṭhagâmini, in the inscription from Tissa Mahârâma that is now in the Colombo Musuem (Goldschmidt's Report *I. A. u. s.* p. 321). The statement made here that Ila nâga was the son of Mahâdatika Mahânâga does not agree with the *Mahâwaṁso*, according to which he was his grandson.

Grammatically interesting is the change from *g* to *k*, which seems to have been frequent in ancient Siṇhalese, *e.g.* *baka* = *bhâga*, *yâku* = *yavagu*, etc.

The inscription at Kirinde, although dealt with at some length in Dr. Goldschmidt's *Report* (*I. A. u. s.* p. 321), is not given there in its whole extent. I therefore reproduce it here :—

[1] Siddham! Aparimite lokehi Buddhasame nati aṭhâne parimaṇḍale be ....

[2] savanyutopete anutare saṭhe mahesaraṇe lakicake Budha nimi

[3] Sayambhu me galahi wihera nira .... nama Budha saraṇagate miciya diṭika biṁdiya ... . niyate.

Translation.

'Hail! in the boundless universe there is no equal to Buddha, not bound by space, all covering, endowed with omniscience, unrivalled, the Teacher, the great Refuge, the wheel of prosperity is Buddha, the self-existent. The wihâra on this rock .... called .... is granted to .... who has put his trust into Buddha, having reduced the heretics.'

There are some more inscriptions near Kirinde; two cave inscriptions which offer no particular interest at a place called Galgedara (stone-house) in the jungle four miles off, and one rock inscription at Angunukolawihâra. The latter, although comparatively well preserved, has until now resisted my efforts to decipher it. Another one completely effaced is at Durâwa, one mile and a half on the road to Hambantoṭa.

The places beyond Kirinde I was unfortunately not able to visit owing to the continuous rain, but I give here from Dr. Goldschmidt's notes the transcript of a rather interesting inscription at Śitulpawihâra (Chittalapabbato in the *Mahâwaṁso*) 22 miles from Kirinde :—

[1] Siddham Nakamaharajaha puta Batiya Tisa maharajaha maḷu Ti . . . .
[2] maharaja aṭasa . . . ta Tisa Kvahawana [*tab*] iya Chitalapawata atiṇa samaya dakini Ti
[3] sa aleya wawi; akaḷa koṭu kana waya Nakamaharajaha [*ce*] taha . . . ta mudawatiyaṭa chi
[4] hatakaradorahi tumaha akaḷa [*ko*] ṭu karitakojarahala ca . . . . . . dasapahata ṭayi
[5] jina [*pali*] satari. . . . . koṭu dini dakapata sakalasamata dini.

Translation.

'Hail! The son of king [*Mallaka*] Nâga, the brother of king Batiya Tisa, king [*Kaniṭṭha*] Tisa. . . . . repaired the Chitalapabbata established by Kâkavaṇṇa Tisa and the tanks of Dakhiṇa and Tisa. . . . . . . and the chaitya of king Nâga (*i.e.* Tissamahârâma) having remitted the taxes. . . . . . and having performed deeds not (*formerly*) done (*even*) by himself . . . . . . having repaired the decayed buildings. . . . . after having seen, he gave it over altogether.

The king mentioned here is Kaniṭṭha Tissa (155—173 A.D.), whose reign is dealt with in the 36th chapter of the *Mahâwaṁso*, p. 225 of Turnour's edition. The Chittalapabbato was founded together with the Mahâgama Mahâwihâra (see above) by king Kâkawaṇṇa Tissa according to *Mahâwaṁso*, chapter xxii. p. 131.

I here subjoin a list of all the kings, which are mentioned in inscriptions in the Southern Province, in their chronological order between the first and fourth centuries A.D. :—

King	Place
Wahaba (A.D. 66—110[*])	Tissamahârâma.
Wankanâsika Tissa (110—113)	
Gajabâhu (113—125)	
Rohinika Gâmini	
Teṭa Tissa	
Abhaya	

King	Place
Mahânâga	Nâgamahâwihâra.
Aḷunaka	

King	Place
Siri Nâga	Karambagala and Badagiriya
Mahâsena (275—302)	
Meghawarna (302—330)	

King	Place
Mallaka Nâga (125—131)	Situlpawihâra.
Batiya Tissa (131—155)	
Kaniṭṭha Tissa (155—173)	

Besides this there is an inscription of Parâkramabâhu I. at Galândawala, four miles from Yâla, and some fragments at Uttarawihâra six miles from Yâla, of which I could not make out the date.

Colombo, 17th October, 1878.

BUDDHIST REMAINS IN THE JALÂLÂBÂD VALLEY.

BY WILLIAM SIMPSON.

As some exaggerations and misconceptions seem to exist respecting the late explorations of Buddhist remains in the Jalâlâbâd Valley, it is here proposed to give a short account of them, so that those in India, interested in such matters, may know the main facts regarding what has been done. I hope to give a fuller form to the description of them, but that cannot be attempted till I return to England. During the lengthened lull of operations while at Jalâlâbâd, I felt a strong desire to get something done in the way of excavating among the numerous remains in the locality. General Sir Sam Browne was anxious to assist, and so was General Maunsell of the Engineers, but although it was known that the Viceroy desired that every effort should be made to carry on such exploration, the works connected with the camp, and the making of roads, required such a number of men at the time that neither an engineer officer nor a working party could be spared. This being the case, Major Cavagnari came forward in a manner most creditable to himself, and offered to provide a working party from the villages round, if I would undertake to look after the operations—the conditions being that all coins and sculptures found were to be the property of Government. Kalah Khân, a havildar of the Guides, who had been engaged in the Yusufzai district, took charge of the work under my directions, and I must speak highly of the manner in which he performed his duty.

The Ahin Posh tope which we first attacked stands on a rising ground on the south of Jalâlâbâd. One party was started to make a tunnel into its centre, and while this was going on, the exploration of the exterior of the tope was proceeded with. Unfortunately there was only a portion of the square base found remaining, but after more than a month's constant work this was cleared out all round, and its details were laid bare. These are valuable so far as bearing on the Greek influence which is known to have pervaded the Buddhist architecture of the Peshawar Valley and the Panjâb.

In the Manikyala tope the base is round, but in the Afghanistan examples this part of the structure is square. The Ahin Posh base was very nearly 100 feet on each of its sides, and it had pilasters of the "Indo-Corinthian" style: the arrangement being that of fourteen pilasters on each side. Originally, there were two stairs, on the north and south by which the square platform was reached, but at a later date similar stairs had been added on east and west. Only a part of the first course of masonry of the round portion of the tope was left, but this was sufficient to indicate that the diameter had been about 80 feet; thus showing that it had been one of the second class topes in this district. The large tope at Umar Khêl is the largest, being about 100 feet in diameter.

I also managed to clear out some of the mound forming the square enclosure round the tope,

* The dates are added from Turnour's *Mahâvaṅso*, Ap. lxii.—Ed.

and on the south side I came upon what I take to have been the grand approach to the shrine. The remains of this extend to some distance beyond the outer enclosure, and at the entrance to the quadrangular court the remains of colossal figures were come upon. Their size may be estimated from the feet of one which were in good preservation, each foot measured about 23 inches in length. I regret that time did not permit of a more extended examination of this part of the remains. Neither was I able to explore the mounds on the west which I supposed to have been the monastery attached to the tope.

This tope, like all those in Afghanistan, had a thick coating of plaster all over it. The Corinthian capital, fragments only of which were found in the earth where they had fallen, had been all moulded in plaster, and the probability is that the whole had been decorated with colour.

The tunnel was at last driven into the centre. It was about 45 feet long and about 6 or 7 feet high. The mass of the building was composed of large water worn boulders embedded in mud, and it was hard work to dig them out. Fortunately the tunnel came direct upon the central cell, the inner shrine, over which the whole of this vast mass of building had been constructed. Its form was a cube, about 16 inches on each side, and formed by layers of slate about half an inch thick, two larger and thinner slates with mud between formed the covering.

This cell contained about a couple of handfuls of dust, perhaps ashes, but I noticed no bones. Prominent on the top of the dust was an object which turned out to be a *Tawiz*, or Reliquary, about four inches long, of gold, and set with stones. In this were two gold coins, and a small dark object, which I naturally presumed to be a relic. Among the ashes were eighteen more gold coins, making twenty altogether. Most of these coins were Baktrian or Indo-Skythian, but there were two or three belonging to the Roman Emperors. One belonged to the reign of Domitian, with the words *Domitianvs Avgvstvs*, and on the reverse *Germanicvs Cos av.* Another had a very perfect portrait of Trajan, and bore the words *Imp.Caesar.Traianoptim. Avg.Germ.D.ac.* And on the reverse, *Regna Adsignata.* Another seemed to belong to the wife of Hadrian, for it had on it the words *Sabina Avgvsta.* These coins were all in very perfect condition. Some of the Indo-Skythian coins bore the name of *Ooerki*. So far as these coins go to prove a date, they show that the tope could not be older than the second century. My own impression would be that it is some centuries later.

The dust I very carefully collected, and it was placed in a bottle, which, with the Reliquary and coins, were all sent to Lord Lytton. They have since been handed over to General Cunningham, whose knowledge connected with these subjects will enable him to determine their ultimate destination. Carefully measured plans and sections were made of the explorations for the Archæological Survey Department by Lieutenant Mayne, R.E.

At the village of Gunda Chismeh, about a mile to the west of Ahin Posh, there was a mound which had not been touched. It seemed a tempting object to attack, and I got a small working party detached, who commenced operations. The tunnel into the centre in this case came upon no deposit, thus confirming Masson's experience, but the outside explorations gave some important details as to Architecture. The square base was about 65 feet on the side, each divided by 10 pilasters. This being a much smaller tope than the other, it had only one stair of approach on the north side. A terrace was brought to light which went round the whole of the square base, and each side of the stair. This terrace is 3 feet 6 inches high, and 4 feet wide, and is ornamented with small pilasters over its whole extent. On finding this peculiar feature in the Gunda Chismeh tope, I caused excavations to be made at Ahin Posh to see if it existed there, and although two trenches were made at different places, I was not fortunate; no trace could be found. Luckily Dr. Amesbury, attached to the Sappers and Miners, made some excavations after I went on with the advance to Gandamak, and he came upon the terrace, hence I presume that this was one of the characteristics of the Afghanistan topes. In the case of Ahin Posh it was 6 feet wide, and 6 feet 6 inches high. None of the masonry of the circular part of the tope was come upon, but I should guess that the diameter may have been about 50 feet. On the south of this tope is a quadrangular mound which is no doubt the remains of the Vihâra, which was connected

with it, and I can only express my regret that I had no time to excavate the spot. Let me here say, that after peace, and a satisfactory alliance has been established with the ruler of this country, that a systematic exploration will be made of the Buddhist remains, not only in the Jalâlâbâd valley, but all over Afghanistan. It was supposed by those acquainted with the matter, that Masson had left no tope unopened. He certainly opened the most of them, but he has left some untouched. There is one known as the Nagara Gundi, about two or three miles west of Jalâlâbâd, where Colonel Jenkins of the Guides made some excavations, and from what was laid bare I believe it is a tope of the largest size, and it does not seem to have been ever opened. Again, I have seen the excavations made by Masson, and Honigberger, and it is apparent they only explored for coins. Neither of these men seem ever to have removed a stone on account of the architecture, and here in this direction the field is almost quite new. The Vihâras have not yet been touched, and there are plentiful remains of them at Hada, Dârantâ, Châr Bâgh, and other places, the details of which might be of the highest importance. Some slight experiences at Hada convinced me that sculptures to any amount will be found when proper excavations are made.

The great number of caves in Afghanistan forms an interesting part of the subject of Buddhist remains; and there is yet much that is wanted in the way of exploration before attempting to speak with certainty about them. They are usually simple arched recesses into the rock, and they bear so much resemblance to the group of caves near Gayâ, that I cannot avoid thinking there is some connection between them. An inscription in the "Milkmaid's cave" states that it was made by Daśartha as a hermitage for Buddhist ascetics. If this simple form of cave was brought from Gayâ to Afghanistan, we may naturally suppose that the object for which they were constructed was the same in both cases. The Gayâ caves are about 200 B.C., and I am inclined to think that the Afghanistan caves are all older than the topes, which are so frequently found in connection with them. I only found one cave, at Dârantâ, with the Vihâra arrangement, similar to the rock-cut Vihâras of Western India. The remains of what I have supposed to be built Vihâras are very plentiful in the Jalâlâbâd groups, but these I take to have been all later than the more primitive rock-cut cell, which may have existed before a more organised monastic system came into existence. A number of these caves are of greater extent, but they do not differ in the form of the round, plastered, roof—and the reason for their extension is, I confess, not quite clear. The largest of these was one shown first to Major Tanner, and which has the tradition attached to it of being the Palace of the Rajah Hoda, from which Hoda is also supposed to derive its name. This is no doubt the same person as the Raja Hudi, whose name is connected with Khairâbâd, opposite Atak, and so many other places, and regarding whom the stories told are as mythical as those of Prince Arthur.

Major Tanner made some excavations in this cave, but the only results were two pieces of sculpture, one a fragment of a lotus base, and the other was the lower part of a Hindu Corinthian capital, of very good work; but its size was too great to admit of the supposition that it belonged to any structure which could have existed in the cave. They were both found at the entrance, and the remains of buildings over the cave would suggest that they had originally belonged to them. The low hill in which this cave is excavated is called in Masson's account *Tappa Zurgaran*, or "The Goldsmith's Mound." Not far from this are some other caves of a different character. They are described in the *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 112. They are square and small, the roofs very flat, with the exception of the dome in the centre. Masson mentions the remains of fresco paintings on these, which are still visible. The Rev. Mr. Swinnerton made some excavations in these caves,[1] and I asked him to clear out the accumulated earth under the dome of one of them; this brought to light a base ornamented with Buddhist figures in plasters, from which I conclude that under these domes stood either small topes, or, perhaps, Buddhist figures, and that they were devotional shrines. Along with these domed caves are the ordinary arched caves, in which it would be natural to suppose the Sramaṇas dwelt who had charge of these Buddhist places of worship.

[1] See Rev. C. Swinnerton's paper, *ante*, p. 198.

The site of the old Buddhist city of Nagarahâra,[2] which is known to have existed in the Jalâlâbâd Valley, would be an important point to make out with certainty. I can only pretend to a suggestion that it stood a few miles to the west of the present Jalâlâbâd, on the right bank of Surkhâb where the red waters of that stream mixed with the grey of the Kabul River. The natives call the spot "Begram," Masson's map is a very rough one, and he places Begram to the south-east of the spot I mean. There is yet a rock standing out of the alluvial plain covered with the debris of old buildings, amongst which can be seen, in more than one place, the remains of Buddhist masonry. This the natives yet point to as the "Bala Hissar" of an old Kaffir city.

I have already mentioned an old tope of the largest size, the mound of which yet remaining is close to this rock, and its name of *Nagara Gundi* or the "Nagara Tope," may be derived from the name of the ancient town. The position was a good one for a site. It had the Kabul river on the north, and the Surkhâb on the west, and there is a small stream on its eastern side. On the south are lines of mounds, evidently the remains of walls, which formed its defences on that quarter. Across the Kabul river, extending from the Phîl Khâna group of caves, and topes, to the Bârâbât tope, a distance of about two miles, there can be traced the whole way remains of Buddhist monastic establishments, which must have had a very fine appearance, as they would form a suburb, which overlooked the city. Along the base of the Siah Koh range, and extending even over a greater distance, are numerous remains of a similar kind, and all near enough to have been considered as outskirts. On the south again is the Châr Bâgh group, these are more distant, still they were near enough to add to the beauty of the situation. The wealth of a great city may perhaps help to explain the existence of such a mass of large and important establishments, the remains of which at the present day are enough to excite the astonishment of any one who visits the locality.

This slight notice of the Buddhist remains in Afghanistan ought not to close without mention of Mr. Beglar's work at Ali Masjid. I have not yet had the satisfaction of seeing the results, but judging from photographs which that gentleman kindly sent me, I believe that the remains he brought to light will be of the utmost value as bearing not only on the Greek influence but on the Assyrian style, which is very distinct at Ali Masjid, and also in the topes of the Jalâlâbâd valley.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

A FOLKLORE PARALLEL.

I have stumbled upon the Sicilian version of the principal incident in the story of Sṛingabhuja in the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*, vii., 39 (see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VIII. p. 37).

It is to be found in *Sicilianische Märchen aus dem Volksmund gesammelt von Laura Gonzenbach* (*Leipzig*: 1870); *zweiter Theil*, p. 55. *Die Geschichte von der Fata Morgana.*

"A prince carries off successfully a bottle full of the 'schweiss' of Fata Morgana. He has been enabled to perform this exploit by the help of a horse, who is really the brother of Fata Morgana transformed by enchantment. But before leaving the castle, where he obtained this precious liquid, he is imprudent enough to strip off Fata Morgana's seven veils and give her a kiss.

"Fata Morgana was awaked by the kiss, and when she saw that her veils had been taken off, she sprang up in order to pursue the prince.

"'O lions, said she, why did you let this youth escape? Come and help me to pursue him. Then the lions spring up, and set out in pursuit of the prince. (The prince was mounted upon the horse as in the Norwegian story.) 'Look round,' said the horse, 'and see what there is behind you.' 'Ah! dear horse,' said the prince, 'the lovely one is pursuing us with two lions.' 'Do not be afraid,' said the horse, 'throw a pomegranate behind you.' Then the prince threw a pomegranate behind him, and immediately a broad river was produced, flowing with pure blood. Fata Morgana and the two lions found great difficulty in crossing it, and when they had reached the other side, the prince had got a good start of them. But Fata Morgana was swifter than the horse, and soon gained on the prince. 'Look round again,' said the horse, 'and see what you can see.' 'Ah, dear horse, Fata Morgana is close behind us.' 'Never mind, throw the second pomegranate behind you.' Then the prince threw the second pomegranate behind him, and immediately

[2] *Vie de Hiouen Thsang*, pp. 76, 294; *Mém. sur les Cont. Occid.* tom. I. p. 96, tom. II. p. 302.—Ed.

there arose a mountain densely wooded, with nothing but thorns. While Fata Morgana and the lions were trying to get over the mountain, they got terribly scratched with the thorns. However, they at last got over with much trouble, and pursued the fugitive. 'Look behind you,' said the horse, 'and see what you can see.' 'Ah! dear horse, Fata Morgana is close behind us.' 'Never mind, fling the last pomegranate behind you.' Then the prince flung the last pomegranate behind him, and immediately a volcano arose behind him, and when the lions tried to cross it, they fell into the flames and were burned. Thereupon Fata Morgana gave up the pursuit, and returned to her castle."

In the story of Śṛingabhuja, before the Râkshasa father imposes the various tasks on the prince, he requires him to choose his lady-love out from among a hundred sisters similar in appearance and similarly dressed. The prince is aided by the lady, who places her necklace on her head to help him to recognize her. In the same way in the story of the *Golden Lion*, second part of Fräulein Gonzenbach's collection, page 76, the princess puts a white cloth round her waist to enable her lover to recognize her. Dr. Reinhold Köhler in his note on this story gives parallels to this incident from the Folklore of Greece and the Upper Palatinate.

Charles H. Tawney.

Calcutta, 17th May 1879.

SPECIMEN OF A DISCURSIVE GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN TERMS.

By H. Y. and A. C. B.

(*Continued from p. 204.*)

Hackery, s. Used by Anglo-Indians, all over the Bengal Presidency, and formerly in Bombay also, for a bullock-cart; yet the word is unknown to the natives, or, if known, is regarded as an English word.

H. H. Wilson, remarking that the word is neither Hindi nor Bengali, suggests a Portuguese original. And the Portuguese *acarreto*, 'carriage,' *acarretador*, 'carter,' may have furnished this original, possibly in some confusion or combination with a native word to drive (Hind. *hâṅk-nâ*, Dakhanî *hâk-nâ*, Mar. *hâkarṇêṇ*).

The quotation from Fryer below shows that the word was in his time used by the English at Surat, where the incident occurred. It must have been carried thence to Bengal. But in this quotation and in that from Grose the vehicle intended is not the lumbering cart that is now commonly called by this name, but the light carriage used by native travellers of respectable position. Such also appears by the passage from Tennent to be the use in Ceylon. And in Broughton's *Letters from a Mahratta Camp* (p. 156) the word 'hackery' is used for what is usually in Upper India called an *ekka*, *i.e.*, a light carrige drawn by one pony.[1]

1698:—"The coach wherein I was breaking, we were forced to mount the Indian *Hackery*, a Two-wheeled Chariot, drawn by swift little Oxen."—Fryer, p. 83.

1742:—"The bridges are much worn and out of repair by the number of *Hackaries* and other carriages which are continually passing over them."—Madras Board, in Wheeler vol. III. p. 262.

Circa 1750–60:—"The *Hackrees* are a conveyance drawn by oxen, which would at first give one an idea of slowness that they do not deserve . . . . they are open on three sides, covered a-top, and made to hold two people sitting cross-legged. . . . . . . Each *Hackrey* has a driver who sits on the shaft, and is called the hackrey-wallah."—Grose, vol. I. pp. 155-56, and p. 56.

1798:—"At half-past six o'clock we each got into a *hackeray*."—Stavorinus, by Wilcocks, vol. III. p. 298.

1810:—"A common cart usually called. . . . a *hackery*."—Williamson, *V. M.* vol. I. p. 330.

1860:—"Native gentlemen driving fast-trotting oxen in little *hackery* carts."—Tennent's *Ceylon*, vol. II. p. 140.

Hobson-Jobson, s. A native festive excitement; a *tamâshâ* (q. v.); a commotion.

This phrase, which may perhaps now be obsolete, is a capital type of the lower stratum of Anglo-Indian *argot*. It is, or was, a part of the dialect of the British soldier, especially in South India, and is in fact an Anglo-Saxon version of the wailings of the Muhammadans in the processions of the Moharram—"*Yâ Husain! Yâ Hassan!*"

We find no literary quotation to illustrate this phrase fully developed, but we have the embryo in several stages:—

1698:—"About this time the Moors solemnize the Exequies of *Hosseen Gosseen*."—Fryer, p. 108.

"On the Days of their Feasts and Jubilees Gladiators were approved and licensed, but feeling afterwards the Evils that attended that Liberty, which was chiefly used in their *Hossy Gossy*, any private Grudge being then openly revenged." . . . . . *Id.* p. 357.

1721:—"Under these promising circumstances the time came round for the Mussulman feast called '*Hossein Jossen* . . . . . better known as the Mohurrum."—Wheeler, vol. II. p. 347.

[1] And so it is used still in Bombay.—Ed.

1803:—"It was the 14th of November, and the festival which commemorates the murder of the brothers *Hassein* and *Jassein* happened to fall out at this time."—Orme, Bk. III. (p. 193 of reprint).

KITTYSOL, KITSOL, s. This word still survives in the Indian Tariff, but otherwise it is obsolete. It was formerly in common use for an *umbrella*, and especially for the kind imported from China, made of bamboo and paper, such as recent English fashion has adopted to screen fireplaces in summer. The word is Portuguese, *quita sol, i.e.* 'take away sun.'

1588:—"The present was fortie peeces of silke . . . . a litter chaire and quilt, and two *quita soles* of silke."—Parke's Mendoza, vol. II. p. 105.

Cir. 1609:—"Of *Kittasoles* of state for to shaddow him, there bee twentie" (in the Treasury of Akbar)—Hawkins, in Purchas vol. I. p. 217.

1687:—"They (the Aldermen of Madras) may be allowed to have *Kettysols* over them."—*Letter of Court of Directors* in Wheeler, vol. I. p. 200.

1698:—"Little but rich *Kitsolls* (which are the names of several Count(r)ies for Umbrelloes)."—Fryer, p. 160.

C. 1754:—"He carries a *Roundel* or *Quit de Soleil* over your head."—Ives, p. 50.

1875:—"Umbrellas: Chinese of paper, or *Kettysols*."—*Indian Tariff.*

See also Milburne, vol. I. pp. 268, 464; and see *Chatta, Roundel, Umbrella.*

In Parke's Mendoza (vol. II. p. 58) we have also "a great *tira sol* made of silke, that did shadowe him all over."

KITTYSOL BOY, s. A servant who carried an umbrella over his master's head.—Milburne, vol. II. p. 62; and see *Roundel-Boy.*

ST. JOHN'S, n. p. An English sailor's corruption, which for a long time maintained its place in our maps. The proper name of the place, which is on the coast of Gujarât, is apparently S a n j â n (see *Hist. of Cambay* in Bombay *Government Selections,* p. 52). It is the S i n d â n of the old Arabian geographers, and was the earliest landing-place of the Pârsî refugees on their emigration to India in the 8th century.

1623:—"The next morning we sighted land from a distance. . . . . in a place not far from Bassain, which the English call *St. John's (Terra di San Giovanni)*; but in the navigating chart I saw that it was marked in the Portuguese tongue with the name *Ilhas das vacas*."—P. della Valle, vol. II., p. 500.

1630:—"It happened that in safety they made to the land of *St. Johns* on the shoares of India."—Lord, *The Religion of the Persees*, p. 3.

1698:—In a Week's Time we turned it up, sailing by Baççin, Tarapore, Valentine's Peak, *St. John's*, and Daman, the last city northward on the Continent, belonging to the Portugueze."—Fryer, p. 82.

1810:—After attempting to settle in various places, they at length reached *Sunjum* in Guzerat."—*Maria Graham*, p. 40.

1874:—The first port they landed at was Diu.... Thence they removed......to *Sanjan*, 51′ south of Damaun ...... and were permitted to reside."—Markham, *History of Persia*, p. 98.

TYPHOON, s. A tornado or cyclone-wind; a sudden storm, a '*norwester*' (q. v.)

Sir John Barrow ridicules "learned antiquarians" for fancying that the Chinese took *typhoon* from the Egyptian *Typhon*, the word being, according to him, simply the Chinese syllables *Ta fung*—'great wind' (see his *Autobiography*, p. 57). His ridicule is misplaced. There is no reason to suppose that "the Chinese" took the word *typhoon* from anybody.

Did Sir John suppose that the Arab or Perso-Arab mariners, from whom the early Portuguese voyagers got their *tufão* (which our own sailors have made into *typhoon*, as they got their *monção* which our sailors have made into *monsoon*), could not give a name to a circular storm without going to China for it? With a monosyllabic language like the Chinese you may construct a plausible etymology for anything. We might as well ridicule Barrow's derivation from the Chinese, alleging that the word is so obviously a corruption of the English 'a tough one!' The word is Persian *Tufán*, 'a storm,' and is almost certainly from τυφῶν, which had that application among others.

Cir. 1583:—"I went aboord a shippe of Bengala, at which time it was the yeere of *Touffon*; concerning which *Touffon* ye are to vnderstand that in the East Indies often times, there are not stormes as in other countreys; but every 10 or 12 yeeres there are such tempests and stormes that it is a thing incredible.........neither do they know certainly what yeere they wil come."—Caesar Frederike, transl. in *Hakluyt*, vol. II. p. 370.

The preceding quotation is a notable anticipation of the views often put forth recently as to the periodical recurrence of great cyclones in the Indian Sea.

1614:—"News from Yedo, a city in Japan as big as London, where the chief of the nobility have beautiful houses, 'of an exceeding *Tuffon* or Tempest'.........The King's Palaces lately built in a new fortress, 'the tiles being all covered over with gold on the outside, were all carried away by a whirlwind, so that none of them are

to be found.' "—Sainsbury, *Colonial Papers*, E. I. vol. I., p. 352.

1697:—" Tuffoons."—*Dampier*, vol. II., p. 36.

1727:—" By the beginning of September they reacht the Coast of China, where meeting with a *Tuffoon* or a North-east storm, that often blows violently about that Season, they were forced to bear away for Johore."—A. Hamilton, vol. II. p. 89.

HINDU AND RUSSIAN PEASANT HOME LIFE.

(*Mr. W. R. S. Ralston in 'The Academy,' Feb. 15th, 1879.*)

Prof. Monier Williams delivered on 10th February at the London Institution, a lecture on "Indian Home Life." Interesting it must have been to all who heard it; but it was likely to prove of special interest to any one who was acquainted with the home life of a Russian village. For, in the earlier parts of his lecture, when the professor was describing a Hindu peasant's homestead, and giving a sketch of the manner in which that peasant and his family are accustomed to spend each day of their lives, it might almost have been supposed that he had passed from Asia to Europe, and was bringing before the mental eyes of his hearers a picture of a Russian *moujik's* home life. Widely different, of course, in many respects, must be the portraits of Slav and Hindu men, and the accounts of their respective manners. But if the direct effects of climate and religion are set aside, there will still remain a great amount of similarity between the contrasted remainders. For as everything continues in an Indian village almost exactly as it was a thousand years ago, so the old Aryan form of village life has been preserved in Russia. but little altered from what it was long before R u r i k was heard of. It is true that the nature-worship of the ancient Slavs has been replaced by Christianity. But in the minds of Russian peasants in remote districts there remains a considerable residuum of such superstitions as are closely akin to the beliefs attributed by Prof. Monier Williams to their far away Hindu cousins. Much more complete, however, is the resemblance between the Russian and the Hindu homesteads. It is true that the *terem* or upper chamber for the women lives now only in Russian song, while its Indian counterpart still exists and is as secluded as ever. But the Russian peasant's "Icon-corner," in which the holy pictures stand, corresponds closely with the Hindu rustic's "God's room." No "anger room," however, has been retained in Slav dwellings for the benefit of inmates affected by a fit of sulks. The ordinary life of the Russian peasant woman is in many respects akin to that led by her Hindu sister, some of the anomalies in the position of a wife being the same whether she lives near the Volga or the Ganges. As a general rule, for instance, she is treated by men with the contempt due to an inferior being. And yet she may be the acknowledged chief of a great family community which numbers among its members many beings of the lordly sex. Old Russian marriage customs were singularly like those prevalent in India; and even in those of the present day a considerable family likeness exists between the two groups, the Russian *svakha* exactly answering to the Hindu matrimonial broker. The child-marriages of India, also. were known to the Russia of former days, but the practice has now fallen into disuse. The nuptial triple walk round the Indian sacred fire finds its counterpart in the thrice-repeated walk of the Russian wedded pair around a part of the church. This is a true survival; whereas the similarity between the never-parted-with triple thread of the twice-born Hindu, and the pectoral cross, never removed from the neck of the baptised *moujik*, may be an accidental likeness. The utter illiterateness of the Hindu woman finds its exact parallel in Russian life; just as the kindly feeling which exists between the various members of an Indian family is by no means without its Slav counterpart. Such are a few of the points of similarity between the home life of Russian villages and that Indian life which Prof. Monier Williams brought so vividly before the eyes of his hearers. If space would permit it, there would be no difficulty in making the likeness much more complete.

A correspondent in *The Academy*, Feb. 22, adds:—"Mr. Ralston in his interesting article on 'Indian Home Life' has pointed out some curious resemblances between the Russian and Hindu homesteads. 'It is true,' he says, 'that the *terem* or upper chamber for the women lives now only in Russian song, while its Indian counterpart still exists and is as secluded as ever.' But the Russian peasant's 'Icon-corner,' in which the holy pictures stand, corresponds closely with the Hindu rustic's 'God's room.' 'No "*anger room*," however, has been retained in Slav dwellings for the benefit of inmates affected by a fit of the sulks.' It may be doubtful whether the suitors in the *Odyssey* would have considered the 'ὑπερῷον, into which Penelope withdrew from their importunities, as a counterpart of the Indian *terem* rather than of the sulk-room. But it can hardly admit of a doubt—can it? that the French *boudoir* is a true survival of the original Aryan *pouting room*."

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Chûhâ Shah Daulah.—With reference to the query (*ante* p. 176) General A. Cunningham, C.S.I., writes:—

Pul Shah Daulah is described as being on the Deg River, in the neighbourhood of Lahor. As I have lately visited the shrine of Shah Daulah, the following notes, which were written on the spot, may perhaps be of use.

The shrine of Chûhâ Shah Daulah is situated a little way outside the east gate of the city of Gujarât, to the west of the Chênâb River. There may be another shrine of the same saint on the Deg River (Devaka Nadi), but I have never heard of it. Shah Daulah is said to have been a descendant of the famous Bahâwal Hak of Multan, and to have come from Multan direct to Gujarât on the second Jumarât of Ashâḍh (called *Ahadh* in the Panjâb, and *Hadh* in the *Gazetteer of Gujarât*). On the anniversary of that day great numbers of Fakirs visit the shrine, which is also frequented on every Friday by the people of the country about the Chênâb. Shah Daulah is said to have died in the year 1085 of the Hijra, during the reign of Aurangzeb; and the following verses are cited from the *Mukhbar-ul-Wâṣilîn* in proof of this date:—

Dil ba-târikh ân hamidah sarisht
Gupt az Shah Daulah zeb bahisht.

Batar ḥil ân 'aârif ḥak gazidah
Bago Shah Daulah ba-janat rasidah.

As each of these verses gives the same date of 1085, according to the powers of the letters in the *abjad* notation, I think that the date may be accepted as strictly correct.

The tomb is a simple sarcophagus of brick, covered with broken pieces of glazed tiles of different colours and patterns. It stands in a small open court 20 feet square, and 13 feet above the ground, which would appear to have been the site of a Hindu temple, or of some other large building.

The fame of the saint rests on his reputed power of granting offspring to barren women. By making a proper offering at his shrine every childless couple obtain offspring, but with the condition attached that the first born shall be presented to the Saint. All agree that every one of these first born children comes into the world with an extremely small head, with an expression like that of a rat (*Chûhâ*), and with a *panja* marked on the forehead. Hence all these children are called *Chûhâ Shah*, and the Saint himself Chûhâ Shah Daulah. Sometimes the parents do not bring their first born, who then becomes an idiot, and deserts his home, and comes to the shrine of the Saint of his own free will. At the time of my visit in January last there were fourteen of these children. I saw one grown up young man and several children, all of whom had unnaturally small heads. Three of the boys also had a squint in one eye. They seemed shy and rather frightened, and their lips moved restlessly like those of a rat.

The Fakirs attached to the shrine take the children on tours through the neighbouring country for the purpose of collecting alms. Each Fakir is attended by one of the children, and at the time of my visit several of the *Chûhâs* were absent. The shrine is well known all over the country, and is much frequented by Hindus as well as by Musalmâns.

The Hammîra Mahâkâvya.—I do not know if it is superfluous to point out, that an account of the death of Hammîra (*ante* pp. 59, 73) is given in Sanskṛit in the *Purusha Parîksha* of Vidyâpati Ṭhâkur. It is called The tale of a Compassionate Hero (*Dayá Vîra*), and is the second in the work. He is called Hambîra Deva, king of *Raṇasthambana*. The *casus belli*, which resulted in his death, was protection given by him to a dismissed general (called in the original Mahimâ Shâh, ?) who had fled from 'Alâu'd-dîn. The city was betrayed by two treacherous servants of Hambîra Deva, named Râya-Malla and Râya Pâla.

G. A. Grierson.

BOOK NOTICES.

An Account of the British Settlement of Aden in Arabia. Compiled by Captain F. M. Hunter, Bombay Staff Corps, F.R.G.S., &c. Assistant Political Resident, Aden. London: Trübner and Co. 1877.

The work under review is one of a good many treatises upon Indian towns or districts which have been published in anticipation of the yet unborn Gazetteer of India by officers employed in collecting materials for it. It is favourably distinguished from some other works of the same class by modesty in tone and appearance, brevity, good maps and index; and a very full list of authorities to whom the student requiring information in detail is referred. The publication of large and

costly English editions of these local monographs is generally to be deprecated, as the very few English readers of such works are almost all able to procure them in India or through the India Office. The case of an important ocean port like Aden is exceptional. Upon the modern condition of the Peninsula Captain Hunter himself will long remain the standard authority. His readers will be surprised to learn that the flora of this apparently barren rock includes 94 species, of a very retiring disposition certainly; less so to find him enumerating seven European and seven oriental tongues as in daily use, and then not considering himself safe without an "etcetera."

The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster, Knight, to the East Indies, with Abstracts of Journals of Voyages to the East Indies, during the 17th century, preserved in the India Office, and the Voyage of Captain John Knight, (1606), to seek the North-West Passage. Edited by Clements R. Markham, C. B., &c. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society: 1877.

The Hawkins Voyages, during the reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I. Edited with an Introduction by Clements R. Markham, Esq., &c., and printed for the same. London: 1878.

The first of the two volumes under review deals chiefly with the earlier voyages of the East India Company. The first voyage from England to the far East was made by Captain Raimond, with three ships, the *Penelope*, *Marchant Royall*, and *Edward Bonaventure*. They sailed from Plymouth the 10th April, 1591, doubled the Cape, touched at "Quitangone, near Mossambique, the Iles of Comoro and Zanzibar on the backeside of Africa, the Iles of Nicubar and Gomes Pulo, within 2 leagues of Sumatra, the Ilands of Pulo Pinaom, the Maine land of Malacca." The *Marchant Royal* returned from "Agoada de Saldanha, 15 leagues northward on the hither side of the Cape," and the *Penelope* was lost sight of, for ever, near Cape Corrientes. Captain James Lancaster, in the remaining ship, accomplished rest of the voyage as extracted above from the heading of the account of his lieutenant, Edward Barker, touched on his return at Point de Galle, and eventually lost his ship in the West Indies, and returned in a ship of Dieppe, landing finally at Rige, on the 24th of May, 1594. In September of the same year Lancaster was again afloat in a successful cruise against Pernambuco in Brazil, from which he returned in July of the following year; with wealth and reputation which probably had a good deal to say to the organization of his most important voyage, wherewith begins the history of the East India Company.

"The merchants of London, in the year of our Lord 1600, joyned together and made a stock of seventie two thousand pounds, to bee imployed in ships and merchantdizes, for the discovery of a trade in the East India, to bring into this realme spices and other commodities. They bought foure great ships to be imployed in this voyage; the *Dragon* of the burthen of six hundred tunnes; the *Hector* of the burthen of three hundred tunnes, the *Ascention* of the burthen of two hundred and three score tunnes," and the *Susan*, 240 tons, to which was added the *Guest*, 130 tons, as victualler. Lancaster commanded the squadron, his captains being John Middleton, William Brand, and John Heyward, and the total number of men 480. These ships, memorable as Argo, sailed from Woolwich on the 13th of February, 1600. After various adventures they arrived at "Saldania," not the modern Saldanha Bay, says Mr. Markham; but Table Bay; where, amongst other observations, they remarked that the south African "speech is wholly uttered through the throate, and they clocke with their tongues in such sort that in seven weekes which we remained heere in this place the sharpest wit among us could not learn one word of their language," the earliest notice of the famous African "click-sounds."

Lancaster, as most of our readers know, established in this voyage diplomatic and commercial relations with Achin, but did not see Peninsular India. That honour was reserved for *Hector*, Captain Hawkins, in the third voyage of the Company (the second of cupid the years 1604—6). She sailed from Tilbury Hope on the 12th March, 1607, with the *Consent* and *Dragon*. It does not appear what became of the former vessel, but the *Dragon* and *Hector* parted off Socotra, (where they "deemed the people to bee a kynde of Christians") in May 1608, made the coast of the Konkan on the 17th August, and Surat Bar on the 24th, and sent up to Surat Francis Buck, merchant, who is therefore entitled to the honour of being the Company's first representative on Indian land. Hawkins himself followed on the 28th, and from this on we shall follow his fortunes as detailed in the second volume under review.

He found that "the Government of Surat belonged unto two great noblemen, the one being Viceroy of Decan named Chanchana, the other Viceroy of Cambaya and Surat, named Mocrebkhan, but in Surat hee had no command, save onely over the King's Customes, who was the onely man I was to deale with all." "Mocrebchan" and the "Portugalls" gave Hawkins a good deal of trouble, the latter capturing some of his men and goods; but the Governor, who was the deputy of Khân Khânân, gave him support and assistance, and on one occasion, when the "Portugalls"

fastened a quarrel upon him in the tents of a merchant named "Hogio Nazam," a "Captaine Mogol" from Ahmadabad, with his men. drew their swords in his defence. Before this, he had sent off the *Hector*, under his second in command Marlow, to rejoin the Admiral (Keelinge) at Bantam, and on the 1st February 1609 he left Surat committing affairs there to William Finch. "The Portugalls had wrought with an ancient friend of theirs a Raga, who was absolute lord of a Province between Daman, Guzarat and Decan, called Cruly," (and which I cannot identify, but it must have been in the Surat Dangs or the modern Nawapur Peta of Khandesh,) to waylay him with 200 horse, but an officer of Khân Khânân's gave him "valient Horsemen, Pattens (Pathâns) a people very much feared in these parts," who brought him two days beyond "Dayta, another province or Princedome," very likely Jaitana or Nizampur, in Khandesh. He was next taken in hand by one Sher Khan, "another Patten Captaine, Governour of that lordship, who went two dayes journey with mee, till he had freed mee from the dangerous places, at which time he met with a troupe of outlaws, and took some four alive, and slew and hurt eight, the rest escaped." The 4 days' journey from Dayta through dangerous, *i.e.* probably hilly places, agrees with the identification hazarded above, and if it be correct, Hawkins must have come up the Kondai Bari pass, which the Imperial serai still standing marks as a favourite Mogul route. Hawkins got to "Bramport" (Burhanpur) on the 18th, and was well received by Khân Khânân. He left on the 2nd of March, and got to Agra on the 16th April, where the Emperor Jehangir immediately had him brought to Court. He derived great advantage from the Emperor's "perceiving that he had the Turkish tongue, which himself well understood" (His Majesty, we presume, using the Chagatai dialect), and received a mansale of 400, with the promise of promotion to 1000. "Then, because my name was something hard for his pronuntiation, hee called mee English Chan, that is to say English Lord, but in Persia it is the title for a Duke. The Emperor's next whim was to wive his new favourite who endeavoured to escape on the score of religion. So the king called to mind one Mubarique Sha his daughter, who was a Christian Armenian, and of the race of the most ancient Christians, who was a captain, and in great favor with Ekbar Padasha, this king's father." The lady proved an excellent bargain to her unwilling bridegroom, "she being willing to goe where I went, and live as I lived." Shortly after, the Emperor granted the Company's first firman "most effectually written, so firmely for our good and so free as heart can wish, and Hawkins sent it to William Finch." All this time his enemies, "Mocrebkhan" and the Portuguese had not been idle; and the Imperial favour oscillated from one party to the other, while his "living" (jaghir) was "given him still in places where outlawes raigned." Eventually he seems to have fallen into disfavour, but regained it for a time by bribing Nur Mahâl, her father and brother. Eventually, the Emperor told him "that for my nation hee would not grant trade at the sea ports," assigning as a reason the trouble given by the Portuguese upon any favour shown to the English; but offered him personally employment and favour, which Hawkins refused, with spirit, and after some trouble left Agra on the second November 1611. He got to Cambay on the 30th December; and to Sir Henry Middleton's ships, then at "Swally" on the Company's 6th voyage on the 26th January. They were refused all permission to trade, and went to Dabul, where they took a Portugal ship and frigate, "and from thence we departed the fift of March 1611 for the Red sea with an intent to revenge us of the wrongs offered us both by Turks and Mogols." (The Turks at Mocha had treated Middleton very badly.) This they did effectually by taking and holding to ransom the Mogul pilgrim ships, and then proceeded the archipelago. Hawkins died on the voyage home. He adds to his narrative many valuable observations, including a list of Jehangir's Munsabdars.

The Hawkins' voyages do not contain much of special interest to the Orientalist besides his travels, but the first volume under review, which we left to trace his footsteps, gives accounts of Keelinge's voyage, continued after parting from Hawkins at Socotra; Sharpeigh's, who got from Surat to some place beyond Burhanpur, Middleton's great voyage (the Company's sixth) in which he rescued Hawkins, and proved more than a match for Turks, Moguls, and Portuguese, a journal of the 10th voyage of the Company, a calendar of the ship's journals in the India Office, (written in the 17th century), the journal of Knight's search for a North-West passage in 1606, and a list of the Company's ships employed during the seventeenth century, altogether a mass of curious information not easily matched in so small a volume, and from which we would willingly, did space permit, give many more extracts. Both volumes have good indices; and the second contains the report of the Hakluyt Society, with its prospectus and rules, which we recommend to the attention of our readers, as its publications form the only means of obtaining a great deal of original information of the sort dealt with in this notice.

W. F. S.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S.

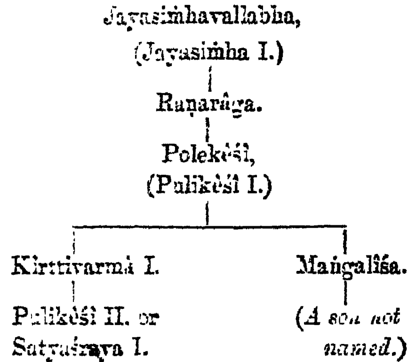
No. LV.

AIHOLE, the ancient Ayyavoḷe, is in Lat. 16° 1′ N. and Longit. 75° 57′ E., on the right bank of the Malaprabhâ or Malaprabhâ river, in the Hungund Tâlukâ of the Kalâdgi District. It probably took its name from *ayya*, 'a Liṅgâyat priest', and *poḷe*, 'a river, a road, instead'; and the Sanskrit form is Âryapura, where *ârya*, 'an honourable man, excellent, wise,'—which is sometimes used as a termination in the names of Brâhmans, just as *ayya* is used as a termination in the names of Liṅgâyats of the *Jaṅgama* class,—clearly represents the Canarese *ayya*, and *pura*, 'a city,' is probably intended to take the place of the Canarese *poḷe*, used in the sense of 'a road'. In the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., it was a Western Chalukya capital, and consequently is full of antiquarian remains of interest. An account of some of the architectural remains has been published by Mr. Burgess in his *First Archæological Report*. The inscriptions, however, still remain to be noticed in detail.

The earliest and most important of them is the Sanskrit inscription at the temple called Mêguṭi. This temple stands on the highest part of a rocky hill, west-south-west from the village, on the top of which are many dolmens or cromlechs, and in the south face of which, towards the east end, is the Jain Cave described by Mr. Burgess. Its name, 'Mêguṭi' or 'Myâguṭi,' is the rustic pronunciation of *mê-guḍi*, sc. *mêl-guḍi*, or *mêlu-guḍi*, 'the upper temple,' or 'the temple which is up above (on the high place).' The inscription tells us that the building was originally a Jain temple; but, as has been the case with most of the Jain temples of these parts, it seems to have been afterwards adapted to the purposes of Liṅga worship. It is now disused, and has begun to fall in.

The tablet containing the inscription is 4 feet 11½ inches broad by 2 feet 2 inches high, and is let into the outside of the east side-wall of the temple. It has been edited by me, with a lithograph from the estampage taken by myself, at Vol. V., p. 67. An improved facsimile[1] has now been prepared from the same estampage under my direct supervision, and is published herewith, with a revised translation and additional remarks.

The inscription is one of the Western Chalukya dynasty. It mentions the following kings:—



The object of it is to record the erection of a stone temple of the god Jinêndra by a certain Ravikîrtti, in Śaka 556 (A.D. 634-5), during the reign of Pulikêśi II.

When I first published this inscription, I read the name of the third king, in l. 3, as 'Pulikêśi'. There is no doubt, however, that the vowel of the first syllable is *o* here. As to the second syllable,—the characters *li* and *lê*, as usually written at this time, are so much alike that they may easily be confused. From a comparison of all the instances in which there can be no doubt as to whether *li* is intended, or *lê*,—including those in which *lê* is the basis of *lai*, *lô*, or *lau*,—the only difference between them is that, in *lê*, the vowel-mark commences in direct continuation of the upward stroke of the *l*, and is then brought round in a loop to the left to join the upward stroke again at the point at which it starts from it; whereas, in *li*, the vowel-mark is more like a circle set on the top of the upward stroke of the *l*, so that part of it lies to the right, and part to the left, of the upward stroke: contrast, for instance, *kâlê*, in l. 16, and *malinaṁ*, in l. 8. The vowel *î* is attached to *l* in a similar way; see, for instance, *maulî*, in l. 1. The second syllable, therefore, is certainly *le* here. In l. 7, on the other hand, the name is undoubtedly 'Pulikêśî'; the

[1] No. 73 of *Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions*; and *Third Archæological Report*, Plate LXVI.

vowel of the first syllable is the subscript *u*, and the *i* is attached to the *l* in rather a different way, analogous instances to which may be found in *anupâlitâ*, in l. 20 of the Bâdâmi Cave-inscription, Pl. XXXII. of the *First Archæological Report*, and in *Chalikyânâṁ*, in l. 4 of No. XXVII. of my inscriptions in this Journal, Vol. VI., p. 72. In l. 7 of the present inscription, it is true, the name is that of (Satyâśraya I. or) Pulikêśî II., the grandson of the Polekêśî whom I have termed in the genealogy 'Pulikêśî I.' But these are only varying forms of one and the same name; for, in l. 8 of No. LII. of my inscriptions in this Journal, (page 44 above), Pulikêśî II. is called Satyâśraya-Polekêśivallabha, in which the vowels of both syllables are quite certain, the *e* being marked by a stroke attached in a different way, as it is attached to other consonants, quite to the left of the *l*; and in l. 6 of No. XXVII., (Vol. VI., p. 73) mentioned above, I think that the name, here of Pulikêśî I., should be read 'Polekêśivallabha,' not 'Polikêśivallabha' as it is published. Taking together all the inscriptions in which this name occurs, the rule seems to be that, when the vowel of the first syllable is *o*, then the vowel of the second is *e*, and when the vowel of the first syllable is *u*, then the vowel of the second is *i*, or, sometimes, *a*.

The same remarks concerning the similarity of *li* and *lê* should be borne in mind in respect of the name of Maṅgalîśa, the second son of Pulikêśî I. The third syllable, ll. 5 and 7, is undoubtedly *li*, by mistake for *lî*. We might expect 'Maṅgalêśa', rather than 'Maṅgalîśa'; especially as in l. 11 of No. XL. (Vol. VII., p. 161) he is called 'Maṅgalarâja.' But *Maṁgalisanâ*, for *Maṁgalîśanâ*, is distinctly the reading in l. 1 of Pl. XXXIV., No. 11, of the *First Archæological Report*; and 'Maṁgaḷîśa' is the form of the name in the Miraj copper-plate and the Yêwûr stone-tablet (No. L., at page 10 above); and on examination of the estampage from which the lithograph was made, I consider 'Maṅgaliśvara,' for 'Maṅgalîśvara'—rather than 'Maṅgalêśvara,' as published,—to be the form intended in l. 5 of Pl. XXXII. of the *First Archæological Report*.

This inscription abounds in historical allusions. As affecting the history of these parts, the most important are the mention of the Kadambas, the Kaṭachchuris[2], and the Gaṅgas, and the reference to Vanavâsî, or the modern Banawâsi, to the Mauryas in the Koṅkaṇas, who were ejected by Chaṇḍadaṇḍa under the orders of Pulikêśî II., and to Âppâyika-Gôvinda, who was probably of the Râshṭrakûṭa family. In l. 12 we have almost the earliest mention of this part of the country under its name of Mahârâshṭra; the only earlier instance of which I am aware, is a passage in the *Mahavaṁsô* (Chap. xii., p. 71), brought to my notice by Professor Weber. As to the city of Vâtâpipurî or Vâṭâpînagarî, which was made the capital of the dynasty by Pulikêśî I., probably by conquest from some family of kings already settled there,—there can be no doubt that it is the modern Bâdâmi, the well-known remains at which show that it was in former times a place of much importance. Taking the old form of the name, 'Bâdâvi,' which we meet with as far back as in an inscription[3] dated "when Śaka 621 (A. D. 699-700) had expired," the interchange of letters,—*vâ* with *bâ*; *tâ* with *dâ*; and *pi* with *vi*,—is natural enough, whether we take 'Bâdâvi' as the Prâkṛit corruption of a Sanskṛit 'Vâtâpi,' or whether we take 'Vâtâpi' as the Sanskṛitized version of a Drâviḍian name, or as a name which, being already known in Sanskṛit literature, was selected to represent a Drâviḍian name resembling it so closely in sound. But further confirmation of my proposition is forthcoming. There are two local *Mâhâtmyas*; one connected with the temple of the goddess Bana-Śaṁkarî, about three miles to the south-east of Bâdâmi, and the other connected with the temple of the god Mahâkûṭa or Mahâkûṭêśvara, about three miles away in the hills to the east of Bâdâmi. I have examined them both. The *Banaśaṁkarî-Mâhâtmya* contains nothing of importance, beyond mentioning the name of 'Bâdâvi.' But the *Mahâkûṭa-Mâhâtmya* transfers to this locality the destruction of the demon brothers Vâtâpi and Ilvala by Agastya, which myth is allotted in the *Purâṇas* to some unspecified

[2] See note 12 below.

[3] To be published in a subsequent paper on the Bâdâmi inscriptions.

place in the Vindhya mountains. When I visited this temple,—which is at the least of the age of the Western Chalukya king Vijayâditya-Satyâśraya, since there is an inscription of his on a pillar in the porch of the principal shrine,—I found two large stone images of the demon brothers standing one on each side of the principal gateway of the court-yard. The worthlessness of *Mâhâtmyas* as historical records is proverbial; but, in a matter of this kind, they involuntarily furnish valuable testimony. At whatever time the *Mahâkûṭa-Mâhâtmya*, necessarily a somewhat modern production, may have been written, the writer of it was manifestly well aware that in some way or other the name of 'Vâtâpi' was connected with the locality, and that, in writing such a record as he was desirous of producing, it was incumbent on him to explain the fact. He has given the only explanation that suggested itself to him, or that it suited his purpose to give; and, as usual, the explanation is incomplete, and at first sight worthless. But the true inference to be drawn is clear; viz., that the name of 'Vâtâpi,' however derived, is really and historically connected with the neighbourhood of Mahâkûṭa, and in fact, that Vâtâpi and Bâdâvi are one and the same name and place. Further, in the inscription spoken of above, which is dated "when Śaka 621 had expired," and is at Bâdâmi itself, in an old temple now called the Kalla-Matha and used as a dwelling-house, the two forms of the name are still more closely connected. For we are first told, in Sanskṛit, that the Western Chalukya king Vijayâditya-Satyâśraya established the gods Brahmâ and Vishṇu and Mahêśvara at the town of Vâtâpi*; and then follows a passage, prefaced by the words "After that, these verses were given in the Prâkṛit language"*, in which the name 'Bâdâvi' occurs. This may point to 'Bâdâvi,' and thence 'Bâdâmi,' being the corruption of a Sanskṛit 'Vâtâpi,' rather than to 'Vâtâpi' being the Sanskritized version of a Drâviḍian name. But it should be remarked that Professor Monier Williams suggests only a doubtful etymology for 'Vâtâpi,' and none at all for 'Ilvala'; which induces the inference that both may be Drâviḍian names.

The name 'Vâtâpi' occurs also in a rock-inscription, of the Pallavas, of an early date, recently discovered by me at Bâdâmi. It is, unfortunately, very fragmentary. But the Pallavas also are mentioned in it. It is probable, therefore, that it was from them that Pulikêśi I. wrested the city with its territories.

Tradition tells us that the Chalukyas of Vâtâpipurî came originally from the north. Neither in this, nor in any other inscription, is there any distinct assertion that Jayasiṁha I. and Raṇarâga exercised dominion in the south. And from the epithet *śritêndukântiḥ*, applied in l. 6 to Pulikêśi I., and contrasted by the word *api* with the statement *ayâsît Vâtâpipurî-vadhûvaratâm*, I am now strongly inclined to think that, before he conquered Vâtâpipurî, he had a capital named Indukânti, which may be looked for somewhere in the north, and that he was the first to establish the family in the south.

This inscription is also of importance from a literary point of view, as showing, by mentioning the poets Kâlidâsa and Bhâravi, that, by this time, their names were already well-known, and their fame established. Ravikîrtti himself also, the composer of the inscription, must have been a poet of some talent, to judge from the style of his present production.

When I first published this inscription, my interpretation of the date of it was "when the Śaka year 506, or the Kaliyuga year 3550, or the year 3730 of the war of the Mahâbhârata, had expired." It had also been noticed, from a photograph, by the late Dr. Bhau Dâjî, in *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. IX.; but it had not been previously published in detail. He varied in his interpretation of the date, taking it, at p. 315, as Saka 506, the 3855th year of the Kaliyuga, and the 3730th year of the war of the Mahâbhârata, and at p. ccix., as Śaka 506, the 3506th year of the Kaliyuga, and the 3855th year of the war of the Mahâbhârata. Every letter of the passage containing the date is perfectly legible, and is quite certain. The only question is as to the way in which it should be translated. Dr. Bhau Dâjî's varying interpretations must be due to careless reading of the passage, as well as to a mistaken method of dealing with it.

* *Vâtâpy-adhishṭhânê.*

* *Ataḥ paraṁ Prâkṛita-bhâshayâ* (or *bhâshâyâṁ*) *padyâny-êtâni dattâni.*

I arrived at my interpretation of the date through following too readily his method of handling the words recording it. But, as I pointed out at the time, it did not agree with the usual relative computation of the Śaka era and the Kaliyuga, by which Śaka 506 should be Kaliyuga 3685. And, as I subsequently had occasion to remark, it did not agree with the date of No. XXVII. of my inscriptions in this Journal, (Vol. VI., p. 72), which is dated in the third year of the reign of Pulikêśî II., "when Śaka 534 had expired."

At Vol. V., p. 152, Dr. Bühler has suggested that the writer of this inscription undoubtedly intended to give the date of it in the Śaka era, according to the custom of the Western Chalukyas, but, in computing the corresponding year of the Kaliyuga, inadvertently confounded the Saka year 506 with the year 506 of the Vikrama era,—for the year 506 of the Vikrama era would certainly correspond with the year 3550 of the Kaliyuga. It is, however, unnecessary, to have recourse to this solution of the difficulty.

The matter stands thus:—If the Śaka year 506 is really intended, we ought to have, as corresponding to it, Kaliyuga 3685, which cannot be made out from the text. If, on the other hand, Kaliyuga 3550 is correctly deduced from the text, we ought to have, as corresponding to it, Śaka 371, which, again, cannot be made out from the text,—to say nothing of its entire discrepancy from the dates of all the other early Western Chalukya inscriptions.. Now Dr. Bhau Dâjî's method of handling the passage, followed by myself, was uncouth, inasmuch as it necessitated an ellipsis of the words "three thousand years" in the expression of the Kaliyuga date, and also made the passage containing the Kaliyuga date run on from one verse, complete in itself, into another.

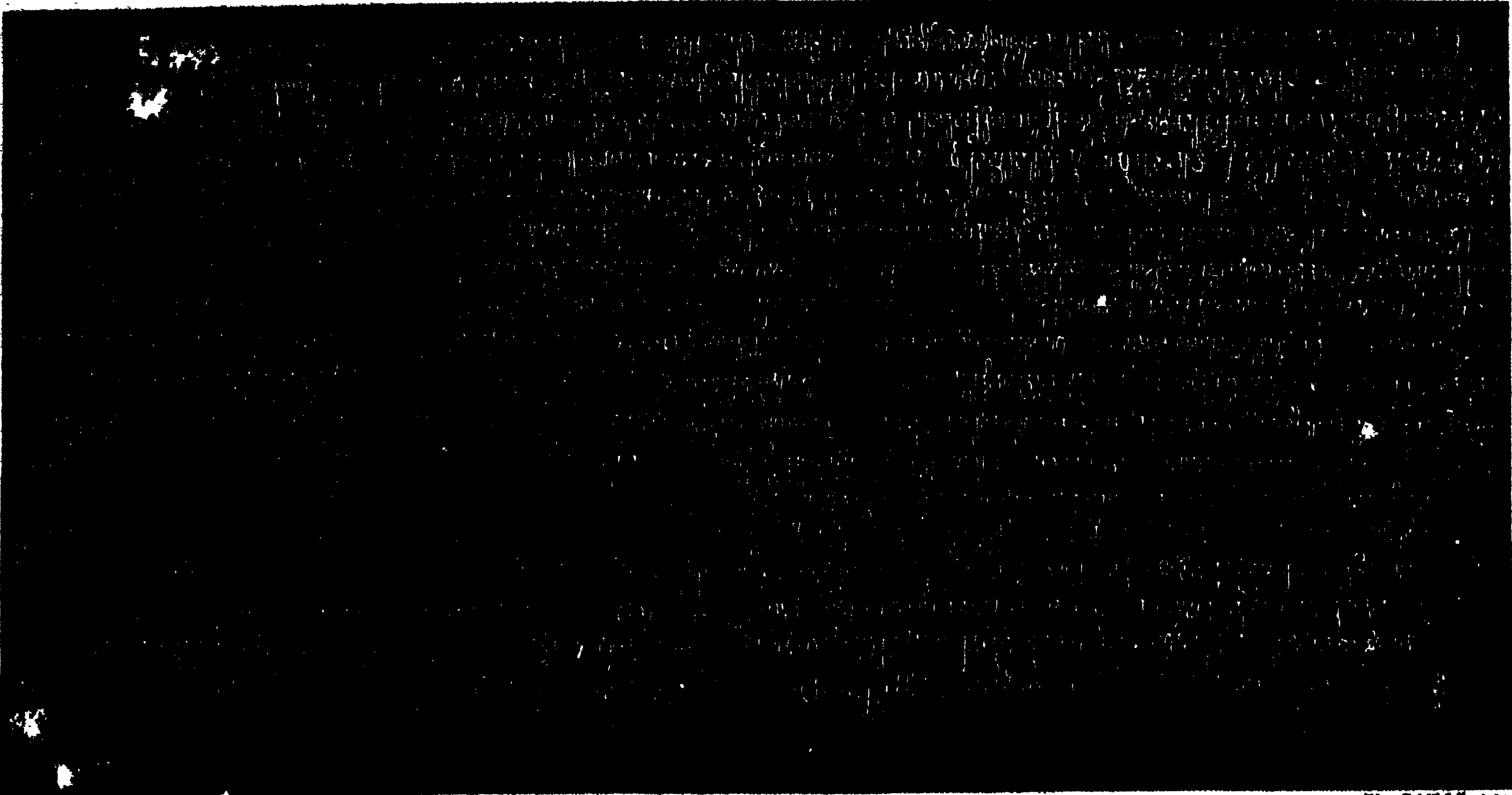
I have discussed this passage with Dr. Eggeling, and we are entirely at one as to the proper translation.

Take each of the two verses by itself, and what is the result? The numerical words in the first give 3735, and the numerical words in the second give 556. Now, Śaka 556 was Kaliyuga 3735. What, then, has the writer of this inscription done? Out of several methods of computing the Kaliyuga, he has followed that by which the commencement of it is made synchronous with the termination of the close of the war of the Mahâbhârata; he has spoken of it as the era of the Bhârata war, instead of as the era of the Kaliyuga; and he has inserted the words *Kalau kâlê*, 'in Kali time,' in the second verse. either because there was no room for them in the first verse. or, as a simple pleonasm, because he had not enough words to fill up the second verse. Dr. Eggeling's translation of the passage is:—"Three thousand seven hundred and thirty-five years having passed from the Bhârata war (*i.e.*, from the beginning of the Kaliyuga) up to this time; and, of Saka rulers, five hundred and fifty-six years having likewise expired in Kali time." This is, of course, rather an awkward way of expressing a date. But it is intelligible; and, if we assume for the nonce that the kings of England established an era dating from the Norman Conquest in A. D. 1066, it is just the same as if we were to say that such and such a building: finished in A. D. 1878, was completed "when 1878 years had expired from the birth of Christ, and when 812 years of the English kings had expired in the era A. D."

That Śaka 556 (A. D. 634-5) is the date intended in the present inscription there can be no doubt.—1, By his copper-plate grant, No. XXVII. of my inscriptions in this Journal, the accession of Pulikêśî II. was in Śaka 531.—2, His conquest of Harsha or Harshavardhana, which is spoken of in all subsequent copper-plate grants and in the present stone-tablet inscription, is not alluded to in that grant. Consequently it had not then taken place, and the date of the present inscription recording it, must be later than Śaka 534, the date of that grant.—And 3, As is seen from the important extracts given by Mr. Burgess in his account of the Chalukyas at *Third Archæological Report*, p. 26, the Chinese pilgrim Hiwen Thsang, who sojourned in India from A. D. 629 to 645, or Śaka 551 to 567, visited the court of *Ho-li-sha-fa-t'an-na* or Harshavardhana, otherwise called *Shi-lo-o'-t'ie-to* or Śîlâditya, and describes, and apparently visited the capital of, the kingdom of *Mo-ho-la-ch'a* or Mahârâshṭra, the king of which was named *Pu-lo-ki-she* or, undoubtedly, Pulikêśi II.

In fine, two eras only are referred to, not

STONE-TABLET AT THE TEMPLE CALLED MÊGUTI AT AIHOLE



three as I at first thought; and the date given is "when Saka 556, corresponding to Kaliyuga 3735, had expired."

I may also mention that, long after the above remarks were first written by me, it became known to me that, at much about the same time, Professor R. G. Bhandarkar had, by a very similar process of reasoning, independently arrived at the same result. His remarks will be found in a paper on a Western Chalukya copper-plate grant published by him at *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XIV., p. 16.

Transcription.

[1] **Jayati** bhagavân(n)=Jinêndrô [6] . . . . . . (ja?)[7] . . . . . . ma(?ksha)ṇa-janmanô yasya jñâna-samudr-ântargatam=akhilaṁ jagad=antarîpam=iva ‖ (1) ‖ Tad=anu chiram=a-parimêyaś=Chalukya-kula-vipula-jalanidhir=jayati ‖ (2) ‖ pṛithivî-mauli(li)-lalâmnâṁ yaḥ=prabhavaḥ purusha-ratnânâṁ ‖ Sûrê vidushi cha vibhajan=dânam=mânañ=cha yugapad=êkatra ‖ (3) ‖

[2] a-vihita-yâthâ-saṁ(sa)khyô jayati cha Satyâśrayaś=chiram ‖ Pṛithivî-vallabha-śabdô yêshâm=anvarthatâñ=chiraṁ(ṁ) jâtaḥ tad-vaṁśêshu jigîshushu têshu bahushv=apy=atîtêshu ‖ Nânâ-hêti-śatâbhighâta-patita-bhrânt-âśva-patti-dvipê nṛityad-bhîma-kabandha-khaḍga-kiraṇa-jvâlâ-sahasrê(srê) raṇê

[3] Lakshmî(kshmîr)=bhâvita-châpal=âpi cha kṛitâ śauryyêṇa yên=âtmasât râj=âsîj=Jayasiṅha[8]-vallabha iti khyâtaś=Chaluky-ânvayaḥ ‖ Tad-âtmajô=bhûd=Raṇarâga-nâmâ divy-ânubhâvô jagad-êka-nâthaḥ amânushatvaṁ kila yasya lôkâḥ su(su)ptasya jânâti vapuḥ-prakarshât ‖ [*] ‖ Tasy=âbhavat=tanûjaḥ=Polekêśî(śî) ya(yaḥ)[10] śrît-Êndukântir=api

[4] Śrî-vallabhô=py=ayâsîd=Vâtâpipurî-vadhû-varatâm ‖ Yat-trivargga-padavîm=alaṁ kshitau n=ânugantum=adhun=âpi râjakam bhûś=cha yêna hayamêdha-yâjinâ prâpit=âvabhṛitha-majjanâ babhau ‖ [*] ‖ Nala-Mauryya-Kadamba-kâla-râtri(tri)s=tanayas=tasya babbhûva(va) Kîrttivarmmâ para-dâra-nivṛitta-chitta-vṛittêr=api dhîr=yasya ripu-śri-

[5] y=ânukṛishṭâ ‖ Raṇa-parâkkra(kra)ma-labdha-jaya-śriyâ sapadi yêna virugna(gṇa)m=aśêshataḥ nṛipati-gandha-gajêna mahaujasâ pṛithu-Kadamba-kadamba-kadambakam[11] ‖ [*] ‖ Tasmin=Surêśvara-vibhûti-gat-âbhilâshê râj=âbhavat=tad-anujaḥ=kila Maṅgali(lî)śaḥ yaḥ=pûrvva-paśchima-samudra-taṭ-ôshit-âśva(śvaḥ) sênâ-rajaḥ-paṭa-vinirmmita-dig-vitânaḥ ‖ [*] ‖ Sphuran-mayûkhair=asi-dîpikâ-śataiḥ

[6] vyudasya Mâtaṅga-tamisra-sañchayam avâptavân=yô raṇa-raṅga-mandirê Ka(?ke)ṭachchuri[13]-śrî-lalanâ-parigraham ‖ Punar=api cha jighṛikshôs=sainyam=âkkrâ(krâ)nta-sâlam ruchira-bahu-patâkaṁ Rêvatî-dvîpam=âśu sapadi mahad-udanvat-tôya-saṁkkrâ(krâ)nta-bimbam Vara(ru)ṇa-balam=iv=âbhûd=âgataṁ yasya vâchâ ‖ Tasy=âgrajasya tanayê Nahush-ânubhâgê(vê) Lakshmyâ kil=âbhi-

[7] lashitê Pulikêśi-nâmni sâsûyam=âtmani bhavantam=ataḥ=pitṛivyam jñâtv=âparuddha-charita-vyavasâya-buddhau ‖ [*] ‖ Sa yad-upachita-mantr-ôtsâha-śakti-prayôga-kshapita-bala-viśêshô Maṅgali(lî)śas=samantât sva-tanaya-gata-râjy-ârambha-yatnêna sârddhaṁ nijam=atanu cha râjyañ=jîvitañ=ch=ôjjhati sma ‖ Tâvat=tach-chhatra-bhaṅgê jagad=akhilam=arâty-andhakâr-ôparuddham

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6 Two letters are illegible here.

7 Two letters are illegible here.

8 With this instance of the substitution of the guttural nasal ṅ for the *Anusvâra*, compare *saptôrâvîn-Hâriti*, in the Bâdâmi Cave-inscription, Pl. XXXII. of the *First Report*, l. 1; *triṅśat*, in No. XXI. of my inscriptions in this Journal, Vol. VI., p. 24, l. 8; *Siṅha*, in *id.* No. XXV., Vol. VI., p. 30, l. 6; *vaṅśa*, in *id.*, No. XLI., Vol. VII., p. 164, ll. 12 and 20; *viṅśati*, in *id.*, No. LII., l. 10, p. 44 above; *vaṅśa*, in *id.*, No. LIII., ll. 14 and 22, p. 46 above; and *vaṅśa*, l. 3, *viṅśatimaḥ*, l. 18, and *dvâ-tri(triṅ)śat*, l. 18, of a (?) Chalukya grant at *Jo. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. X., p. 348.

9 This second *va* is superfluous.

10 This letter, *ya*, was at first omitted, and then inserted above the line.

11 The original has *chitti* in the line, and *vṛitta* inserted below it, for *ttavṛi*, which is the proper order of the omitted syllables.

12 The *Visarga* was commenced here, but was a mistake. The lower part of it is covered by the *m*; the upper part remains uncancelled.

13 It is doubtful whether the first syllable is *ka* or *ke*; the second is distinctly *ṭa*. In all probability the Kalachuris are referred to; and 'Kaṭachchuri' may be a mistake of the engraver for 'Kaḷachchuri,' or it may be a varying form of the name. In some other instances I have found 'Kaḷachuri' spelt 'Kaḷachchuri,' and also 'Kâḷachchuri,' for metrical reasons. which would apply here; but in prose passages it is always 'Kaḷachuri,' or 'Kaḷachurya'.

yasy=âsahya-pratâpa-[illegible] [illegible]=iv-[illegible] [illegible]=pra[illegible] [illegible]-vidyut-patâkâ-[illegible] [illegible] Kshayam=[illegible] [illegible]=anarjjadhâm=vvârivâsai-[illegible]-kula-malinam [illegible] [illegible] bhuvam=upagatê [illegible] Appâyik-âkhyê Gôvindê cha [illegible]-Bhôma(thi)-rathy=[illegible] yasy=ânîkair=yudhi [illegible]-rasa-[illegible]=prayâtas=[illegible]=[illegible]ptam=phalam=upakṛitasy=â-

[10] pad=âpi sadyaḥ || [illegible] Varadâ-tuṅga-taraṅga-raṅga-vilasad-Dhaṁsa-nadî-mêkhalâṁ Vanavâsim=avamṛidnatas=sura-pura-prasparddhinîṁ sampadâ mahatâ yasya balârṇṇavêna paritas=sañchhâdit-ôrvvî-talaṁ [illegible] sthala-durggam=jala-durgga[illegible]tam=iva gataṁ tat-tat-pura[illegible] paśyatâm [||*] Gaṅg-Âlup-êndra vyasanâni sapta hitvâ par-ôpârjjita-sampadô=pi [illegible]=âbhav=âpanatâs=sadâ=âsann=â-

[11] sanna-sêv-âmṛita-pâna-śauṇḍâḥ(ḍâḥ) [||*] Koṅkaṇêshu yad-âdishṭa-Chaṇḍadaṇḍ-âmbu-vîchibhiḥ udastâs=taras=â Mauryya-palval-âmbu-samṛiddhayaḥ || (||) Apara-jaladhêr=Lakshmîm yasmin=puriṁ=Purabhit-prabhê mada-gaja-ghaṭ-âkârair=nnâvâṁ śatair=avamṛidnati jalada-paṭal-ânîk-âkîrṇṇaṁ=nav-ôtpala-mêchakañ=ja[illegible]nidhir=iva vyôma vyômnas=sa-

[12] mô=bhavad=ambubhiḥ(dhiḥ) [||*] Pratâp-ôpanatâ yasya Lâṭa-Mâḷava-Gûrjjarâḥ daṇḍ-ôpanata-sâmanta-charyyâ varyyâ iv=âbhavan || Aparimita-vibhûti-sphîta-sâmanta-sênâ-makuṭa-maṇi-mayûkh-âkkrâ(krâ)nta-pad-âravindaḥ yudhi patita-gaj-a(ê)ndr-ânîka-vi(bî)bhatsa-bhûtô bhaya-vigaḷita-harshô yêna ch=âkâri Harshaḥ || Bhuvam=urubhir=anîkais=śâ-

[13] satô yasya Rêvô(vâ) vividha-puḷina-śôbhâ vandhya(ndya)-Vindhy-ôpakaṇṭhâ adhikataram=arâjat=svêna têjô-mahimnâ śikharibhir=ibha-varjyâ varpma(rshma)ṇâ(ṇâṁ) sparddhay=êva [||*] Vidhivad=upachitâbhis=śaktibhis=śakkra(kra)-kalpas=tisṛibhir=api guṇ-aughais=svais=cha mâhâkul-âdyaiḥ agamad=adhipatitvaṁ yô Mahârâshṭrakâṇâṁ nava-navati-sahasra-grâma-bhâjâṁ trayâṇâṁ [||*] Gṛihiṇâṁ sva-

[14] sva-[15]guṇais=tri-vargga-tuṅgâ vihit-ânya-kshitipâla-mâna-bhaṅgâ(ṅgâḥ) abhavann=upajâta-bhîti-liṅgâ yad-anîkêna sa-Kô[sa*]lâḥ=Kaliṅgâ(ṅgâḥ) [||*] Pishṭam Pishṭapuraṁ yêna jâtaṁ durggam=a-durggamañ=chitraṁ yasya kalêr=vṛittaṁ jâtaṁ durggama-durggamam ||(||) Sannaddha-vâraṇa-ghaṭâ-sthagit-ântarâḷam nân-âyudha-kshata-nara-kshataj-âṅgarâgam âsîj=jalaṁ yad-avamarddîtam=abhra-garbhaṁ kaunâḷam=a-

[15] mbaram=iv=ôji(rjji)ta-sândhya-râgam || Uddhût-âmala-châva(ma)ra-dhvaja-śata-chchhatr-ândhakârair=vvalaiḥ śauryy-ôtsâha-ras-ôddhat-âri-mathanair=mmaul-a(â)dibhish=shaḍ-vidhaiḥ âkkrâ(krâ)nt-âtma-bal-ônnatim=bala-rajas-sañchhanna-Kâñchîpuraḥ(ra)-prâkâr-ântarita-pratâpam=akarôd=yaḥ=Pallavânâm=patim || Kâvêrî dṛita-śaphari-vilôla-nêtrâ Chôḷânâṁ sapadi jay-ôdyatasya yasya praśchyôtan-mada-gaja-sê-

[16] tu-ruddha-nîrâ saṁsparśaṁ pariharati sma ratna-râśêḥ ||(||) Chôla-Kêraḷa-Pâṇḍyânâṁ yô=bhût=tatra mah-arddhayê Pallav-ânîka-nîhâra-tuhin-êtaradîdhitiḥ || Utsâha-prabhu-mantra-śakti-sahitê yasmin=samastâ diśô jitvâ bhûmi-patîn=visṛijya mahitân=ârâddhya(dhya) dêva-dvijân Vâtâpîn=nagarîm=praviśya nagarîm=êkâm=iv=ôvvi(rvvî)m=imâm chañchan-ni(nî)radhî(dhi)-nîla-nira-parikhâm

[17] Satyâśrayê śâsati || Triṁśatsu tri-sahasrêshu Bhâratâd=âhavâd=itaḥ sapt-âbda-śata-yuktêshu śa(ga)têshv=abdêshu pañchasu [||*] Pañchâśatsu Kalau kâlê shaṭsu pañcha-śatâsu cha samâsu samatîtâsu Śakânâm=api bhûbhujâm || Tasy=âmbudhi-traya-nivârita śâsanasya

[18] Satyâśrayasya param=âptavatâ prasâdaṁ śailañ=Jinêndra-bhavanam=bhavanam=mahimnâm=nirmmâpitam=matimatâ Ravikîrttin=êdam || Praśastêr=vvasatêś=ch=âsyâḥ(syâ) Jinasya trijagad-gurôḥ=karttâ kârayitâ ch=âpi Ravikîrttiḥ=kṛitî svayam || Yên=âyôjita-vêśma sthiram=arttha-vidhau vivêkinâ Jina-vêśma sa vi[16]jayatâṁ Ravikîrttiḥ=kavit-â-

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[14] Between *durgga* and *ôtmaśin*, the original has *taviṁsapt*, engraved by mistake, and then partially erased.

[15] This second *sva* is redundant, to both metre and sense.

[16] In the original *ja* was at first engraved; then the *j* was partially erased, and *i* was inserted above the line and *o* below it.

[18] Śrīma-K[illegible]-Bhīravi-kṛitā [illegible] Mā[illegible]-Vela[illegible]-Pulu[illegible]-(Gaṅga-vār-Pol[illegible]-varmmalmā) [illegible] Cin[illegible]-paśchim-[illegible] Nandivāvargyāvanrad, Mālāpar[illegible]-gamaya [illegible]-ijimā attaratah(td) dak[illegible]

[illegible] . . . . . . gt[19] . . . na [illegible]

Translation.

Victorious is the holy one, Jinêndra! the whole world is, as it were, an island in the centre of the sea which is the knowledge of him, who was born from . . . . !

After that, victorious for a long time is the mighty ocean of the Chaḷukya family, which is immeasurable, and which is the origin of jewels of men, who are the ornaments of the diadem of the earth!

Victorious for a very long time is Satyâśraya[20], who adheres to his promises even though they are not actually [illegible] by [illegible], bestowing charity and honour upon the brave and the learned at the same time and at the same place.

Many members of that race, desirous of conquest, whose title of 'favourite of the world' enjoyed for a long time the condition of being a title the meaning of which was obvious and suitable, having passed away:—

There was the famous king Jayasiṁhavallabha of the Chaḷukya lineage, who, with his bravery, won for himself the goddess of fortune, fickle though she is, in warfare in which the bewildered horses and foot-soldiers and elephants were felled by the blows of many hundreds of weapons, and in which there flashed thousands of the rays of the rhinoceros-hide armour[21] of dancing and fear-inspiring headless trunks.

His son was he who bore the name of Raṇarâga, of god-like dignity, the sole lord of the world; verily, through the excellence of his body, mankind recognised, even while he was asleep, that he was of more than human essence.

His son was Polekêśi, who, even though he possessed[22] (the city of) Indukânti, and though he was the favourite of the goddess of fortune, became the bridegroom of the bride which was (the city of) Vâtâpipurî.[23] Even now no kings upon the earth can imitate his practice of the three pursuits of life[24]; and the earth became radiant in being endowed by him, who celebrated horse-sacrifices, with the purificatory ablutions that are performed after sacrifices.

His son was Kîrttivarmâ, the night of death to the Naḷas and the Mauryas and the Kadambas, though he withheld his thoughts from the wives of other men, yet his mind was attracted by the goddess of the fortunes of his enemies. Straightway the *Kadamba*-tree, which was the confederacy of the mighty Kadambas, was broken to pieces by him, the mighty one, a very choice elephant of a king, who had acquired the goddess of victory by his prowess in war. When he had concentrated his desires on the dominion of power and dignity of the lord[25] of the gods[26]:—

His younger brother Maṅgaliśa,—whose horses were picketed on the shores of the oceans of the east and the west, and who covered all the points of the compass with a canopy through the dust of his armies,—became king. Having with hundreds of scintillating torches, which were swords, dispelled the darkness, which was the race of the Mâtaṅgas,—in the bridal pavilion of the field of battle he obtained as his wife the lovely woman who was the goddess of the fortunes of the Kaṭachchuris.[27] And again, when he wished quickly to capture (*the island of*) Rêvatîdvîpa, straightway his mighty army,—which abounded in splendid banners, and which had beset the ramparts,—

[17] The characters here differ somewhat from those of the body of the inscription, as if this part was added later, or by a different hand.

[18] One letter is illegible here, or perhaps two.

[19] One letter is illegible here.

[20] Pulakêśi II.; then mentioned under his proper name in l. 7 of the text. According to a frequent custom, he being the reigning monarch at the time of this inscription, his name is given here before the introduction of his genealogy.

[21] *Khâdga*, 'belonging to a rhinoceros' (*khadga*), e.g. 'armour made of rhinoceros-hide.' The reading, however, may be a mistake for *khadga*, 'sword.'

[22] *Śrita*, 'gone to, approached, obtained, possessed.'

[23] *Ayâsît varatâm*; lit., 'went to, or arrived at, the condition of being the bridegroom.' From this expression it is to be inferred that it was Polekêśi, or Pulikêśi I., who first made Vâtâpipurî the capital of the family, and that he came from a previously held capital named Indukânti, which is probably to be looked for somewhere in the north.

[24] The *trivarga* is twofold;—1, the three pursuits of life, *viz.*, religion, pleasure, and wealth; and 2, the three conditions of a king or kingdom, *viz.*, progress, remaining stationary, and decline.

[25] Indra.

[26] *i.e.*, 'when he died.'

[27] See note 13 above.

being reflected in the water of the ocean, was if it were the army of Varuṇa, that had come at his command. When his elder brother's son named Pulikêśi, of dignity like that of Nahusha, was desired by the goddess of fortune[28], and had his actions and his determination and his intelligence perverted by the knowledge that his uncle was enviously disposed towards him,—he, Maṅgalîśa, whose advantage of power was completely destroyed by the use of the faculties of counsel and energy that were accumulated by him[29], lost his not-slender kingdom and life in the attempt to secure the sovereignty for his own son.

The whole world, which then, in this interregnum[30], was enveloped by the darkness of enemies, was lit up by the masses of the lustre of his[31] unendurable splendour; otherwise, when was it that the dawn (*again*) bespread the sky, which was of a dark colour, like a swarm of bees, by reason of the thunderclouds which had the glancing lightning for their banners, and the edges of which were bruised (*by striking against each other*) in the rushing wind? And when, having obtained an opportunity, Gôvinda[32], who bore the title of Âppâyika, came to conquer the earth with his troops of elephants, then at the hands of the armies of him[33] who was straightway assisted even by the western (*ocean*), he[34], whose path was the ocean of the north, acquired in war a knowledge of the emotion of fear, the reward which he there obtained.[35] When he was laying siege to Vanâvasi, girt about by (*the river*) Haṁsânadî which disports itself in the theatre which is the high waves of the Varadâ[36], and surpassing with its prosperity the city of the gods,—the fortress which was on the dry land, having the surface of the earth all round it covered by the great ocean which was his army, became, as it were, in the very sight of those that looked on, a fortress in the middle of the sea. Even the princes of the Gaṅgas and the Âlupas[37], though they had already acquired prosperity, were always eager in drinking the nectar of close attendance upon him, being attracted by his dignity, and having abandoned the seven sins. In the Koṅkaṇas, the watery stores of the pools which were the Mauryas were quickly ejected by the great wave which was Chaṇḍadaṇḍa, who acted at his command. When he, who resembled the destroyer of cities[38], was besieging that city, which was the goddess of the fortunes of the western ocean, with hundreds of ships that had the resemblance of elephants mad with passion,—the sky, which was as blue as a newly opened lotus, and which was covered with masses of clouds[39], became like the ocean, and the ocean was like the sky. Being subdued by his prowess, the Lâṭas and the Mâḷavas and the Gûrjaras became, as it were, worthy people, behaving like chieftains brought under subjection by punishment. Envious because his troops of mighty elephants were slain in war, Harsha,—whose lotuses, which were his feet, were covered with the rays of the jewels of the chiefs that were nourished by his immeasurable power,—was caused by him to have his joy melted away by fear. While he was governing the earth with his great armies, the Rêvâ[40], which is near to the venerable (*mountain of*) Vindhya, and which is beauteous with its varied sandy stretches, shone the more by virtue of his own glory, though it was deserted by its elephants from envy of the mountains in the matter of their size. Being almost equal to Śakra[41] by the three constituents of kingly power[42] that were properly acquired by him, and by his own virtues which were his high lineage and others, he attained the sovereignty of the three (*countries called*) Mahârâshṭraka, which contained ninety-nine thousand villages. The

[28] i.e., 'was preferred by the people to Maṅgalîśa and his son.'

[29] i.e., 'Pulikêśi.'

[30] *Lit.*, 'at this breaking of the umbrella (*of sovereignty*).'

[31] i.e., 'Pulikêśi's.'

[32] Probably one of the Râshṭrakûṭas, several of whom bore this name, and who were always renowned for their elephants.

[33] i.e., 'Pulikêśi.'

[34] i.e., 'Gôvinda.'

[35] The meaning would seem to be that Gôvinda came in ships by way of the sea from the north, and that Pulikêśi was assisted to defeat him by some seafaring allies dwelling on the western coast.

[36] The Varadâ, modern Wardâ, flows close under the walls of the present town of Banawâsi. 'Haṁsânadî' is probably the old name of a tributary stream of some size that flows into the Wardâ about seven miles higher up.

[37] The Âlupas, or perhaps Alupas, are mentioned again, as the foes of the Châlukyas in later times, in No. 2 of my second series of Kâdamba inscriptions, at *Jo. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. IX., p. 278, l. 12.

[38] Śiva; or Indra.

[39] Compared with the sails of the ships.

[40] The Narmadâ, modern Narbadda.

[41] Indra.

[42] *Viz.*, *prabhutva*, 'the majesty or preëminence of the king himself'; *mantra*, 'the power of good counsel'; and *utsâha*, 'the force of energy.'

Kôsalas and the Kaliṅgas,—who, by possessing the good qualities of householders, had become eminent in the three pursuits of life, and who had effected the humbling of the pride of other kings,—manifested signs of fear at (*the appearance of*) his army. Being reduced by him, the fortress of Pishṭapura became not difficult of access; the actions of this hero were the most difficult of all things that are difficult of attainment. The water which was stirred up by him, having its interstices filled by his dense troops of elephants, and being coloured with the blood of the men who were slain in his many battles, surpassed the hues of evening, and was like the sky when it is full of clouds and of swarms of cuckoos.[43] With his armies, which were darkened by the spotless *chowris* and hundreds of banners and umbrellas that were waved over them, and which annoyed his enemies who were inflated with valour and energy, and which consisted of the six constituents of hereditary followers &c., he caused the leader of the Pallavas, who aimed at the eminence of his own power, to hide his prowess behind the ramparts of (*the city of*) Kâñchîpura, which was concealed under the dust of his army. When he prepared himself speedily for the conquest of the Chôḷas, the (*river*) Kâvêrî, which abounds in the rolling eyes of the carp, abandoned its contact with the ocean, having (*the onward flow of*) its waters obstructed by the bridge formed by his elephants from whom rut was flowing. There he caused the great prosperity of the Chôḷas and the Kêraḷas and the Pâṇḍyas, but became a very sun to (*melt*) the hoar-frost which was the army of the Pallavas.

While he, Satyâśraya, possessed of energy and regal power and good counsel,—having conquered all the regions, and having dismissed with honour the (*subjugated*) kings, and having propitiated the gods and the Brâhmaṇs, and having entered the city of Vâtâpî,—was governing the whole world, which is girt about by a moat which is the dark-blue water of the dancing ocean, as if it were one city:—

Thirty, (*and*) three thousand, joined with seven centuries of years, (*and*) five years, having gone by from the war of the Bhâratas up to now;—

And fifty (*and*) six (*and*) five hundred years of the Śaka kings having elapsed in (*their subdivision of*) Kali time;—

This stone-temple of Jinêndra, which is the abode of glory, was caused to be constructed by the learned Ravikîrtti, who had acquired the greatest favour of that same Satyâśraya, whose commands were restrained (*only*) by the (*limits of*) the three oceans.[44] The accomplished Ravikîrtti himself is the composer of this eulogy, and the person who caused to be built this abode of Jina, the father of the three worlds. Victorious be Ravikîrtti, who has attained the fame of Kâḷidâsa and of Bhâravi by his poetry, and by whom, possessed of discrimination as to that which is useful in life, the firm abode of Jina has been invested with a dwelling place!

This is the possession of this (*god*);—(*The hamlet of*) (?) Mûlavaḷḷi; (*the town of*) Veḷmaḷtikavâḍa; (*the village of*) (?) Pachchanûr; (*the village of*) Gaṅgavûr; (*the village of*) Puligeṛe; (*and the village of*) Gaṇḍavagrâma. To the west of the slope of the mountain, (*there is*) (?) (*the field called*) Nimâvâri, extending up to the boundary of (*the city of*) Mahâpathântapura[45]; and on the north and on the south . . . .[46]

No. LVI.

In the courtyard of the Mêguṭi temple at Aihoḷe there stands a monumental stone[47], with a short Old-Canarese inscription on it, in Old-Canarese characters of the twelfth or thirteenth century.

The tablet is in three compartments. The upper compartment contains:—In the centre, a figure of Jinêndra, with two *Yakshas* above it; and on the right and left, a kneeling figure, apparently of a woman, facing towards the image. The centre compartment contains the writing. The lower compartment contains—In the centre, a *liṅga*; and on its right, one kneeling figure, and on its left two kneeling figures, apparently of women, facing towards the *liṅga*.

[43] The clouds are compared with the elephants, and the redness with the blood.

[44] *i.e.*, 'who was the king of the whole country bounded by the eastern, the western, and the southern oceans.'

[45] Or, 'of the city which is at the edge of the main road.'

[46] The last word of the inscription is only partly legible, and the effaced letters cannot be supplied. It is probably the name of some place.

[47] No. 74 of *Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions*.

Nisidi is given by Sanderson as 'a bill of acquittance;' Dr. Bhau Dâji[48] translates it by 'house of rest,' on the analogy of an inscription in the Udayagiri caves in Orissa; this is probably its meaning as used here. The Mûlasamgha, or 'original assembly,' is frequently referred to in inscriptions, and seems to be some ancient Jain sect. *Seṭṭi-gutta* seems to be a corruption of *seṭṭi-gupta*, and to mean 'a protected, or privileged, merchant'[49]. Rambarage, or Rambirage, was a Sindavaṁśa capital[50]; I have not been able to identify it, but it must have been somewhere within, or close to, the limits of the present Kalâdgi District.

Transcription.

[1] Śrî-Mûlasamgha-Baḷôtkâra-gaṇada kumudaṁ Dugaḷaguḍḍa Aibha-seṭṭi-

[2] yara magayê Rambarage-nâḍa seṭṭi-gutta Râmi-seṭṭiyara nisidhi(di) ||

Translation.

The *Nisidi* of Râmiseṭṭi, the lotus of the (*sect called*) Baḷôtkâragaṇa of the Śrî-Mûlasamgha,—the son of Aibhaseṭṭi, of (*the village of*) Dugaḷaguḍ,—the protected merchant of the district of Rambarage.

MARÂTHI SCHOOLS AND SCHOOL-MASTERS.

BY K. RAGHUNÂTHJI, BOMBAY.

A Hindu boy is first taken to school when he attains his fifth year, and for the occasion a lucky day is selected. On this day a feast is held at the house of his father, when the boy is richly dressed and decorated with jewels, and seated either on horseback or in an open palanquin, preceded by music and a party of friends and relations. In the school a carpet is spread for him to sit upon, and a wooden board, *pâti*, dusted over with red powder, is placed in front of the seat with the image of Sarasvatî, the goddess of learning, drawn on it. When the procession arrives at the school, the master receives the guests, and places the boy on the seat prepared for him. Then sitting beside him, and worshipping Ganeśa and Sarasvatî, he prays to them to give him wisdom, and that his course of study may be successful; he makes him repeat the first seven letters which constitute the name of Ganeśa! For his services the school-master is presented with a shawl, a turban or a waistcloth, and money averaging from one to five rupees; and among his pupils are distributed solid wooden pens, inkstands, or slates and sweetmeats varying from eight annas to twenty rupees' worth according to the means and wishes of the parent, and the school is granted a holiday either on that or the next day.

On the following day the boy rises rather early to await a call from his school-master, whom he has learnt to fear from his mother's lips, for a Hindu mother's awe-inspiring threat is—'Call the *pantoji*.' When this object of his terror comes, the boy either accompanies him, or goes to the school with his father's servant. The hours of attendance at school are from six to ten in the morning, and again from twelve to six in the evening, and the school-master both times goes round collecting his pupils.

In the school date mats are usually spread, on which the children sit cross-legged. Before each a board[1] is placed, spread over with fine tile dust,[2] one-eighth of an inch in depth. On the board the *pantoji* generally draws from six to seven letters of the alphabet at a time. Sitting by turns behind each pupil, he takes hold tightly of the boy's hand, and pressing the first or index finger on the solid pen, draws the letters, repeating them at the same time and making the boy, very often with tears, repeat them after him. He then goes to the next boy, and so on, till he has set them all particular lessons.[3] This he goes on doing till the boys are able to write after a fashion. But before he begins their regular lessons, he teaches them to form the name of the god Ganeśa, then vowels, then consonants, then the several series of twelve letters, *bârâkhadi*, into which the Marâthi alphabet is

[48] Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc., Vol. IX., p. [illegible], inscription No. 4.

[49] Conf., Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc., Vol. IX., p. [illegible], transcription l. 42, and p. [illegible], transcr. l. 44 and 54.

[50] See the inscriptions published at Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc., Vol. XI., pp. [illegible] et seqq.

[1] The board, *pâti*, is made of wood, a foot long, nine inches broad, and an inch thick, with a handle on the left side.

[2] The tile or brick dust the boy takes with him to school in a wooden or glass pot, and when about to return, he collects it from the board, and brings it home again.

[3] The method of teaching in writing was introduced into India more than 2100 years ago according to the testimony of Megasthenes, and still continues to be practised. No people perhaps on earth have adhered so much to their ancient usages as the Hindus.—Bartolomeo's *Voy.*, p. 262.

arranged, then arithmetic, that is numeration with the fractional parts of a unit, and after arithmetic the boy is taught to read at sight. The pupils are not divided into classes, but are all jumbled together, and all simultaneously vociferate their various tasks. In the evening, an hour before closing, they are all made to stand up in rows facing each other, at such a distance as to enable the *pantoji* to pass between the lines, and with their hands joined and held near the heart, they repeat the letters, multiplication table and a few hymns, and the master concludes with instructions regarding household duties, attendance at school, and reminding them always to keep the *pantoji* in mind. After this they are dismissed, each with a stroke on the palm of their hands, from the *pantoji's* cane, the *pantoji* taking such boys to their respective houses as have no servants, or whose servants have not come for them. The following are specimens of the hymns the boys are taught by the *pantoji*:—

१. सकाळीं उठोनी चाळेस या,
माझी चाल तर मार चाल;
घोडीवर बसुनी स्वार व्हाल,
घोडी पैसा दयूं बं,
घरीं जातां हर्द्र बे.

२. छडी लागे छम छम,
विद्या येई घम घम;
छडीवर पडली कावली,
आमची विद्या हरवली.

In the schools kindness is unknown. Fear is the first, the last, and the only feeling brought into play; punishment that partakes of the nature of torture, the only stimulant; with the cane and a wooden flat round-headed rod or *pâsmutri* the master is always armed, and the open palm and clenched fist are always vigorously applied to the back, the cheeks, and the head. Of the other varieties of punishment constantly employed, the following may be taken as those of most ordinary occurrence. To say nothing of the cane which the master renews at least once a month, the boys are beaten on the palm of the hand with the *pâsmutri*, the head of which is bored all over with holes; the boy is made to hold his right ear with the left hand, and the left with the right, and quickly to sit down and stand up a number of times till he is quite fatigued, and can no longer repeat the operation—this punishment is called in Marâthi *kânghodi*; to stand for a long time in a bent position, holding the right great toe with the left hand, and the left with the right, which is called *ângthe*; or should the boy have committed some grave fault,—in addition a stone is placed on his neck, and a number of writing boards or *pâtis* placed on his back; and should he let either of these fall, he is beaten with a cane, or condemned to stand for a certain time on one foot, the other being bent across the thigh; and should he let down the uplifted leg, he is beaten. Sometimes a boy's feet are tightly tied with a hemp or coir rope, and suspended from a hook with his head hanging down, and chillies kept burning on the ground underneath the head. A lighter punishment is to apply molasses to his body, and let ants get at it, so that the insects keep biting the body. Another is to hang a rope from a beam, and lifting the boy to make him catch hold of it, inserting the fingers of his hands between each other, he is then kept suspended, either with molasses and ants applied to his body, or caned all over; or two erring boys are made to knock their heads against each other, for a number of times; or the master catching hold of their top knots (*sendis*) knocks their heads against each other, or against the wooden writing boards. Two boys are made to pull an erring boy's ears with as much force as they can, each on his own side, but should the pullers be lenient towards the boy, then others are made to pull their ears, and thus knowing what they are about, they usually pull with vigour. If a boy wants to go out, he points out the little finger, or the first two fingers near the thumb, closing all the other fingers, and the master, if willing, allows him to go quietly, but if not, and the boy entreats to be allowed, the master will tell him to spit on the floor, and to return before it dries up; if it should dry before he returns, he is severely punished.[4] These punishments will scarcely sound credible to the ear of a European, especially when a Hindu father attaches so much importance to a son, whose birth saves him from the torments of a particular hell called *put*, but they are too well

[4] In Madras, says Gover, they are compelled to sit or stand in cruel postures, their legs fettered, hands, feet, and neck bent together, and held fast by iron ties. A log fastened to a chain hangs from the waist, or is slowly dragged behind.—*Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. pp. 52, 53.

known. The effect of all this, says a writer in the *Bombay Quarterly Review* (vol. VII. p. 170) is most mournful.

The children look on the *pantoji* with fear and hatred. To their imaginations he is more ghastly than a demon, and their dreams are haunted by the workings of the iron fingers at their throats. They wish they could put an end to those they hate. One recommends that a pit should be sunk beneath the spot where the *pantoji* usually sits, that brambles be placed in it, and a carpet spread over it, and then to his astonishment he would find what it is to suffer cruelty! Another suggests, that while thus entrapped, the boards should be heaped on him, and the young conspirators roar with laughter.

The cruelty of the *pantoji* has given rise to amusing proverbs, and as they all do not admit of publication we give here only a few[5] :—

ओनामासीधं पंतोजीनें पीळी भंग,
पंतोजी मातला खोड्यांत घातला
खोडा फुटला पंतोजी सुटला.

थिरी थिरी अंबा थिरी
पंतोजीची बायको लोणचें भरी.

The education of the Hindu youth is much simpler and not so expensive as in Europe. The master is allowed to exact fees from his scholars which, with the presents that custom has established as due to him from the parents on particular occasions, form the source of his emoluments.

The fee is sometimes rebelled against, for it is the custom of the master to give a sort of holiday to the whole school on the occasion, and if the present be not given, the holiday is withheld, and thus the lads bring pressure on their parents to ensure the necessary gift. On the full and new moon, and the eighth day of each half month, a holiday is allowed. The monthly rate of fees for each boy may be estimated as follows :—

	Rice.		Cash.		
		A.	A.	P.	
Purnima ...	½ s.	1 &	0	3	Total...5 ans.
Amávasya...	½ s	1	0	3	
2 *Astamis* ...	1 s.	2	0	6	

The following are the presents which custom has established as due to the master :—On coming first to school, Re. 1; on commencing to learn to write, Re. 1; for the several *Ekâdashis* and festivals, Rs. 2; for festivals in the boy's family, such as birth, thread ceremony, marriage, &c., Rs. 5; school fee for 12 months, say 4 as. monthly (but it is often 6 as. and 8 as.), Rs. 3; weekly holidays, mentioned above, at the rate of 5 as. per month, for 12 months, Rs. 3-12 as.: making a total for the year of Rs. 15-12 as.

The total cost of the boy's education, inclusive of the occasional presents if he remain at school for five years, would thus be about Rs. 80, and the whole of the emoluments of the *pantoji*, supposing him to have a school of 25 boys, would be Rs. 400 per annum. This is, however, rather a favourable view of the condition of a Hindu teacher. Where the parents of the pupils are generally well-to-do, the amount of the presents will often far exceed even this; but, on the contrary, where they are poor, it will be very much less, and sometimes even the monthly fees are not paid, so that many masters do not realize annually a half, or sometimes even a third, of this amount.

To propitiate the teacher the boys are glad to prepare his *hukah*, to bring fire to light it, to prepare flowers for the worship of his household gods, to sweep and cowdung the school floor and his lodging, to wash his pots; and boys even steal rice, salt, split-peas, money, &c. from their houses, seeing that those who succeed in so doing escape punishment, and are praised for cleverness though the greatest dunces in the school. Or the master filches their pocket money on the flimsiest pretexts. But if a boy should fail to give him anything, he is cruelly flogged,—for the hymn he has committed to memory at school says :—

पंतोजीची याद राखी
शाळेस येतां खिसे भरी
खिसे भरतां सुख होई
वेताची छडी पळून जाई.

which means :—Remember the *pantoji*, and fill your pockets while going to school; for when filling your pockets how joyous you feel, for the cane is out of the way.

The master is cruel as we have seen, his conversation revolting, every wicked expression

[5] K. Raghunâthji's Marathi Schools and School Masters, in Marathi. Bombay: Gunput Krishnaji's Press. 1860.

degrades his lips, and he is slothful and fond of sleep by day. But Hindus will on no account inquire after their children's tuition, it is entrusted to the *pantoji*, who, being a Brâhman, is far too good to practise deception. He is ignorant of the higher branches of education: all he knows being picked up in a school similar to the one he now conducts. He knows to read plain manuscripts, repeat by rote the multiplication table, with a few hymns to serve his own purpose, and to write a neat hand.

Recreation is denied to the boys, as the *pantoji* thinks it the road to beggary. The parents agree with him, and instead of allowing their boys to play, they are pleased to see them squatted on the veranda or lying on the floor brooding over the all-absorbing topic—the *pantoji*, and the beatings they receive at school.

THE NORTHERN BUDDHIST LEGEND OF AVALOKITEŚWARA'S DESCENT INTO THE HELL AVÎCHI.

BY PROF. EDWARD B. COWELL, M.A., CAMBRIDGE.

One of the most remarkable features of the Northern Buddhism, current in Nepal, Tibet, Tartary, and China, as distinguished from the Southern, current in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, is the worship paid to the Bodhisattwa Avalokiteśwara.

This Bodhisattwâ[1] is supposed to be the son of Buddha Amitâbha, who reigns in the Western heaven, called Sukhâvatî; to him is attributed the famous formula *Om mani padme hûm*, and he is looked upon as the tutelary saint of Tibet. In China he is worshipped under a female form (corresponding apparently to the Hindu notion of a deity's *śakti*, or personified power), as Kwan-yin, or the Goddess of Mercy; and the Rev. S. Beal has translated the Confessional Service addressed to her, in the second volume (new series) of the *Journal of the R. A. Society*[2] (pp. 403—425).

The name and attributes of Avalokiteśwara are entirely unknown to the Southern Buddhists; and his worship is one of the later additions which have attached themselves to the simpler original system, as it spread through India, and ultimately made its way to China and Japan.

We cannot tell when this new deity first rose on the popular horizon; but there are some indications which may help us to approximate in fixing the date. Burnouf has remarked that the earlier and simpler Northern books contain no allusion to this object of worship. "Ce nom n'est pas cité, une seule fois dans les Sutras, ni dans les légendes de *l'Avadâna Śataka*, ni dans celles du *Divya-Avadâna*, tandis qu'il figure au premier rang dans notre *Lotus de la bonne loi*" (*Introd.* p. 115).

Fa Hian, the Chinese traveller, who travelled in India from 399 to 414 A.D., expressly says (ch. xvi.) "men who belong to the Great Translation worship the Prajnâ Pâramitâ, Manjuśrî and Avalokiteśwara;" and in a subsequent chapter he describes himself as invoking Avalokiteśwara when exposed to a storm during his homeward voyage from Ceylon to China. Hiwen Thsang also (who travelled in India in the seventh century) is well acquainted with this saint, and mentions him in several places. He finds his statue in Kapiśa, south of the Hindu Kush, and in a monastery in Udyâna, and in Kashmir, and he also mentions a celebrated statue on the bank of the Ganges, famed for its power of working miracles.

The two best known Northern works which contain details respecting Avalokiteśwara are the *Kâranda-vyûha* and the *Saddharma-Pundarika*; the latter belongs to the collection of nine books which, under the name 'the nine *dharmas*,' is regarded with such veneration in Nepâl. The latter was translated by Burnouf as *Le lotus de la bonne loi*; the text of the former has been recently published at Calcutta, in a native series of Sanskrit books. The editor does not mention where he found the original MS. from which he has printed his text; but it was probably one of the many MSS. presented by Mr. B. H. Hodgson to the Bengal Asiatic Society, between 1824 and 1839.

The twenty-fourth chapter of the *Lotus* is

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[1] A Bodhisattwa is a potential Buddha, one who has only one more birth before he attains *nirvâna*. Burnouf explains Avalokiteśwara as a barbarous Sanskrit compound, meaning 'le seigneur qui a regardé en bas' (*Introd.* p. 226).

[2] Cf. also the *Pitena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, pp. 338—400.

devoted to the praises of Avalokiteśwara. To pronounce his name once is said to be equal in merit to the continual worship of as many Buddhas as there are sands in the sixty-two Ganges; and to invoke his aid in any difficulty or sorrow brings certain deliverance. He is also represented as assuming various forms in different worlds to proclaim the law of Buddha to different creatures; to some he appears under the form of a Buddha; to others of a Bodhisattwa, to others of Brahmâ Indra, Maheśwara or even of a universal monarch, a Brâhman nor a Piśâcha, "in order to teach the law to those beings made to be converted by these respective teachers." The *Lotus* is mentioned by Hiwen Thsang; and when he visits the mountain Gṛidhrakûṭa in South Bihâr, he expressly adds that at the bottom of the southern edge of the mountain there was a *stûpa*, and "here in olden time Buddha explained the book of the lotus-flower of the law."

The *Kâraṇḍa-vyûha* has as its principal topic throughout the glory of Avalokiteśwara; and towards the end of the book we have glowing accounts of the efficacy of the celebrated formula attributed to him. The work is found in two different recensions, the one in prose, the other in verse. The latter has been partly analysed by Burnouf (*Introd.* pp. 220—231), but it is evidently the more modern version; the MS. of the prose version at Paris, however, was too incorrect for him to attempt to translate it. This defect has now been supplied by the Calcutta text.

The peculiar characteristic of Avalokiteśwara, as worshipped by all the Northern Buddhists, is that he has declared his purpose, under the most solemn oath, to manifest himself to every creature in the universe, in order to deliver all beings from the consequences of sin.[3]

The first few chapters of the *Kâraṇḍa-vyûha* are occupied with a description of Avalokiteśwara's descent into the hell Avîchi to deliver the souls there held captive by Yama, the lord of the lower world. As these seem to me to bear a curious resemblance to the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus*, I subjoin a translation from the Calcutta text, only occasionally condensing the narrative where we have the usual repetition of the northern Buddhist writings.

The *Kâraṇḍa-vyûha* (or 'arrangement of the basket of Avalokiteśwara's excellences') professes to be a narrative by the disciple Ânanda, who was present at the original discourse as uttered by Buddha, and it therefore commences with the usual formula *evam mayâ śrutam*, "thus was it heard by me."

The work opens with the description of an assembly held in the Jetavana garden at Śrâvasti, where Buddha is attended by a vast throng of mendicant followers as well as a still more numerous audience from the spiritual world, thousands of Bodhisattwas, and sons of the devas, with Indra, Brahmâsahâmpati, the Sun, the Moon, the Wind, Varuṇa, &c., at their head, with countless Nâgas, Gandharvas and Kinnaras, with their daughters, and Apsarasas, besides hundreds of thousands of lay devotees of both sexes.

"When the vast assembly was met together, suddenly beams of light issued forth in the hell Avîchi; and having issued forth they reached to the monastery of Jetavana, and decorated the whole place. The pillars appeared to be inlaid with heavenly gems, the upper chambers to be covered with gold, the doors, staircases, &c., to be all of gold, and the grounds outside to be filled with heavenly trees, with golden trunks and silver leaves, and hung with costly garments, pearl wreaths, and all kinds of ornaments, while the eye wandered over lakes filled with water[4] and various kinds of flowers.

Chapter II.—"Then in the midst of that assembly a noble Bodhisattwa named Sarvanîvaraṇavishkambhin, having risen from his seat, and thrown his upper garment over one shoulder and bent his right knee to the ground, putting his hands to his forehead, and turning reverentially towards Buddha, thus addressed him, 'I am filled with excessive wonder, O holy one; whence come these rays? of what Tathâgata are they the visible majesty?'

"Buddha replied, 'This is not the majesty of a Tathâgata[5]; O noble youth, the glorious Bodhisattwa Avalokiteśwara has entered into the great hell Avîchi; and, having delivered the beings there, is entering the city of the *pretas*[6]; hence is it that these my rays have been emitted.'

[3] Beal, *Buddhist Catena*, p. 383.

[4] This water has a curious epithet *ashṭâṅgopeta-vâri*; does this mean 'water flowing downwards,' *i.e.* prostrate, or endowed with the eight qualities?

[5] A title of a Buddha.

[6] The *pretas* are beings in a state of punishment, and are described as always emaciated and hunger-stricken.

"Then the Bodhisattwa Sarvaṇîvaraṇavishkambhin addressed Buddha, 'O holy one, what beings are found in Avîchi? there where no joy (vîchi) is known, does he preach the law? in Avîchi, whose iron realm surrounded by walls and ramparts is as it were one uninterrupted flame, like a casket of flashing jewels. In that hell is a great wailing cauldron, wherein myriads of beings are thrown; just as kidney beans or pulse sweat rising and sinking in a pot full of boiling water, so do these beings endure corporeal pain in Avîchi. How then, O holy one, does the Bodhisattwa Avalokiteśwara enter there?'

"Buddha answered, 'O noble youth, just as an emperor enters into a garden full of all precious things, attended with all his royal pomp, so Avalokiteśwara enters into the hell Avîchi. But his body undergoes no change. When he approaches the hell, it becomes cool. Then the guards of Yama, bewildered and alarmed, begin to think, 'what is this inauspicious sign which has appeared in Avîchi?' When Avalokiteśwara enters, then there appear there lotuses as large as chariot wheels, and the cauldron bursts open, and within that bed of fire a lake of honey is manifested.

"Then Yama's guards, seizing all manner of weapons, swords, clubs, javelins, &c. and all the defensive armour of hell, repaired to Yama, the lord of justice, and addressed him: 'Let our king know that our field of action[7] is destroyed, and is become a place of pleasure and filled with all joy.'

"Yama replied, 'What is the reason that your field of action is destroyed?'

"The guards answered, 'Let our lord also know that an inauspicious sign has appeared in Avîchi, all has become quiet and cool, and a man assuming all shapes at will has entered there, wearing matted locks and a diadem, and decked with divine ornaments, with his mind excessively benevolent, and like an orb of gold. Such is the man who has entered, and immediately on his entrance lotuses have appeared as large as chariot wheels, and the cauldron has burst open, and within that bed of fire a lake of honey is manifested.' Then Yama reflected, 'Of what god is this the majesty? Of Mahêśwara, great in power, or Nârâyaṇa worshipped by the five oceans, or have any of the other sons of the gods obtained by boon such preëminent reward, and descended to this place, or has some Râkshasa arisen, some rival of Râvaṇa?' Thus he stood and pondered, and beholding with his divine eye he saw no such power in the world of the gods,[8] and who else can have such power.

"Then again he looked back to the hell Avîchi, and therein he beheld the Bodhisattwa Avalokiteśwara. Then Yama, the lord of justice, went where he was, and having saluted his feet with his head began to utter his praise. 'Glory to thee Avalokiteśwara Mahêśwara, Padmaśrî, the giver of boons, the subduer, best overlooker of the earth, &c.[9] Thus having uttered his special praise, Yama thrice circumambulated round the Bodhisattwa and went out.'

Chapter III.—"Then Sarvaṇîvaraṇavishkambhin thus addressed Buddha, 'When does the glorious Bodhisattwa Avalokiteśwara come back?' Buddha answered, 'Noble son, he has gone out of hell, and has entered the city of the *pretas*. There hundreds of thousand of *pretas* run before him, with forms like burned pillars, tall like skeletons, with bellies like mountains, and mouths like needles' eyes. When Avalôkiteśwara comes to the *preta* city, the city becomes cold, the thunderbolt ceases, and the doorkeeper, with uplifted javelin, his hand busy with poison, and his eyes red with anger, suddenly by his power begins to feel the influence of benevolence; I must not have to do with such a field of labour.'

"Then the Bodhisattwa Avalôkiteśwara having beheld that abode of beings, being filled with compassion, caused ten V a i t a r a ṇ î rivers to issue from his ten fingers, and ten more from his toes; and likewise in his great compassion rivers of water poured from all his pores down to those afflicted beings. And when the *pretas* tasted that water, their throats became expanded and their limbs filled, and they were satiated with food of a heavenly flavour. Then, regaining human consciousness, they begin to think of worldly things. 'Alas, happy are the men of Jambudwîpa who can seek cool shade, who can always live near their parents and wives; who can cut the sacred staves, and repair the broken

[7] *Asmâkaṁ karmabhûmiḥ.*

[8] In p. 10, l. 20, I read *balam* for *varam*; the best Cambridge MS. has *tachcha dêvanikâyê na paśyati sma îdṛaśaṁ balam.*

[9] I omit the remainder of this address, which extends to a page.

and crumbling monasteries and shattered topes; who can always wait on those who recite, write, or read the sacred books, and behold the miracles and various wonderworks of the Tathâgatas, Pratyeka-buddhas, Arhats, and Bodhisattwas.'

"Thus meditating, they abandoned their *preta* bodies of punishment, and became capable of attaining their desire. Then from Avalôkiteśwara there issued the precious royal *sûtra* of the 'great translation,' the *karaṇḍa vyûha*. Then having split with the thunderbolt of knowledge the twenty-peaked mountain of the delusion which teaches that the body exists,[10] they were all born in the Sukhâvatî world as Bodhisattwas named Âkânkshita-mukhâḥ. Then Avalôkiteśwara, when these beings were released and born in the land of the Bodhisattwas, went out again from the city of the *pretas*.

Chapter IV.—"Then Sarvaṇîvaraṇavishkambhin said to Buddha, 'Does Avalôkiteśwara still delay to come?'

"Buddha answered, 'Noble son, he is maturing the experience of many thousands of myriads of beings; day by day he comes and matures them, there never was such a manifestation of the Tathâgatas as there is of the glorious Bodhisattwa Avalôkiteśwara.'"

Buddha then describes an assembly held in a former æon by a Buddha named Śikhin, who sees Avalôkiteśwara coming to him with a present of heavenly flowers from Amitâbha. The Buddha Śikhin asks where he is performing his works of merit. Avalôkiteśwara replies that he is visiting the innumerable hells in the universe, and that he has resolved that he himself shall not grasp the perfect knowledge of a Buddha until all beings have been not only delivered from punishment, but are settled in the world of Nirvâṇa.

If we now turn to the second part of the Apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus*, we find a curious parallel to this legend.

The two sons of Simeon, who are described as having been raised from their graves at Christ's death, are brought before the chief priests. They then call for ink, pens, and paper, and relate how they were in Hades with the fathers, when suddenly "at the hour of midnight, upon those dark places, there arose, as it were, the light of the sun, and shone, and we were all lighted and saw one another." Satan then goes to Hades and tells him of Jesus, his crucifixion and death, and tells him to hold him firmly when he comes. Hades replies that Christ had lately rescued Lazarus,—"I conjure thee both for thy benefit and mine, not to bring him hither; for I think that he is coming here in order to raise up all the dead. And this I say to thee, by the darkness which we keep, if thou dost bring him hither, none of the dead will be left to me."

While Satan and Hades were thus talking together, there came a great voice like thunder, quoting *Psalm* xxiv. 7: ."And when Hades heard, he said to Satan, 'Go forth if thou art able and resist him.' Therefore Satan went forth. Then said Hades to his demons, 'secure well and firmly the brazen gates and the iron bars, and hold down my bolts, and stand upright and watch everything; for if he should enter here, woe will seize us.' On hearing these things, the forefathers all began to reproach him, saying, 'All-devouring and insatiate, open that the King of Glory may come in'......The voice therefore came again, 'Lift up the gates.' Hades hearing the voice a second time, answered as forsooth not knowing and said, 'Who is this King of Glory?' The angels of the Lord said, 'The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle.' And immediately at that word the brazen gates were broken and the iron bars were crushed, and all the dead that were bound were loosed from their bonds and we with them. And the King of Glory entered as a man, and all the dark places of Hades were lighted up. Hades straightway cried, 'We are conquered, woe unto us.' .....Then the King of Glory seized the chief ruler Satan by the head, and delivered him to the angels, and said, 'Bind with irons his hands and feet and neck and mouth.' Then he delivered him to Hades, and said 'Take him and keep him safely until my second coming." Then Hades took Satan and said to him, 'Beelzebub, inheritor of fire and punishment, enemy of the saints, by what necessity hast thou contrived that the King of Glory should be crucified, that he should come hither and spoil us? Turn and see that none of the dead is left in me, but all that thou didst gain by the tree of knowledge, thou hast lost it all by the cross.'"

[10] For this curious phrase conf. Burnouf, *Introd.* p. 263, and Childer's *Pâli Dict.* s. v. *sakkâya*.

Christ then blesses all the fathers, beginning with Adam, and rises with them in triumphal procession to paradise, where he delivers them to the archangel Michael.

Is the resemblance of the two legends accidental, or is it possible that in the Buddhist account, we have one of those faint reflections of Christian influence (derived perhaps from Persian Christians settled in western and southern India) which Professor Weber has endeavoured to trace in the doctrine of faith as taught in the *Bhagavad Gita*, and some of the mediæval schools of the Vedânta? Much must depend on the date of the *Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus*. Maury and Cowper would place it as low as the fifth century, but Tischendorf with greater probability would refer it to the second.[11] Even if the present form in which we have the legend is interpolated, much of it must surely be of an earlier date, and we find direct allusion to events described there, in the pseudo-Epiphanius' homily *in Sepulchrum Christi*, and in the fifteenth sermon of Eusebius of Alexandria.[12] At the same time we have no reason to suppose that the Buddhist legend was connected with the earliest worship of Avalôkiteśwara. It is not alluded to by the Chinese travellers in India, and the date of the *Kâraṇḍa-vyûha* can only be so far fixed, that it seems to have been translated into Tibetan in the ninth century.[13]—From *The Journal of Philology*, vol. VI. (1876), pp. 222—231.

THE STORY OF THE FAITHFUL DEER.

BY REV. S. BEAL.

There is, perhaps, no fable so frequently met with in Buddhist books, and also depicted on coins and in sculptures, as the story of Buddha when he was the king of the Deer. It is possible that this very story is that called the *Miga-Jâtaka* at Bharhut, at any rate it is one that carries interest with it, both as it exemplifies the duty of wife-life devotion, and also exhibits in the simplest way the mode of instruction adopted by the founder of the Buddhist religion, to impress on the minds of his followers the moral lessons it was his aim to inculcate.

The Story of the Deer-king.

I remember, in years gone by, there was in the neighbourhood of Banâras a certain enclosure (district: *araṇya*), in which a Deer-king with his herd had found a place of pasture, and lived in contentment. At this time a hunter, having discovered the spot where these deer congregated, set a snare to entrap one or more of them, and as it happened he caught the king of the herd himself. At this time a certain hind, the wife of the Deer-king, big with young, seeing the Deer-king thus in the snare of the huntsman, stopped in the neighbourhood, and would not leave the spot where he was. Meantime, all the other deer having fled from the spot, the Deer-mother spake as follows in *Gâthâs* which she addressed to the king:—

"Deer-king! exert your strength,
Push with your head and your heel,
Break to pieces the trap which man
Has set to catch you, and escape."

Then the Deer-king answered in the following *Gâthâs*, and said:—

"Although I used all my strength,
Yet I could not escape from this trap,
Made as it is with thongs of skin, sewed with silk,
In vain should I struggle to get away from such a snare.
Oh! ye mountain dells and sweetest fountains!
May none of your occupants henceforth,
Meet with such a misfortune as this!"

And the *Gâthâs* continue as follows:—

"At this time those two deer,
Filled with alarm, and shedding bitter tears,

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[11] Quæ omnia conjuncta ejusmodi sunt ut libellum nostrum ex antiquissimo scripto apocrypho secundi sæculi haustum vel transcriptum putem. *Evang. Apocr.* p. 73.

[12] The phrase in Athanasius' third sermon *in Arios* reminds one of the legend, though it may be only a rhetorical phrase,—*ἀλλ' οὐδὲ θέμις πάλιν εἰπεῖν δειλιᾶν τὸν Κύριον, ὃν οἱ πυλωροὶ τοῦ Ἅδου πτήξαντες ἐξαφῆκαν τὸν Ἅδην.*

[13] In Csomo Körösi's paper (*Asiat. Res.* vol XX. p 530) it is said to have been translated by Śâkya-prabhâ and Katnarakshita; the former is associated in p. 516 and p. 530 with Bandê-yê-shêsdê, one of the well known Tibetan translators of the 9th century (p. 527).

Siah Sung ('black rock')," and "at about 6½ miles from the Helmund, a wall of black rock (giving its name to the glen and to the stream) stretches across the defile, leaving but a narrow passage for the brook; and half a mile beyond it, on a small plateau above the channel, there stands (or stood at that time) the small mud fort called Siah Kila . . ."

"Six miles higher up the valley of the Siah Sung stands the fort of Kharzar" . . and "The foot of the Irak Kotul (pass) is 5½ miles north of Kharzar; the slopes of the mountains on either hand now unbroken by plateaux" . . . . "The summit of the pass was estimated at 13,000 feet above the sea" . . . "The small valley of Mîân-i-Irâk is about 10 miles distant from the pass . . . There were several small forts to be seen in the valley, and some caves in the hill-sides, forming dwelling-places for some of the inhabitants." From Mîân-i-Irâk into the valley of Bamiân is six miles. "At night, on the 5th October, our camp was formed on the left bank of the Kalu stream, and on the right of that flowing from Bamiân, at the junction of the two waters. The gorge of the defile leading from the Kalu Pass was on our left as we looked to the west; and at its entrance on the summit of a lofty insulated rock, with perpendicular faces, frowned down the ruined fortress of the Emperor Zohâk, whence the place takes its name. At this extremity the valley is about a quarter of a mile in breadth, and well cultivated."

"The great image cut in the face of the cliff bounding the valley on the north is 9 miles from Zohâk. The valley winds much, varying in width, generally not more than a quarter of a mile broad, until Bamiân is reached, where it opens out considerably." . . . "Several narrow glens, the channels of streams flowing from the Koh, on the south, fall into the valley. . . the largest, which is indeed a valley itself, having numerous terraces of fields on either side of the rivulet, joins that of Bamiân nearly opposite the images: this is the Fouladi Vale."

"Higher up, near the idols (of which I have little to say except that they are very large and very ugly), there are, or more correctly, there stood at the time whereof I write, three forts, forming together a triangle: two of these, having four towers . . . were assigned to the infantry; and the third, a double fort, with six towers and a dividing wall in the middle, to the artillery. . ."

"Near the foot of the great image, on some rising ground, there were the ruins of a fort, which must have been of considerable magnitude. . . Between the images and at their sides, peeping over their shoulders, and some even above their heads, were many caves in the cliff side, having intricate connecting approaches, and galleries cut within the rock. These formed dwellings for many Bamiânchis and also for some camp followers of the British.

"On the opposite side of the valley, about a mile to the west, a stony gully leads into the hills; a short way up this, there is a nearly insulated rock, on the flat summit of which there is in relief a recumbent figure bearing a rude resemblance to a huge lizard, and near the neck of the reptile there is a red splash as of blood. This is called the Azdahâ, or dragon, said to have been slain by 'Alî or some Muhammadan saint of bygone days, and an indentation in the rock close by is held to be the gigantic foot-print of the slayer."

In December Dr. Lord, our political agent, "caused Saighan to be occupied; and in the early summer, Bajgah ('eagle's resting-place'), in the Kamard valley, became our most advanced post."[1]

Col. H. Yule, C.B., referring to the preceding, writes[2] as follows:—

"Now let us go back 1200 years, and take up the narrative of the Chinese pilgrim Hiwen Thsang, who entered India by Bamiân in A.D. 630.

"'Twelve or thirteen *li* (say 2 or 3 miles) east of the city (of Bamiân) there is to be seen in a convent the recumbent figure of the Buddha in the act of entering *nirvâṇa* (*i. e.* dying); the figure is about 1000 feet long.'[3]

"For years I have been looking out for the rediscovery of this figure. And when my friend W. Simpson, starting to join the force of Sir S. Browne as artist and archæologist, asked me for any suggestions as to points for inquiry in northern Afghanistan, among other things I begged him, if he had a chance, to look out at Bamiân for the Nirivâṇa Buddha of Hiwen Thsang.

"But now we learn for the first time that it was seen forty years ago by General Kaye and his comrades. Better late than never. It is true the General does not say anything of dimensions, and in any case I dare say Hiwen Thsang's are exaggerated. Nor can we identify position very accurately. But Hiwen Thsang describes the great standing image as "on the flank of a mountain north-east of the city," and the recumbent image as "east of the city," therefore further south than the standing image. And this corresponds generally with General Kaye's indications.

"Before concluding, let me venture a doubt whether the name Bajgah (p. 252) has anything to do with 'eagles.' It is a name which often

[1] *Proceedings of the Royal Geograph. Soc.* vol. I. pp. 244-252. [2] *Ib.* p. 338.

[3] Stan. Julien, *Mém. sur les Cont. Occid.* tom. I. p. 38, and *Vie de Hiouen Thsang*, pp. 69, 70.

recurs when one is studying itineraries in those regions, an occupation in which I have formerly spent a good deal of time. And I believe it means simply 'place of toll,' and marks where *bâj* or 'duty' has been at one time or other exacted."

DÂRD CLANS.

The following is the list of castes among the Dârds of the districts of Gilgit, Astor, and Baltistân:—Ronû, Shîn, Yaskun, Kremin, Dûm. Setting aside the Ronû, which seems to be local only, it is necessary to account for the other four. The Dûms are the same as the Doms and other non-Aryan tribes of India, and, doubtless, these non-Aryans or pre-Aryans existed right in the heart of the Himâlayas at the time of the invasion of the Aryan race. In support of this view, I may mention the lowest castes in the various neighbouring nations, beginning with the Dogrâs, who are next to the Panjâb, and going through the intermediate mountain region to Kashmir, to Ladakh, and ultimately to the Dârd country. Thus the lowest class in each have similar occupations, and may be presumably of one origin. The Kremin caste among the Dârds is a mixed one, and analogous to the Śûdras of India. The Yashkun and Shîn evidently constituted the Dârd nation at the time of its coming to those parts. The only distinction between these two to be observed, is a certain very peculiar custom of the Shîn, consisting in their treatment of the cow. Lastly, while most of the Dârds in these parts are Muhammadans, some few villages of them have adopted the Buddhist faith from the Tibetans whom they came in contact with. These seem to have been Shîn, of an early Dârd migration.—F. DREW.[1]

VESTIGES OF BUDDHISM IN MICRONESIA.

In Horatio Hale's *Ethnography and Philology* (Philad. 1846) p. 78, is the following notice of Tobi or Lord North's Island, which forms the south-western extremity of the Micronesian range:—

"According to the native traditions, a personage, by name Pitakât, of copper colour like themselves, came many years ago from the island of Ternate (one of the Moluccas), and gave them their religion, and such simple arts as they possessed. It is probably to him that we are to attribute some peculiarities in their mode of worship, such as their temple with rude images to represent the divinity. In the centre, suspended from the roof, is a sort of altar, into which they suppose their deity comes to hold converse with the priest. The temple is called vĕre yaris, or spirit-house."

There is evidently in this statement an allusion to Buddhism, although the author seems not to have been aware of it, and although the facts themselves are greatly corrupted.

Pita-kât, instead of being the name of a missionary, is the name of the sacred books of the Buddhists, which are called *Tri-pittaka* or *Bedagat* [in Burma]. The *vĕre yaris* are the *vihâras* or cloisters of the Buddhist monks.[2]

This vestige of Buddhism in Micronesia is the more important, as this portion of the Pacific Ocean is now visited by missionaries and intelligent navigators.—J. W. G. in *Jour. Amer. Orient. Soc.* vol. V. p. 194.

THE PLUNDER OF SURAT BY ŚIVÂJÎ IN 1664.

Part of a Letter from M. Escaliot to Dr. Browne.[1]

Thuss farr deare Browne, I had wrote on Tuesday the fifth of January about ten in the morning, when on a sudden a strong alarme was brought to our house from the towne with news that Seua-Gee Raya, or principall governor, (for such assume not the name of kings to them selues, but yet endeuor to bee as absolute each in his prouince as his sword can make him,) was coming downe with an army of an vncertaine number upon Surat, to pillage the citty, which newes strook no small consternation into the mindes of a weake and effeminate people, in soe much that on all hands there was nothing to be seene but people flying for their lives and lamenting the loss of their estates, the richer sort whose stocke of money was large enough to purchase that favor at the hands of the gouernor of the castle, made that their sanctuary and abandoned their dwellings to a merciless foe, wich they might well enough haue defended with the rest of the towne had thay had the heartes of men. The same day a post coms in and tells them that the army was come within tenne course or English miles, and made all hast forward, wich put tho cowardly and vnfaithful govenor of the towne to send a seruant to Sevagee to treat of some conditions of ransome. But Sevagee retaines the messenger and marches forwards with all speed, and that night lodged his camp about 5 miles English from the city, and the governor perceueing well that this messenger returned not againe, and that Sevagee did not intend to treat at that distance, he craues admission into the castle and obtaineth it, and soe deserted his towne.

The city of Surat is the only port on this side India, wich belongs to the Mogol, and stands upon

[1] From a paper read at the Oriental Congress in 1874; Trübner's Report, p. 53.

[2] Conf. Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.* IV. 535-6.

[1] This interesting extract forms the greater part of a letter in *Sir Thomas Browne's Works*, edited by S. Wilkin, F.L.S. (London, Pickering: 1836), vol. I. p. 426-437. M. L'Escaillot was a clergyman.

a river commodious enough to admitt vessells of 1000 tun, seven milles up, at wich distance from the sea, there stands a reasonable strong castle well manned, and haueing great store of good guns mounted for the securing of the riuer at a conuenient distance, on the north east and south sides of this castle is the citty of Surrat built of a large extent and very popelus. Rich in marchandise, as being the mart for the great empire of the Mogol, but ill contriued into narrow lanes and without any forme. And for buildings consists partly of brick, soe the houses of the richer sort partly of wood, the maine posts of wich sort only are timber, the rest is built of bambooes (as they call them) or caines, such as those youe make your angles at Norwich, but very large, and these being tyed together with the cords made of coconutt rinde, and being dawbed ouer with dirt, are the walls of the whole house and floors of the upper story of their houses. Now the number of the poore exceedingly surmounting the number of those of some quality, these bamboo houses are increased vnmeasurably, soe that in the greater part of the towne scarce tow or three brick houses are to bee seen in a street, and in some part of the towne not one for many streets togather; those houses wich are built of bricke are vsually built strong, their walls of tow or tow and a half feet thicke, and the roofes of them flat and couered with a plaster like plaster of Paris, wich makes most comodous places to take the euening aire in the hotter seasons; the whole town is unfortified ether by art or nature,[2] its situation is upon a larg plaine of many miles extent and their care hath been so little to secure it by art, that they have only made against the cheefe auenues of the towne, some weake and ill built gatts and for the rest in some parts a dry ditch, easely passable by a footman, wanting a wall or other defence on the innerside, the rest is left soe open that scarce any signe of a ditch is perceiuable; the people of the towne are either the marchants, and those of all nations almost, as English, Dutch, Portugalls, Turkes, Arabs, Armenians, Persians, Jews, Indians, of seueral sorts, but principally Banians, or els Moores the conquerors of the country Hindues, or the ancient inhabitants or Persees, whoe are people fled out of Persia ages agoe, and here and some miles up the country settled in great numbers. The Banian is one who thinks it the greatest wickedness to kill any creature whatsoever that hath life, least possibly they might bee the death of their father or relation, and the Persee doth supperstitiously adore the fire as his God, and thinks it an vnpordonable sin to throw watter upon it, soe that if a house bee fired or their clothes upon their backs burning thay will if thay can hinder any man from quenching it. The Moores ar troubled with none of these superstitions but yet through the unworthy couetuousness of the gouernour of the towne thay had noe body to head them, nor none vnto whome to joyne themselves, and soe fled away for company, whereas if there had beene 500 men trayned, and in a readyness, as by order from the king there ever should, whose pay the gouernour puts into his own pocket, the number to defend the citty would haue amounted to some thousands. This was the condition of the citty at the tyme of its inuasion.

The inuader Seva Gee is as I haue said by extraction a Rayar or a gouernour of a small country on the coast southward of Basiue, and was formerly a tributary to the King of Vijapore, but being of an aspiring and ambitious minde, subtile and withall a soldier, hee rebells against the king, and partly by fraude, partly by force, partly by corruption of the kings gouernours of the kings castles, seaseth many of them into his hands. And withall parte of a country for wich the King of Vijapore paid tribute to the Mogul. His insolencys were soe many, and his success soe great, that the King of Vijapore thought it high tyme to endeavor his suppression, or els all would be lost. Hee raises his armies, but is worsted soe euery where by the rebbell, that he is forced to conditions to release homage to Sevagee of those lands which hee held of him, and for the rest Sevagee was to make good his possession against the Mogol as well as hee could, after some tyme of forbearance. The Mogol demands his tribute from him of Vijapore, whoe returns answer that hee had not possession of the tributary lands, but that they were detayned from him by his rebbell who was grown too strong for him. Upon this the Mogol makes warr both vpon the King of Vijapore and Seuagee, but as yet without any considerable success: many attempts have been made, but still frusterated either by the cuning, or vallor, or money of Seuagee: but now of late Kuttup Chawn, an Umbraw,[3] who passed by Surrat since I arriued with 5000 men, and 14 elephants, and had 9000 men more marched another way towards their randevouz, as wee hear hath taken from him a strong castle, and some impression into his country, to deuest wich, ware it is probable he took this resoluetion for inuation of this country of Guzurat. His person is described by them whoe haue seen him to bee of meane

[2] The walls of Surat up to this period were of mud; they were now ordered to be built of brick. Thevenot, who was at Surat in the early part of 1666, mentions that they were then in progress.—Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, chap vi. vol. I. p. 199n; conf. Elliot and Dowson's *Hist. of India*, vol. VII. p. 287.

[3] Shâyista Khân, Amiru'l-umarâ.—See Elliot and Dowson's *Hist.* vol. VII. pp. 269, 270.

a river commodious enough to admitt vessells of 1000 tun, seven milles up, at wich distance from the sea, there stands a reasonable strong castle well manned, and haueing great store of good guns mounted for the securing of the riuer at a conuenient distance, on the north east and south sides of this castle is the citty of Surrat built of a large extent and very popelus. Rich in marchandise, as being the mart for the great empire of the Mogol, but ill contriued into narrow lanes and without any forme. And for buildings consists partly of brick, soe the houses of the richer sort partly of wood, the maine posts of wich sort only are timber, the rest is built of bambooes (as they call them) or caines, such as those youe make your angles at Norwich, but very large, and these being tyed together with the cords made of coconutt rinde, and being dawbed ouer with dirt, are the walls of the whole house and floors of the upper story of their houses. Now the number of the poore exceedingly surmounting the number of those of some quality, these bamboo houses are increased vnmeasurably, soe that in the greater part of the towne scarce tow or three brick houses are to bee seen in a street, and in some part of the towne not one for many streets togather; those houses wich are built of bricke are vsually built strong, their walls of tow or tow and a half feet thicke, and the roofes of them flat and couered with a plaster like plaster of Paris, wich makes most comodous places to take the euening aire in the hotter seasons; the whole town is unfortified ether by art or nature,[2] its situation is upon a larg plaine of many miles extent and their care hath been so little to secure it by art, that they have only made against the cheefe auenues of the towne, some weake and ill built gatts and for the rest in some parts a dry ditch, easely passable by a footman, wanting a wall or other defence on the innerside, the rest is left soe open that scarce any signe of a ditch is perceiuable; the people of the towne are either the marchants, and those of all nations almost, as English, Dutch, Portugalls, Turkes, Arabs, Armenians, Persians, Jews, Indians, of seueral sorts, but principally Banians, or els Moores the conquerors of the country Hindues, or the ancient inhabitants or Persees, whoe are people fled out of Persia ages agoe, and here and some miles up the country settled in great numbers. The Banian is one who thinks it the greatest wickedness to kill any creature whatsoever that hath life, least possibly they might bee the death of their father or relation, and the Persee doth supperstitiously adore the fire as his God, and thinks it an vnpordonable sin to throw watter upon it, soe that if a house bee fired or their clothes upon their backs burning thay will if thay can hinder any man from quenching it. The Moores ar troubled with none of these superstitions but yet through the unworthy couetuousness of the gouernour of the towne thay had noe body to head them, nor none vnto whome to joyne themselves, and soe fled away for company, whereas if there had beene 500 men trayned, and in a readyness, as by order from the king there ever should, whose pay the gouernour puts into his own pocket, the number to defend the citty would haue amounted to some thousands. This was the condition of the citty at the tyme of its inuasion.

The inuader Seva Gee is as I haue said by extraction a Rayar or a gouernour of a small country on the coast southward of Basiue, and was formerly a tributary to the King of Vijapore, but being of an aspiring and ambitious minde, subtile and withall a soldier, hee rebells against the king, and partly by fraude, partly by force, partly by corruption of the kings gouernours of the kings castles, seaseth many of them into his hands. And withall parte of a country for wich the King of Vijapore paid tribute to the Mogul. His insolencys were soe many, and his success soe great, that the King of Vijapore thought it high tyme to endeavor his suppression, or els all would be lost. Hee raises his armies, but is worsted soe euery where by the rebbell, that he is forced to conditions to release homage to Sevagee of those lands which hee held of him, and for the rest Sevagee was to make good his possession against the Mogol as well as hee could, after some tyme of forbearance. The Mogol demands his tribute from him of Vijapore, whoe returns answer that hee had not possession of the tributary lands, but that they were detayned from him by his rebbell who was grown too strong for him. Upon this the Mogol makes warr both vpon the King of Vijapore and Seuagee, but as yet without any considerable success: many attempts have been made, but still frusterated either by the cuning, or vallor, or money of Seuagee: but now of late Kuttup Chawn, an Umbraw,[3] who passed by Surrat since I arriued with 5000 men, and 14 elephants, and had 9000 men more marched another way towards their randevouz, as wee hear hath taken from him a strong castle, and some impression into his country, to deuest wich, ware it is probable he took this resoluetion for inuation of this country of Guzurat. His person is described by them whoe haue seen him to bee of meane

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[3] Shâyista Khân, Amîru'l-umarâ.—See Elliot and Dowson's *Hist.* vol. VII. pp. 269, 270.

stature, lower somewhat then I am erect, and of an excellent proportion. Actual in exercise, and when euer hee speaks seemes to smile a quicke and peercing eye, and whiter then any of his people. Hee is distrustfull, seacret, subtile, cruell, perfidious, insulting over whomsoever he getts into his power. Absolute in his commands, and in his punishments more then severe, death or dismembering being the punishment of every offence, if necessity require, venterous and desperate in execution of his resolues as may appeare by this following instance. The King Vijapore sends downe his vnckell a most accomplished soldier, with 14000 men into Sevagee's country: the knowne vallor and experience of the man made Seuagee conclude that his best way was to assasinate him in his owne armye by a sudden surprise. This conduct of this attempt, how dangerous soever, would haue been vndertaken by many of his men of whose conduct hee might haue assured himselfe, but it seemes he would haue the action wholly his own, hee therefore with 400 as desperate as himselfe enters the army vndiscovered, comes to the generalls tent, falls in upon them, kills the guard, the generalls sonne, wounds the father, whoe hardly escaped, seiseth on his daughter and carries her away prisoner, and forceth his way backe through the whole army, and returnes safe without any considerable loss, and afterward in dispight of all the King of Vijapore could do, hee tooke Rajapore, a great port, plundered it, and seised our English marchants, Mr. Rivington, Mr. Taylor, and digged vp the English house for treasure, and kept the marchants in prison about 8 months.

Wednesday the 6th Janu: about eleven in the morning, Sevagee arriued neere a great garden, without the towne about a quarter of a mile, and whilst hee was busied in pitching his tents, sent his horsmen into the outward streets of the towne to fire the houses, soe that in less then halfe an houer wee might behold from the tops of our house two great pilliers of smoke, the certaine signes of a great dissolation, and soe they continued burning that day and night, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, still new fires raised, and every day neerer and neerer approaching our quarter of the towne, that the terror was great, I know youe will easly belieue, and upon his first begining of his firing, the remainder of the people fled as thicke as possible, so that on Thursday the streets were almost empty, wich at other tymes are exceeding thicke with people, and we the English in our house, the Duch in theirs and some few marchants of Turkey and Armenia, neighbours to our English house, possessed of a Seraw or place of reception for strangers, were left by the gouernor and his people to make what shift we could to secure ourselves from the enemys: this might the English and Duch have done, leaving the towne and gooing over the riuer to Swalley to our shipps, which were then riding in Swalley hole, but it was thought more like Englishmen to make ourselves ready to defend our liues and goods to the uttermost than by a flight to leaue mony, goods, house, to merciless people, and were confirmd in a resolution that the Duch alsoe determined the same, though there was no possibility of relieuing one another, the Duch house beeing on the other side of towne almost an English mile asunder.

In order therfore to our better defence, the president St. George Oxinden, a most worthy discreet courageous person, sent advice to our ships at Swalley of our condition, with his desires to the Captains to spare him out of their ships what men they could, and wee in the meane tyme endeavoured to fitt our house soe well as wee could, sending out for what quantity of prouision of victualls, watter and pouder we could gett, of wich wee gott a competent store. Tow brass guns we procured that day from a marchant in towne, of about three hundred weight a piece, and with old ship carriages mounted them, and made ports in our great gate for them to play out of to scoure a shorte passage to our house; that afternoone we sent aboard a ship in the riuer for guns and had tow of about six hundred a piece sent up in next morning with shott conuenient; some are sett to melt lead and make bullets, others with chezels to cutt lead into slugs, no hand idle but all imployed to strengthen every place as tyme would give leaue to the best advantage. On Weddensday men arriued to the number of forty odd, and bring with them tow brass guns more, our four smaller guns are then carried vp to the tope of the house and three of them planted to scoure two greet streets, the four was bent vpon a rich churles house (Hogee Said Beeg of whom more by and by) because it was equally of hight and being posesed by the enemy might haue beene dangerous to our house; Captaines are appointed and every man quartered and order taken for relieuing one another vpon necessity; a fresh recrute of men coming of about twenty more, wee than began to consider what houses neere vs might bee most prejudiciall; and on one side wee tooke possession of pagod, or Banian idol temple, which was just vnder our house, wich hauing taken wee were much more secured on that quarter; on the other a Morish Mesecte where seuerall people were harboured, and had windowes into our outward yard, was thought good to bee cleared and shutt vpp, wich accordingly done by a party, all the people sent to seeke some other place to harbour

in. Things being thus reasonably well prepared, newes is brought vs that Mr. Anthony Smith, a servant of the companyes, one whoe hath been cheife in severall factoryes, was taken prisoner by Seuagee soulderiers as he came ashore neere the Duch house, and was comeing to the English,—an vnfortunate accedent wich made vs all much concerned, knowing Seuagee cruelty, and indeed gaue him ouer as quite lost: hee obtains leaue some few houers after to send a note to the president, wherin hee aquants him with his condittion, that hee being brought before Seuagee hee was asked what hee was and such like questions, and att last by Sevagee told that hee was not come to doe any personall hurte to the English or other marchants, but only to revenge him selfe of Oroin Zeb, (the great Mogol) because hee had invaded his counttry, had killd some of his relations, and that hee would only have the English and Duch give him some treasure and hee would not medle with their houses, else hee would doe them all mischeefe possible. Mr. Smith desired him to send a guard with him to the English house least hee should finde any mollestation from his men, but hee answers as yet hee must not goe away, but comands him to bee carried to the rest of the marchants, where, when hee came, hee found the embassador from the great king of Ethiopia vnto Oram Zeb prisoner, and pinioned with a great number Banians, and others in the same condition: hauing set there some tyme, about halfe an hower, hee is seised vpon by a cupple of black rogges, and pinioned in that extremety that hee hath brought away the marke in his armes with him; this what hee writt and part of what he related when wee gott him againe. The president by the messenger one of Sevagee men, as we imagined, returned answer that hee wounderd at him, that professing peace hee should detaine an English man prissoner, and that if he would send him home, and not to suffer his people to come so neere his house as to give cause of suspition, hee would hurt none of his men, other wayes hee was vpon his owne defence upon these tearmes; wee were all Wedensday and vntil Thursday about tow at afternoon, when perceiueing tops of lances on the other side of a neighbour house, and haueing called to the men to depart and not come so neere vs, but thay not stirring and intending as wee concluded to sett fier to the house, on the quarter whereby our house would have been in most eminent danger of being fiered alsoe, the president comanded twenty men vnder the comand of Mr. Garrard Aungier, brother to my lord Aungier, to sally forth vpon them, and another party of about soe many more to make good their retreate, they did soe, and when thay facd them, judgd them to bee about twenty-five horsmen well mounted, they discharged at them and wounded one man and one horse, the rest fac'd about and fled but made a shift to carry off their wounded man, but the horse fell, haueing gone a little way; what became of the wounded man we cannot tell, but Mr. Smith saw him brought into the armey upon mens shoulders and shewed there to Sevagee; tow of our men were hurt, one shott slightly into the legg with an arrow, the other rashly parting from the rest and runing on before was cutt deep ouer the shoulder, but thanks to God in a faire way of recovery.

On Wedensday afternoone a party of the enemy came downe to Hogee Said Begs house, hee then in the castle, one of a prodigous estate, and brake open the vndefended doores, and ther continued all that night long and till next day, that we sallyed out vpon their men on the other quarter of our house, they appeared by tow or three at a tyme vpon the tope of his house, to spye what preparations wee made, but as yet had no order to fier vpon them, we heard them all night long beating and breaking open chests and doores, with great maules, but were not much concerned for him, for had the wretch had soe much heart as to have stood vpon his guard, the 20 part of what they tooke from him, would have hiered soe many men as would haue secured all the rest; when they heard that wee wear abroad in the streets thay imediatly in hast deserted the house, and that as it afterwards appeared, in such hast as to leave tow baggs of mony dropt downe behind them, yet with intention as they told the people they mett (such poore wretches as had nothing to loose and knew not whether to flye) to returne next day [*to*] fier the house, but that was prevented. On Friday morning, the president sent vnto the castle to Hogee Said Beg to know whether he would permitt him to take possession of and secure a great company of warehouses of his adjoyneing to our house, and wich would bee of great consequence to preserve both his goods and our house, hee testified his willingness, and immediately from the tope of our house by help of a ladder we entred it, and haueing found the enemie, haueing beene all Wedensday afternoon and night till past Thursday noone plundering the great house, had likewise entered and begun to plunder his first warehouse, but were scard and that little hurt was done, they had time to carry nothing that is yet knowne of, and only broken open certaine vessells of quickesilver, which there lay spilt about the warehouse in great quantetye; wee looked it vp and put a guard in the roome next the street, wich through help of a belcoone secured by thicke planks tyed to the belcoone pillers, soe close on to

another as no more space was left but for a muskett to play out, was so secured as no approach could bee made againe to the doore of his great house or any passage to the warehouse, but what must come vnder dainger of our shott. In the afternoone on Friday, Sevagee sends Mr. Smith as his messenger to our house with propositions and threats, haueing first made him oblige himselfe to returne, and with all obliging himselfe when he did returne, that hee would doe him noe hurt, what soeuer mesage he should bring, his message was to send him 3 lacks of rupees; (every lack is 100,000, and every rupee is worth 2*s.* 3*d.*) or elss let his men freely to doe their pleasure to Hogee Said Begs house, if not threatening to come and force vs, and vowed to kill euery person in the house, and to dig vp the houses foundation. To this it was answered by the messenger that came with Mr. Smith, that as for his tow propositions he desired tyme to mak answer to them till the morrow, they being of soe great moment, and as for Mr. Smith that hee would and did keep him by force, and hee should not returne till than, when if hee could consent to either proposition hee would send him. Mr. Smith being thus returned to vs, youe may bee sure each man was inquisitive to know news; whoe told vs for their number, they did giue themselues out to bee 10,000, and they were now at least a very considerable armey, since the coming of tow rayers with their men whose names hee knew not: that their horse were very good, and soe indeed, those wich we saw were: that when hee came away, hee could not guess by the mony heaped vp in tow great heapes before Sevagee his tent, than that he had plundered 20 or 25 lack of rup. that the day when hee came away in the morning, there was brought in neere vpon 300 porters laden each with tow baggs of rupees, and some hee guessed to bee gold, that thay brought in 28 sere of large pearle, with many other jewels, great diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, (40 sere make 37 pound weight) and these with an incredable quantety of mony, they found at the house of the reputed richest marchant in the world, his name is Verge Vora, his estate haueing beene esteemed to bee 80 lack of rup.

That they were still every hower, while hee was there, bringing in loods of mony from his house; his desire of mony is soe great, that he spares noe barbours cruelty to extort confessions from his prisoners, whip them most cruely, threatens death, and often executeth it, [if] thay doe not produce soe much as hee thinks they may, or desires they should, at least cutts of one hand, some tymes both; a very great many there were, who hearing of his coming went forth to him, thinking to fare the better, but found there fault to there coast; as one whoe come to our house for cure, hee went forth to meete him and told him he was come from about Agra with cloth, and had brought 40 oxen loaded with it, and that hee came to present him with it all, or elss what part hee should please to command. Sevagee asked him if he had no mony, hee answered that he had not as yet sold any cloth since hee came to towne, and that he had no mony: the villaine made his right hand to bee cutt of imediately, and than bid him begone, he had noe need of his cloth; the poore old man returns, finds his cloth burnt, and himselfe destetute of other harbor, comes to the English house where hee is dresed and fed.

But to proceed, Mr. Smith farther tells vs, that on Thursday their came a young fellow with some condition from the govenor, wich pleased Sevagee not at all, soe that hee asked the fellow whether his marster, being now by him cooped up in his chamber, thought him a woman to accept such conditions. The fellow imediately returns, "and we are not women; I have somewhat more to say to youe;" drawes his dagger, and runs full at Sevagee breast; a fellow that stood by with a sword redy drawne, strikes between him and Sevagee, and strikes his hand almost of, soe that [it] hung but by a pece of flesh; the fellow haueing made his thrust at Sevagee with all his might, did not stop, but ran his bloody stumpp against Sevagee breast, and with force both Sevagee and hee fell together, the blood being seen upon Sevagee the noise run through the camp that hee was killed, and the crye went, kill the prisoners, where upon some were miserably hacked; but Sevagee haueing quitted himselfe, and hee that stood by haueing clouen the fellows scull, comand was given to stay the execution, and to bring the prisoners before him, wich was imediately done, and Sevagee according as it came in his minde caused them to cutt of this mans head, that mans right hand, both the hands of a third. It comes to Mr. Smith turne, and his right hand being comanded to bee cutt of, hee cryed out in Indostan to Sevagee, rather to cutt of his head, vnto wich end his hatt was taken of, but Sevagee stopt execution and soe praised be God hee escaped.

There were than about four heads and 24 hands cutt of after that Mr. Smith was come away, and retayned by the president, and they heard the answer hee sends the embassador of Ethiopea, whome hee had sett free upon delivery of 12 horses and some other things, sent by his king to Oron Zeb, to tell the English that hee did intend to visitt vs, and to raise the house and kill every man of vs.

The president resolutly answers that we were redy for him and resolued not to stire, but let

him come when hee pleased, and since hee had as hee saide resolued to come, hee bid him come one pore, that is about the tyme of a watch, sooner than hee intended. With this answer the ambassador went his way, and wee heard no farther from him any more but in the terrible noise of the fier and the hideous smoke wich wee saw, but by Gods mercy came not soe neere vs as to take hold of vs, ever blessed be his name. Thursday and Friday nights were the most terrible nights for fier: on Friday after hee had ransaked and dug vp Vege Voras house, hee fiered it and a great vast number more towards the Dutch house, a fier soe great as turnd the night into day; as before the smoke in the day tyme had almost turnd day into night; rising soe thicke as it darkened the sun like a great cloud. On Sunday morning about 10 a clocke as thay tell vs hee went his way. And that night lay six courss of, and next day at noone was passed over Brooch river, there is a credable information that he hath shipt his treasure to carry into his own country, and Sr George Oxenden hath sent a fregate to see if hee can light of them, wich God grant. Wee kept our watch still till Tuesday.

I had forgote to writte you the manner of their cutting of mens hands, which was thuss; the person to suffer is pinioned as streight as possibly they can, and then when the nod is giuen, a soldier come with a whitle or blunt knife and throws the poore patient downe vpon his face, than draws his hand backwards and setts his knee upon the prisoners backe, and begins to hacke and cutt on one side and other about the wrest, in the meane time the poore man roareth exceedingly, kicking and bitting the ground for very anguish, when the villiane perceiues the bone to bee laid bare on all sides, hee setteth the wrest to his knee and giues it a snap and proceeds till he hath hacked the hand quite of, which done thay force him to rise, and make him run soe long till through paine and loss of blood he falls downe, they then vnpinion him and the blood stops. . . . .

Surat, Jan. 26th 166¾.

ISLÂMIC DOCTRINE OF WOMAN'S SOUL.

On Wednesday, the 12th of February, 1879, a paper was read, before the Royal Society of Literature, by J. W. Redhouse, Esq., M.R.A.S., on Turkish Poetry, with a notice of the Islamic doctrine of woman's soul. The lecturer gave a description of the nature and varieties of Turkish poetry, citing Von Hammer's published works, one of which gives a specimen from each of more than two thousand Turkish poets, and states that above nine thousand were noticed in collected biographies. He then gave fifteen specimens, ancient (sixteenth century) and recent, in the original Turkish, and as paraphrased in English verse, some short, others of considerable length. One of the former, a tetrastich elegy on a lady, by Fâzil, must here suffice as an example of the Turkish idea, and the English paraphrase:—

"Alas! thou'st laid her low, malicious Death, enjoyment's cup yet half unquaff'd!
The hourglass out, thou'st cut her off, disporting still in life's young spring!
O Earth! all-fondly cradle her. Thou, Trusty Seraph! welcome her with smiles,
For she, fair pearl, the soul's love was of one who is a wide world's king."

In commenting on the third line of this gem of tender pathos, Mr. Redhouse took occasion to show how erroneous is the notion that the faith of Islâm denies the possession of a soul by woman. This erroneous idea has not first arisen in these latter times; though when it first arose may be a question. Sale, in the Preliminary Discourse to his English translation of the *Qur'ân* (*Alcoran*, *Koran*, etc.), published in 1734, mentions the notion, to refute it from that book. Now the facts of the case were partly made known to English readers by Sale and by the late eminent Orientalist, E. W. Lane, in his *Modern Egyptians*. The *Qur'an* has various passages that explicitly promise or threaten the joys of heaven or the torments of hell to women, "therein to dwell for ever." Such are, especially, Surâs ix. 69, 73; xiii. 23; xxxiii. 35; xxxvi. 56; xliii. 70; xlviii. 5 and 6; lvii. 12; lxvi. 9, 10, 11; cxi. 4. That in su. xlviii. 5 and 6, must suffice here:—"That He may cause the believers and the believeresses to enter into paradises through which rivers flow, to dwell therein for ever. And that He may punish the hypocrites and the hypocritesses, and the polytheists and the polytheistesses, who imagine an evil conceit against God." Noah and Abraham are also said in the *Qur'ân*, xiv. 42; lxxi. 29, to have prayed for "both my parents." The immortality of woman's soul was therefore taught to the Pagan Arabians, not as a new doctrine, but as an article of the faith of the patriarchs, of which Islâm was but the renewal and completion. Lane says (5th ed. Murray, London: 1860, p. 88, l. 37,) in his account of the public address from the pulpit delivered every Friday, after the noontide service of worship (praise, not prayer): "And be Thou well pleased, O God, with their mother . . . . and their grandmother . . . . and with the rest of the pure wives . . . . pardon the believing men and the believing women, and the Muslim men and the Muslim women . . . . living and dead. . . . ." The burial service of Islâm is the same, word for word, in the case of men and women; as also is that for infants, grammatical variants alone except-

ed. The adult service says: "Cause thou this departed one to possess the solace and the ease, and the mercy and the grace. O God, if she have been a worker of good works, then do Thou add unto her good works. And if she have been an evil doer, do Thou pass it over. And may security and glad tidings surround her, with honour and privilege. And free Thou her from the torment of the grave and of hell fires, causing her to dwell in the abode of the paradises, with her children. O God, make Thou her tomb a garden of the gardens of heaven; and let not her grave be a pit of the pits of perdition. For Thy mercy's sake, O Thou most Compassionate of the Merciful." Every Muslim woman's tombstone, like those of the men, ends the inscription with an address to the pious passer-by to recite a certain passage of the *Qur'ân*, as an act of charity for the benefit of her soul. Every Muslim, man and woman, five times a day, after the prescribed service of worship, offers, as an apostolic custom, a voluntary prayer for the forgiveness of his or her sins, of those of their "two parents," and of all "believers and believeresses." Sa'di, the great Persian poet, has said in his well-known *Bustan*, respecting the Last Judgment:—

"Devout women, the Lord God who've faithfully serv'd,
Shall high precedence hold over men that have swerv'd."

To judge from these specimens, Turkish poetry may repay the research of the curious; and from these arguments, the question of woman's soul, as viewed in Islam, must be considered as definitely set at rest.

THE *BUNDAHISH.*

(*Letter from Dr. Ed. W. West to the Academy, 28th April* 1879.)

It may interest Oriental scholars to learn that a manuscript exists which contains a much more complete and extensive text of the *Bundahish* or cosmogony of the Pârsîs, than that hitherto known. The most complete MS. of the received text is contained in an old codex now at Copenhagen, a copy of which was brought from India to Paris by Anquetil Duperron more than half a century before the original found its way to Europe. Unfortunately the old MS. at Copenhagen has lost one folio of the *Bundahish*, the contents of which are not to be found in any other copy known to Europeans.

While recently engaged in translating the *Bundahish*, I made several enquiries in Bombay regarding the missing text. The Dasturs appeared to know nothing about it; but Mr. Khurshedji Rustamji Cama kindly sent me a description of a manuscript of the *Bundahish*, which its owner (a young priest named Tehmuras Dinshahji Anklesaria) had prepared at his request, and Mr. Tehmuras subsequently sent me a copy of five chapters of his MS. with further information about it.

This MS. was brought from Persia a few years ago, and contains not only fifteen more chapters than the MSS. hitherto known, but also much additional matter in several other chapters, so that the text is more than doubled in extent. From a notice of the writer and his contemporaries contained in the penultimate chapter, it appears that this version of the *Bundahish* was written about the same time as the *Dâdistân-i-Dînî*—that is about A.D. 880. So far as I can judge from the portion of the text (about one-tenth of the whole) which was kindly placed at my disposal, it is hardly possible to distinguish the style of the additional matter from that of the received text; so that there is every probability that the MSS. hitherto known consist merely of extracts from this longer text. I am however inclined to suspect that this longer text was only a revision of an older work, as there is reason to suppose that the original *Bundahish* terminated with the account of the resurrection.

The manuscript belonging to Mr. Tehmuras is, of course, a comparatively recent copy of the ninth-century recension; it is not dated, but it was written by the granduncle of a writer who copied another MS. in A.D. 1572.[1]

THE WÂLÎS OF PERSIA, &c.

General A. H. Schindler writes to *The Academy*[2]:—

Muhammad, who commanded part of the Persian troops at the battle of Gulnâbâd [March 8, 1723] was Wâlî of Howeizah or Hawizah, a town and district at the lower end of the Kerkheh or Kerah river, which flows into the Tigris. The chiefs of the Hawizah[3] Arabs have the hereditary title of Wâlî; and at times, when they were also Governors of Arabistan, they were called Wâlî of Arabistan, *not* Viceroy of *Arabia* [as Malleson writes it] but Governor of Arabistan. Arabistan was always and is the Persian province bounded on the north by Little Luristan, on the east by Great Luristan (the Bakhtiârî country) and Fârs; extends in the south to the Persian Gulf, and joins on the west Turkish territory.

[1] *The Academy*, May 3, 1879, pp. 391, 392.
[2] May 3, 1879, p. 392.
[3] M. Sanson was a French missionary from Louis XIV. to the Persian court, and as quoted below he speaks of "Aviza" as the government of one of the ten Wâlîs acknowledged in Persia when he wrote in 1683.—ED.

The hereditary Wâlîs at present in Persia are:—1, Wâlî of Hawizah residing at Hawizah; 2, Wâlî of Pusht-i Kûh Luristân (a descendant of Kelb Ali Khân, the murderer of Captains Grant and Fotheringham, over seventy years ago), residing at Mandelî in Pusht-i Kûh Luristan, a district or province joining the Baghdad Pâshalik on the east. In these two cases Wâlî would mean "chief." Then there is Muhammad Khân who has the title of Wâlî like his father Qâsim Khân, a surname given him by the Shâh. The governors of provinces are sometimes addressed as Wâlî. There was also till lately a Wâlî of Kurdistân.

The Muhammad of Gulnâbâd would thus be "Chief of the Hawizah Arabs and Governor of Arabistan."

On this Sir F. J. Goldsmid remarks[4];—

General Schindler's definition of "Wâlî of Arabistân" is doubtless correct, and the meaning of "Arabistân," both for Turks and Persians, must be restricted to those tracts of country peopled by Arabs which have been annexed to their respective dominions by Sulṭân and Shâh. "Viceroy of Arabia" is clearly a misnomer in this instance, it is as if the title "Viceroy of America" were applied to a Governor-General of Canada. Muhammed Wâlî is styled by Krusinski "Prince of Haovuza, a part of Arabia dependent upon Persia." But the same author has much to say about this personage; nor is there, perhaps, any contemporary writer from whom so full an account of the Afghan invasion of Persia in 1723 can be obtained. In addition to the Wâlî of Kurdistân and others, mentioned by General Schindler, there is, or was until very recently, a Wâlî of Kesht. As regards the "Wâlîs" of former days, the following extract from M. Sanson's writings may be read with interest. The actual volume quoted is a translation by John Savage published in 1695:—

"There are six sorts of governors in Persia, viz.:

1. The Valis.
2. The Begueler Beguis.
3. The Col Beguis.
4. The Viziers.
5. The Sultans.
6. The Derogats.

"The Valis are descendants from such princes as have been conquered by the king of Persia, and whose kingdoms he leaves to their sole government. There are ten of this kind, viz:—(1) Georgia; (2) Lauristan; (3) Aviza; (4) Bachiaris; (5) Zeitoun Ardelan; (6) Mazandran; (7) Teharkez; (8) Herat; (9) Kandahar; and (10) Kâramania or Kerman. These Valis have their places at the Council-board, and at feasts and public audiences, immediately after the six *Rokna Dolvets*. They are considered of as Princes, and have those priviledges as the king's guests have, which is to be Pensioners and Tablers during their stay at Court. The king has lately seized upon the government of the Vali of Kerman as also of the other *Begueler-beguis*. I know not whether because their race failed, or that he had a jealousie they had a mind to rebell. Also there is a great likelihood he will do the same in Lauristan, where he has already placed a Governour. The Vali of Georgia also has some reason to fear the like fate, if the endeavours he seems to be making to recover his ancestor's right, should not succeed."

The question of Orthography, if not identity in Oriental names, seems to have been as unsettled some two centuries ago as it is at present. In the translator's preface we read:—"Our author was one of the latest travellers into those parts, and perhaps made the longest residence there. I know that others do differ from him in proper names of places and persons; but I thought it not safe to follow'em."

BOOK NOTICES.

THE MIRACLE PLAY OF HASAN AND HUSAIN. Collected from oral tradition by Colonel Sir Lewis Pelly, K.C.B., K.C.S.I. Revised, with explanatory notes, by Arthur N. Wollaston. In Two Vols. rl. 8vo. (London; W. H. Allen & Co. 1879.)

The scenes of the Muharram are well known in India and the indoor ceremonies of the Shia'hs have been described in our pages.[1] In these two volumes Sir Lewis Pelly has supplied to our literature, for the first time, the substance of the long and often impromptu drama annually performed on the occasion in Persia. While Political Resident in the Persian Gulf (1862-1873) he became interested in the great "Passion Play," and becoming acquainted with a Persian who had long been engaged as a teacher and prompter of actors, he arranged with him to collect and dictate all the scenes of the very tragic drama of Ḥasan and Ḥusain. These scenes, fifty-two in number, two of his assistants—Messrs. J. Edwards and G. Lucas—turned into English, and from among these thirty-seven are now published. In 1878 he bethought him of the MS., and asked Mr. Wollaston

[4] *The Academy*, May 10, 1879, p. 414.

[1] See a well written paper by the late Charles Gover, M.R.A.S., vol. I. p. 165 ff. and conf. Gobineau's *Religions et Philosophies dans l'Asie*, 2nd ed. 1866, where a very good account is given of the Persian theatre.

of the India Office, to pass it through the press, with summaries and notes. The book is thus the translation or adaptation of a Persian impressario's rendering of the famous "Mystery" by Messrs. Edwards and Lucas, illustrated with notes chiefly from Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, Sale's *Koran*, Merrick's *Life of Mohammed* (1850), Price's *Retrospect of Mahommedan History*, and Hughes's *Notes on Muhammadanism*; but he urges "that in absence of the Persian text, it has been difficult to avoid mistakes which might not otherwise have occurred."

This, we suppose, accounts for such expressions as "fear not this venerable person (*'Izrâîl—the angel of death*) at all" (vol. I. p. 26), and where Zainab is addressed (p. 239) as "Venus of the station of uncertainty," and the like. From a scholarly point of view this is not satisfactory, and we are not told where the Persian text is. Surely Sir Lewis Pelly took it home along with the English adaptation; or did he not think it worth the carriage?

An account of the historical basis of the drama and of its annual celebration in Bombay by Dr. G. Birdwood, C.S.I., adds to the value and interest of the work. This the reader should not overlook though it is stowed away in the Preface. If to this Sir Lewis Pelly had added chromo reproductions of the six oil illustrations of the scenes, painted for him by a Persian artist at Shiraz, it would have been well.

As is well known the Shia'hs celebrate in sorrow the expedition of Ḥusain to Kufâ and the disaster that befel him on the plain of Karbalâ, Muharram 1st—10th A.H. 61 (A.D. 680). On each of the ten days a new scene of woe is represented on the Plain of Anguish *(karb)* and Vexation (*balâ*) ever since famous in the Shia'h and Sunni division of Islâm. All over Persia, and wherever, as in India, the Shia'hs are to be found, the martyrdom of Ḥasan and Ḥusain is observed in the first ten days of the month of Muharram, which, as a lunar feast, changes every year. Every great Shia'h has an Imambâra hall or enclosure, built for the spectacle. Against the side which looks to Makka is placed the model of the tomb at Karbalâ, called *tabut* or *tasia*. All but the poorest have a wickerwork *tabut* for themselves, and the very poorest light a fire in a pot sunk in the ground. The play takes place before the richly decorated tomb twice daily. All save their Sunni rivals and co-religionists, even English and Hindus, may visit the tomb enclosures. At the signal of a muffled drum silence falls on the crowd, a mullâ enters the pulpit extemporised for the occasion, and this is the procedure, as described by Dr. Birdwood:—

"'O ye Faithful, give ear! and open your hearts to the wrongs and sufferings of his Highness the Imâm 'Alî, the vicegerent of the Prophet, and let your eyes flow with tears, as a river, for the woes that befel their Highnesses the beloved Imâms Ḥasan and Ḥusain, the foremost of the bright youths of Paradise.' For a while he proceeds amid the deep silence of the eager audience, but as he goes on they will be observed to be swaying to and fro, and altogether; at first almost imperceptibly, but gradually with a motion that becomes more and more marked. Suddenly a stifled sob is heard, or a cry, followed by more and more sobbing and crying, and rapidly the swaying to and fro becomes a violent agitation of the whole assembly, which rises in a mass, every one smiting his breast with open hand, and raising the wild rhythmical wail of '*Ya A'li! Ai Ḥasan, Ai Ḥusain, Ai Ḥasan, Ai Ḥusain, Ḥusain Shâh!*' As the wailing gathers force, and threatens to become ungovernable, a chorus of mourners, which has formed almost without observation on the arena, begins chanting, in regular Gregorian music, a metrical version of the story, which calls back the audience from themselves, and imperceptibly at last soothes and quiets them again. At the same time the celebrants come forward, and take up the 'properties' before the *tabut*, and one represents Ḥusain, another al 'Abbâs, his brother and standard-bearer, another Harro, and another Shamer, all going through their parts (which it seems to be the duty of the chorus every now and then more fully to explain), not after the manner of actors, but of earnest men absorbed in some high sacrament, without consciousness of themselves or their audience."

This mystery begins with the story of "Joseph and his Brethren," after the Old Testament, in order to excite pity in the audience, and ends with the "Resurrection," in which all sinners are represented as ascribing their new life to the intercession of the martyrs, Ḥasan and Ḥusain. In the second scene Ibrâhîm dies—the prophet's son by Mariam, his Coptic wife.[9] In the third Ḥusain procures the deliverance of a disobedient son from one of the seven storeys of the place of torment. In the fourth 'Alî offers his own life as a sacrifice for another's. The fifth scene describes Muhammad's death; then, sixth, the seizure of the Khalîfate by Abû Bakr; and the seventh, the death of Fâṭima, 'Ali's wife. The martyrdom of 'Ali himself is the subject of the eighth. Dying he thus speaks to the surgeon:—

"'*Alî*.—What shall I say, O Na'mân? Alas, when I went to the mosque, and stood up there for prayer, toward the niche of faith, as soon as I fell prostrate on the ground the cruel sword of the

[9] *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII. p. 97.

traitor alighted on my head whilst thus bowing myself, and cut down as far as my forehead.

"*Na'mán, probing the wound*—Alas! let me see what heaven, the supporter of the faithful, has done to the noble cousin of the Prophet? Alas! alas! mayest thou be subverted, O heaven! Mayest thou be plunged in the ocean of blood like the head of the Lion of God! For the pate of 'Alî, the equal of Aaron, the son of Imrân,[3] is cloven asunder, and the unjust blow has reached down to the forehead.

"*Ḥasan.*—I adjure thee by the living God, O Na'mân, to cure the wound of our father the priest of the age. Let not the two tender plants of 'Alî be rooted up by overwhelming sorrow, but deliver them from the bonds of desolation, if thou canst.

"*Na'mán (to the family)*.—Wash your hands at once of Haidar's life; have no more hope of his recovery. 'Alî will be but for one hour more with you, his dear ones. O children of the Lion of God, you will ere long become fatherless. Read the *Kur'án* over your father, for he is gone. Prepare for him winding-sheets, and do not leave him alone. Tell Zainab to put on black, and mourn for her father.

"*'Alî's Family, crying and lamenting.*—Make us not fatherless, O Lord, O God! Shall we be orphans and sorrowful ones, O Lord, O God? Take our souls instead of his, O Lord, O God! Make us not tearful-eyed, O Lord, O God!

"*'Alî (to his family)*.—O my poor, sad family, gather ye yourselves together around me, like the constellation of Pleiades about the moon; and you, O brightness of my eyes, Hasan and Husain, come near me for awhile, dear sons; and come thou, Zainab my daughter, see thy father's face, for the time has arrived that thou shouldst put on black on account of my death.

"*Ḥasan.*—May I be offered unto thee, O thou glory of the people of the age! I am Hasan, thy poor orphan son. Thou art greatly desirous to go to Paradise, the abode of the just, and hast, therefore, forgotten us altogether.

"*'Alî.*—O thou tender plant of the garden of Time's glory, thou brightness of my tearful eyes, Ḥasan, come to me, that I may commit unto thee the secret knowledge of the Imâmat, or priesthood. Come let me put my lips to thy delicate lips, and deliver the mystery of religion in this way to thy heart. Thou art the guide of men after me, O my successor! Perform the rites of Imâmat for the people after my departure.

"*Ḥasan.*—What shall I, thy oppressed son, do when thou art taken away from us? To whom shall I look hereafter for comfort and solace? May Ḥasan be offered for thy parched throat, O father? Come, let me put my lips to thine as thou didst order me to do.

"*'Alî.*—Oh my poor helpless, weeping family, leave me alone in the room for awhile; for I have to speak my secrets to my Creator, and make supplication to Him, before I leave this world:

"*Ḥasan.*—O ye, my brothers and sisters, go out all of you from this room, with tearful eyes, and let everyone put a copy of the *Kur'án* on his head, and pray earnestly to the holy Creator for the recovery of our father and protector.

"*'Alî.*—O thou beneficent Creator, the sole, the almighty God, I adjure Thee by Thine own glory, O Thou who art without any equal, and by that pearl-like tooth[4] of Thy chosen and glorious Prophet, which was knocked out with a stone in the battle of Ohod; and by the disappointment of his child Fâṭima, and by the fracture which she suffered in her side; and by the tearful eyes of his distressed family; and, lastly, by this blood-stained beard of mine, to forgive, O eternal, ineffable Maker, the sins of 'Alî's followers in the Day of Judgment. Now I depart this life with the desire of meeting the Messenger of God in the next world. I do therefore bear witness that there is no God except God. (*Dies.*)

"*Zainab, perceiving that 'Alî is dead.*—Why has thy mouth ceased from speaking, dear father? Has heaven thrown black dust on our head to make us miserable? Alas! his honour, the Lion of God, has departed this life! He is gone to the garden of Paradise to visit Zahrah! Dear ones, inform 'Alî's afflicted servant of his master's death, that he may cover Haidar's mule 'Duldul'[5] with black.

"*Hasan and Ḥusain together.*—Come let us put shawls of mourning round our necks. Come let us groan and make a sad noise. Come, dear sisters, dutifully close our father's eyes.

"*Zainab and Kulsûm together.*—Alas! our father is, after all, gone! Alas! he is gone as an arrow out of our hand! Come, let us put on black; let us dishevel our hair over his corpse.

"*'Alî's Servant, leading the mule 'Duldul' draped in black.*—Oh! they have killed the owner of 'Duldul,' 'Alî, the prince of believers! Alas! they have slain the chief, the Lion of the Lord of all creatures! The master of the crown and standard has suffered martyrdom by the sword of Muljam the traitor! They have destroyed the all-wise successor of the chosen of God.

[3] Sale's *Koran* (ed. 1734) chap. iii. p. 38.

[4] Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. III. p. 172. Sale's *Koran* n. s. chap. ii. p. 50.

[5] "Duldul," one of Muhammad's mules, was given to 'Alî by the Prophet while the latter was alive, that no one might quarrel about it after his death.—Meyrick's *Life of Mohammed*, p. 370.

"*Ḥasan and Ḥusain*—O 'Duldul' of our lord, where is our father and thy master? Where is our chief and our prince? Where is our dear supporter and protector? Where is the lustre of the Prophet's religion? Where the husband of Zahrah the virgin?[9] O poor creature, thy master has been killed by the insensate populace."[6] (Vol. I. pp. 149-153.)

This is a fair specimen of the literary character of the great Tragedy—but the original must be far more impressive when it is acted, and it finds a ready response in the hearts of an excited multitude.

A CHRONOLOGICAL and HISTORICAL CHART of INDIA, showing at one view all the principal Nations, Governments, and Empires which have existed in that Country from the earliest period to the Suppression of the Great Mutiny A.D. 1857-8, compiled and drawn by A. A. DURTNALL, of the High Court of Justice. (London: W. H. Allen & Co.)

The idea of such a wall chart as this, which measures about 3 ft. 3 in. by 4 ft., is excellent. The columns on each side are reserved for the dates—those on the left being for the Kaliyug, Brihaspati Cycle, Samvat Hijrah, and Christian reckoning; those on the left, for the last two again with the Śaka Cycle of 60 in the Dekhan, and Yezdegird eras. On the right are four columns for "Contemporaneous History," chiefly European, and on the left three, occasionally broken, for Herat, Kandahar and Kabul. The space, 2 feet wide, that remains in the centre of the sheet, is divided into seventeen principal columns—some subdivided and others combined at different places—but representing generally the events in the histories of the Panjab, Sindh, Rajputana, Ajmer, Dehli, Kanauj, Magadha (Banâras), Behâr, Bengal, Mâlwâ, Gujarât, Khândesh and Berar, Mahârâshṭra, Telangana, Karnata, the Tamil country, and Orissa. When we mention that "the principal works referred to are the *Aîn-i Akbarî*, Elphinstone's *History of India*, Gleig's, Thornton's, and Murray's *Histories of the British Empire in India*, *The English Cyclopædia*, Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, Wilson's *Glossary of Indian Terms*, and Tytler's *Elements of History*," it will be understood at once that the work has not been executed with any pretensions to research or authority. Prinsep's *Useful Tables* alone afford the student much more information, and would supply materials for a most useful chart on a similar plan, or for recasting and greatly improving this one. Still as a popular representation to the eye of the revolutions, conquests, &c. in the history of India, from the time of the Muhammadan invasion, it will be interesting and instructive, especially for Indian schools and colleges: the small space devoted to the period from B.C. 550 to A.D. 1100 is not so satisfactory, but neither are our histories of it.

LE CHARIOT de TERRE CUITE (Mṛichchhakatika) Drame Sanscrit attribué au roi Śûdraka, traduit et annoté des scolies inédites de Lallâ Dîkshita. Par PAUL REGNAUD. 4 tom. 18mo elzevir. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1876-77).

We have already noticed some of the neat and beautifully printed volumes of Leroux's *Bibliothèque Orientale Elzévirienne.*[1]

By its antiquity, literary merits, and extent, *The Toy-Cart* is one of the most important—if not the most important—of the Hindu dramas. Who its reputed author, Râja S û d r a k a, was, it is difficult to fix: the *Kumârikâ-Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purâṇa* appears to place a king of this name in A.D. 190;[2] a local *Mâhâtmya* of Paithana says he founded a dynasty there in A.D. 372;[3] and other accounts make him the first of the Ândhra kings, one of whose successors—Śâtakarni—has left a long inscription at Nânâghâṭ, and others were the excavators of Bauddha caves at Nasik, but it is doubtful whether the first Ândhrabhṛitya's name was Śudraka, and not rather Ś i ś u k a, Ś u r u k á, or Ś i p r a k a,[4] and his era is not fixed,—being placed as late as A.D. 192 by Wilson,[5] by others in B.C. 21,[6] or 31,[7] and between the first and third centuries B.C. by Wilford,[8] which is just as probable as any of the other assigned dates. From the poem itself, when we try to determine its date the indications are vague enough; the Bauddha religion was prevalent and prosperous at the time to which the characters of the play belonged, but it does not necessarily follow that it was written then, any more than that Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar* or *King John* were written at the times of the events they represent. Still the purity of the language and its freedom from grammatical pedantries and studied rhetorical flourishes, indicate that the *Mṛichchhakatikâ* belongs to the age before the early decline of Sanskṛit literary taste, and M. Regnaud attributes it on such grounds to the period between A.D. 250 and 600, and rather nearer the first of these dates than the second.

Wilson translated the play into English verse and published it at Calcutta in 1827; the Sans-

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[6] Burton's *El Medinah and Meccah*, vol. I. p. 315.

[1] *Les Stances érotiques* de Bhartrihari in *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 31; *Iter Persicum*, vol. VII, p. 30.

[2] Wilson's *Theatre of the Hindus*, vol. I. p. 6.

[3] *Archæological Survey of Western India*, vol. III. p. 56.

[4] *Jour. B.B.R. As. Soc.* vol. XIII. p. 312. According to Lassen *Alterthums.* II. (2nd ed.) p. 965, (1st p. 945), also pp. 1209, 1211,—he was king of Vidiśâ.

[5] *Theatre of the Hindus*, vol. I. pp. 6, 9.

[6] Prinsep's *Useful Tables* (in Thomas' ed., *Essays* vol. II.) p. 241; conf. *Archæol. Sur. of W. Ind.* vol. II. p. 132.

[7] Fergusson, *Ind. and East. Architect.* p. 717; *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N.S.) vol. IV. p. 122.

[8] *Asiat. Res.* vol. IX. p. 101.

krit text was also printed at Calcutta in 1829; in 1847 Stenzler published a better one with various readings, philological notes, and extracts from a native commentary; and a third edition of the text with commentary appeared at Calcutta in 1870. Langlois, before he knew much of Sanskṛit, rendered Wilson's version into French, and MM. Mery and Gérard de Nerval arranged an imitation of it in five acts which was brought on the stage at the Odêon under the title of the *Chariot d'enfant* on 13th May 1850, and had a favourable reception for twenty consecutive nights.

Hippolyte Fauche, in 1861, published a new version from the Sanskṛit, but it was anything but a satisfactory rendering, not even representing the original so accurately as Wilson's versified translation. In the *Rivista Europea* for April 1872, Michele Kerbaker published an Italian version in blank verse of the first act; and in the same year C. Kellner published his *Einleitende Bemerkungen zu dem indischen Drama 'Mṛicchakaṭikâ.'* M. Paul Regnaud undertakes, in the present version, more especially addressed to French readers, to render the drama more completely and more in keeping with the requirements of science than that of Wilson, and on the other hand, more faithfully to the original and with more regard to style than that of Fauche.

From the Bodleian library M. Regnaud was able to obtain a MS. commentary, which was found valuable in interpreting the Prâkrit and explaining difficult passages and obscure words, and the author has used it judiciously throughout and cites it very largely in his notes, which must render his edition most valuable to any one studying the original. The commentator, however, does not always explain allusions that puzzle scholars: thus, in the second act, when the *Saṁvâhaka* or shampooer, having lost 10 *suvarnas*, runs away and hides in a temple, Mâthura and the gambler follow him and sit down in the temple to play out their game. The *Saṁvâhaka* sees them from the shrine, where he is personifying the idol, and remarks to himself—

"The man who listens to the sound of the dice without money in his pocket is as excited as the king deprived of his throne is at the sound of the drum. No, I am decided to play no more, for one had as well throw himself from the top of Meru as take up the dice... and yet the sound they make is as bewitching as the song of the *Kokila*.

"*The Gambler*.—The throw is mine, the throw is mine!

"*Mâthura*.—No, no; it is mine!

"*Saṁ*.—(*leaving his position and coming hastily forward*)—Mine,—it is!

"*Gam*.—The fellow is taken.

"*Mâth*.—(*seizing the shampooer*) Ah! jail-bird you are taken! pay the ten *suvarṇas*!

"*Saṁ*.—Lord, I will pay them.

"*Mâth*.—Pay them now.

"*Saṁ*.—I will pay, but don't be in such a hurry.

"*Mâth*.—Come, come! it must be done at once.

"*Saṁ*.—Oh! my head swims (*He swoons; they strike him with their feet and fists*).

"*Mâthura, tracing a circle round him*, Well! you are now fast in the gaming ring (*jûdiaramaṇḍalîle baddho si*)."

This *maṇḍalî* was a puzzle to M. Regnaud, as it had been to Wilson, but we observe in the *Revue Critique* of 28 Juin, that he has remarked an explanation given in Lud. di Varthema's *Itinerary* (1503-1508) as quoted in the new work of M. de Gubernatis on the *Mythology of Plants*. The custom on the Malabar coast, when summary payment was demanded of a debtor, was to draw a circle round him with a green branch, and imprecate on him the name of a particular divinity whose curse was to fall upon him if he left the circle before satisfying the claim of his creditor. Marco Polo (1293) witnessed an instance of this in which the king was so arrested (Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. II. p. 327). The Arabo-Persian Zakariah Kazwîni ascribes the custom to Ceylon (Gildemeister, p. 197). El-Edrisi, Varthema (*Travels*, Hakluyt Soc. p. 147) and Hamilton (vol. I. p. 318, and Pinkerton, *Voyages*, vol. VIII. p. 377) all describe it; 'Abd er-Razzâk (*India in the XVth Century*, p. 14) and Père Bouchet (*Lettres Edif.* t. XIV. p. 370) also refer to the strictness of the arrest. The custom, however, seems to have disappeared now.

The literary excellence and accuracy of M. Paul Regnaud's translation of the *Mṛichchhakaṭikâ*—itself one of the most perfect pictures of Hindu social manners in the whole circle of Sanskṛit literature—will commend it to the general reader, as well as the student of Indian history, while the scholia will add to its importance in the eyes of scholars, and its commodious form renders it easily portable.

TEXTS FROM THE BUDDHIST CANON, commonly known as DHAMMAPADA, with accompanying Narratives. Translated from the Chinese by SAMUEL BEAL, B.A., Professor of Chinese, University College, London. (London: Trübner & Co. 1878.)

Dhammapada is a work of much importance in the study of Buddhism, containing a series of moral precepts selected from the ancient canonical books of the sect, and presenting a more favourable idea of the morality of Buddhism than perhaps any other work yet analysed. It has accordingly attracted the attention of European

scholars. The Rev. D. J. Gogerly translated about 350 of the 423 verses of which the Singhalese Pâli edition consists, and published them in the *Ceylon Friend* (vol. IV. Aug. 1840, &c.); V. Fausböll published the Pâli text with a Latin translation in 1855; A. Weber a German version in 1860; and Prof. Max Müller an English one, as an introduction to Capt. Rogers's version of Buddhaghosha's *Parables*, in 1870.[1] In Mr. Beal's examination of the valuable library of books forming the Chinese Buddhist Cânon, procured from Japan for the India Office through His Excellency Iwakura Tomomi, he found four recensions of a work bearing the title of "Law Verses" or "Scriptural Texts," which proved to be very analogous to the Pâli work. Of the simplest of these he has produced a translation—not literal he allows—but such a full abstract of it as will convey a very faithful idea of the original.

The earliest version of the *Dhammapada* in Chinese is called *Fă-kheu-king* or "The Sûtra of Law Verses," and *Tan-po-kĕĕ* or Dhammapada gâthâs, of which the Chinese preface informs us there are various editions,—one with 900 gâthâs, another with 700, and another with 500. It was from the Canonical Scriptures "that the Shamans, in after years, copied out the various gâthâs, some of four lines, some of six lines, and attached to each set a title according to the subject therein explained. But all these verses, without exception, are taken from some one or other of the accepted Scriptures, and therefore they are called Law-verses, because they are found in the Canon. .. ...The present work, the original of which consisted of 500 gâthâs, was brought from India in the 3rd year of the reign of Hwang-wu (A.D. 223), by Wai-chi-lan, and, with the help of another Indian called Tsiang-im, was first explained and then translated into Chinese"...... "Finally, the work of translation was finished, and afterwards 13 additional sections were added, making up the whole to 752 verses, 14,580 words, and headings of chapters 39."

The Chinese copies ascribe the first arrangement of the book to Dharmatrâta, who according to Târanâtha was contemporary with the Brâhman Rahula; and he with Ghoshaka, (Udgrantha or Girisena), Vasumitra, and Buddhadeva, were the four great Âchâryas of the Vaibhâshikas.[2] He is spoken of as Tsun-che-fâ-k'ieou, that is, Ârya Dharmatrâta, and is said to have been the uncle of Po-su-meh, *i.e.* Vasumitra, and if the latter is the same as the president of the Synod under Kanishka, we may then place Dharmatrâta with Mr. Beal some thirty years earlier. But Kanishka's date, assumed about 40 B.C., may still be subject to revisal.

On comparing the contents of this Chinese book with the Southern version, it is found that the first eight sections of the Chinese and the last four with No. 33, are wanting in the Southern copy. But from No. 9 to 32 with 34 and 35 the order and contents of the two works are the same. The first eight chapters in the Chinese version are named as follows: 1. Impermanency (*Anityá*); 2. The doctrine of the enlightened; 3. The Srâvaka; 4. Sincere Faith; 5. Observance of Duty; 6. Consideration or reflection; 7. Lovingkindness (*Mettá*); 8. Conversation. The 33rd section is on Generosity; the 36th on Nirvâṇa; the 37th on Birth and Death; the 38th on the Profit of Religion; and the 39th on Good Fortune (*Mahámángala*),—this last agreeing with the *Mahámángala Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipáta*. Then there are seventy-nine more stanzas in the Chinese than in the Pâli chapters common to each. Hence it may be inferred that Dharmatrâta's *Dhammapada*, brought to China by Wei-chi-lan, was itself a recension of an earlier Indian work, and that this revised work was accepted by the Council held under the presidency of his nephew Vasumitra, in the time of Kanishka, and thus acquired the reputation of being a portion of the canonical *Tripiṭaka*. This must depend, however, on whether the additions were not made by the editors of the Chinese text. Of the fidelity of the version into Chinese there can be no doubt.

There is another Chinese version, however, called the *Fă-kheu-pi-ü*—parables connected with the book of scripture texts, or tales connected with the verses, which follow them, and which prompted their delivery. It was translated by two Shamans under the Western Tsin dynasty (A.D. 265 to 313). The chapters are the same as in the *Fă-kheu-king*, only it gives one or two tales and a verse or two from the latter work as a moral. "As to the character of these stories," says Mr. Beal, "some of them are puerile and uninteresting." This is the version here given in English, but Mr. Beal has not attempted to give a literal translation of his Chinese text, but only such an abstract of it as seemed necessary to explain its character and contents, whilst in the introduction he gives notices of the other editions. The work forms the second volume of Trübner & Co.'s 'Oriental Series,' and may be confidently recommended to students of Buddhism as a valuable addition to our previous knowledge.

[1] The late Mr. Childers has some 'Notes' on the *Dhammapada* in *Jo. R. As. Soc. N. S.* vol. V. pp. 219 ff.

[2] Vassilief, *Le Bouddisme*, p. 50 and conf. pp. 48, 270; or Schiefner's *Târanâtha* p. 68. He distinguishes this Bhadanta Dharmatrâta from another Dharmatrâta, who collected the *Udânavarga*. See also St. Julien sub voce *Fă-k'ieou*, tom III. p. 441; Burnouf, *Introd.* pp. 566, 567; Eitel sub. voce *Vasumitra*.

ON SOME BILINGUAL COINS OF BOKHÂRÂ, STRUCK IN THE IIND CENTURY OF THE HIJRAH—

CONTINUATIVE OF SASSANIAN TYPES AND DEVICES.

BY EDWARD THOMAS, F.R.S., CORRESPONDANT DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

I PROVED my devotion to the cause of Indian Antiquities in undertaking to bring out a collected edition of Prinsep's *Essays* in 1858. In tracing the sequence of his discoveries, I had very early to admit, that however original, and relatively independent Indian progress might have been in its primitive stages, the one hundred and odd nations adverted to by the Greek writers represented a considerable advance upon any such delusion as universal Indian *homogeneity*. As new discoveries of the condition of the "old world" in the valley of the Euphrates and elsewhere grows upon us, so we become more and more prepared to admit interchanges of ideas and relative obligations, in matters which have hitherto been claimed as the exclusive property of the dark land of the Hindûs.

The present paper will, I trust, interest our Pârsî friends and ethnical fellow Aryans in recalling the legends of Bahrâm Gor, whose reputed visit to Indian soil may, perhaps, after all, prove to have been something more than an ancient myth: as well as in placing before them fresh numismatic records of the revolt of Bahrâm Chobîn, minted on the northern slopes of the Hindû Khûsh,—whose name has secured as prominent a place in the annals of the West in Gibbon's eloquent words as has been accorded to it in the national traditions of the East.

Our Muslim fellow subjects in India will equally appreciate the numismatic evidence of a now closely determined date, bearing upon the schisms and contests of their leading sects in Khorasân during the second century of the Hijrah, as well as the secondary testimony to the progress of the arms of the Faithful in Central Asia.

I need scarcely appeal to English antiquarians to listen with patience to the discussion of questions of high palæographic importance, or to follow me in tracing the historical and geographical developments these coins suggest as preliminary to more extended investigation.

The first duty of a Numismatist is to endeavour to trace the prototype of the coins he has to interpret. In the present case this task is easy, and the result assuring. The practice obtaining among the Sassanian kings which led them to select, on their accession, the typical form of Crown and its accessories by which their conventional portraits and the impress on their money might be distinctly recognised, enables us to pronounce, at once, and without reference to the formal legend, from whose mints any given specimen was issued. The leading original from which the Bokhârâ coins, now under review, were copied, reveals itself obviously in the mintages of Varahrân V., an example of which may be described as follows:

Coin of Varahran V. Gor. (*A. D.* 417—438.)

No. 1.—Silver. Size 9 of Mionnet's scale.

Obverse.—Head of the king, to the right, with his conventional *castellated* Crown, the central one of the usual three points having been removed in order to admit of the compact insertion of a dot, or small ball, above which is placed the distinguishing half-moon, surmounted by the dynastic globe, or balloon of ether?[1]

Pehlvi legend.—[illegible]

Transcript in modern Persian. — ورهران مرکان مرکا بکي رامشتري

Reverse.—The national fire-altar with attendant supporters, armed with spears and wearing crowns similar to that of the king, figured on the *obverse*, but the surmounting globe is omitted. The altar presents this peculiarity that the Ormazd's head, usually represented as *rising out* of the flames, is, in this case, superseded by the head of the king himself with his identical crown; while the head itself is placed in a new position in the body of the upper part of the altar, *below* the flames, and the legend on the margin in like manner seems to indicate a personal connexion with the monarch in its terms—"Varahrân's Fire."

Pehlvi [illegible]

Persian ورهران اتوري

These altars were made portable, and are so

[1] See under No. 8.

represented on the coins, often with the distinct adjunct of handles. The "argenteis altaribus" of Q. Curtius (iii. 3) testify to ancient custom, and the "pyrées ambulants" of Sépêos exemplify the continuity of the practice. Yezdegird is likewise represented in his flight as "ayant toujours avec lui le feu (sacré)."[2]

As for the insertion of the king's head on the side of the altar, this may be taken merely to confirm the purport of the legend. The king's crest figured on its side of itself made the sacred emblem personal property.

Our next step in the descending identification of types supplies us with a link in the consecutive order of time and place, in the form of a lately identified coin of Varahrân Chobîn, five of whose pieces of a like character, but from different *dies*, were found by Major Hay in a *hoard* at Kûlû, *in company with the bulk* of the Bokhârâ coins about to be noticed.

Coin of Bahrâm Chobîn (before A.D. 578).

No. 2.—Silver. Size 9 Mionnet's scale.

Obverse.—Head of Varahrân Chobîn, similar in its typical details to the portrait of Varahrân the Vth above described. The execution of the die is, however, very inferior, and the ornamentation of the dress, &c. far less rich than that appertaining to his royal namesake.

Legend, in very imperfect letters, *reversed*, and reading from the outside, commencing from the front of the crown.

Pehlvi [illegible]

Persian ورهران چوب

"Varahrân of the mace."

Reverse.—Device closely following the design of Varahrân the Vth's *Reverses*, but of coarser execution. The head below the fire on the side of the altar is unusually prominent, and closely follows the outline of the profile on the obverse.

Legend to the right [illegible] — اني *An Irân?* To the left [illegible] سين *China?*[3]

The proposed transliteration of these two subordinate records on the reverse, is, I need not say, purely speculative. The *Ani* may perchance only stand for the very frequent [illegible] = *Airân*, and the dot, the Sanskrit *anuswâra*, is certainly somewhat out of place, and an anomalous addition to a Pehlvi word, but the dot looks so definite and purpose-like on the surface of the coin, that it would not do to ignore it altogether. The *Sîn* for China is more probable, in respect to the coincident scene of Bahrâm's conquests, but like all brief and unconnected Pehlvi records it is fully open to criticism.

A curious illustration has been preserved by Persian annalists[4] of the importance attached among Oriental nations to the "right to coin money," and the incidental effect upon public opinion of its unauthorized exercise. It is related that Bahrâm Chobîn, in his distant command in the East, sought to sow dissension between the reigning king Hormazd IV. and his submissive heir-apparent, Khusrû Parviz, by striking money in the name of the latter, which was forwarded ostentatiously and in fabulous amounts to the capital where father and son were then residing in domestic amity. We have no means of determining that such an unusual and indirect course was *not* adopted and pursued to its end; as the extant numismatic types do not enable us to discriminate the contrasted examples of this informal coinage, among the multifarious mintages, Persian and adoptive Arabian, bearing the name of Khusrû II. But the accepted legend savours of extreme Orientalism, and it seems more probable that Bahrâm Chobîn's treason took the more subdued though not less effective form testified to in the pieces now under review; and that he utilized the plunder of Sîâbah's treasury,[5] by converting its metallic constituents into camp issues crudely emblazoned with his own name.

I now come to the special object of this communication. Our Indian numismatists have, for long past, been acquainted with a coinage reaching us from the north of the Himalâyan range, and of which specimens cropped up occasionally in Russian and other Continental collections. These coins are bilingual; the Kufic legends though of rude execution, and involved in the ornamentation of the device, were readily discovered to represent variously the names of

[2] Tabari, tom. III., p. 508. Gibbon observes that the Tâtar chief who was converted by the Nestorians, "was indulged in the use of a portable altar." Cap. xlvii.; *Journal Asiatique*, 1866, p. 113. See also *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I. p. 213.

[3] Plate VII. fig. 10. My *Sassanians in Persia—Numismatic Chronicle* XIII. N.S. page 289.

[4] *Shâh Nâmah.* Mohl's edition, tom. V., p. 688; Masaudi tom. II, p. 214. Tabari. tom. II., p. 268. Malcolm's *Persia* vol. I. p. 154. De Tacy, p. 394. Gibbon, writing from western documents, does not admit this incident, chapter xlvi.

[5] Masaudi, tom. II., p. 213. This "*loot*" was said to have embraced the earliest ancestral hoards of the ancient Persian patriarchs.

محمد *Muhammad* and the authorized title of the son of the Khalif Al Mansûr, viz. المهدي *Al Mahdi.* The third alternating word I have only lately been able to decipher, and it proves to be سني "orthodox" (tradition), which, it will be seen, accords well with the position of Muhammâd Al Mahdi in Khorasân.

The unknown characters forming the combined legend, but reading in the opposite direction—which had hitherto defied interpretation—were deciphered and explained at the St. Petersburg Congress of Orientalists by Dr. Lerch. His own account of this discovery is reproduced in the Note below,[6] and though many modern scholars still withhold their adhesion to this reading, I am myself quite prepared to accept it, as the genuine rendering of the original words. Dr. Lerch has not yet published anything further than this note, and the *Report of the St. Petersburg Congress* is still in the printers' hands, so that I am not able to say how far he may have progressed in the assignment of these pieces—or how far he may have anticipated many of the points I now put forth as independent discoveries.

Bokhârâ Coins.

No. 3.—Impure silver, varying from 44 to 50 grains. Size 6 of Mionnet's scale.[7]



Obverse—King's head, in outline, following the old forms on the coins of Varahrân V. and Varahrân Chobîn—(Nos. 1, 2 suprà). The execution of the die is coarse, but the outline is free and bold. There are two varieties of the crown as shown in the accompanying cuts. No. 1 is usually associated with the coins of Muhammad and Al-Mahdi, while No. 2 is more frequently, but not exclusively, combined with the سني Sunniy variety.

Legend [illegible] reading downwards from the top of the crown.

Transcript in modern Persian. } ابرهوار هوروده اور[8] for بخارا خدا

Legend, in Kufic, reading to the left, from the other side of the top of the crown. Variously 1st محمد, 2nd المهدي, 3rd سني.

Reverse.—Fire-altar in outline, with the king's head *below* the flame, filling in the upper part of the Altar, as in the prototypes (Nos. 1, 2). The supporters hold the conventional spears! No legends.

The *reverse* devices of this triple series or group of coins vary both in artistic execution and the degrees of successful imitation of the originals, to a far greater extent than is the case with the *obverse* design—which seems to indicate either a very extended fabrication of these pieces, or perhaps a prolonged adherence to a popular device, which was supposed to carry with it a commercial value.[9]

Those who remember that the ancient kings of Persia were entitled خداهان *Khudahân,*[10] will

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[6] Writing to the *Academy*, he says:—

"In Nos. 227—229 of the *Academy* you have printed three notices of the Petersburg Congress of Orientalists, in the last of which, at p. 315, the author of those notices, Mr. Brandreth, gives a kind account of my statement regarding the coins of the rulers of Bokhârâ, struck before the Arabian invasion, and imitated, with some modifications, by the magistrate of the city under the government of the Khaliphs, Samanides and Kharlukh Turks. Besides a fragment of the Pehlevi inscription which was in use on the obverse of the Sassanian coins of the first half of the fifth century, the early section of the said coins of Bokhârâ, being an imitation of the former coins, bore on the obverse an inscription consisting of *eleven* characters which I assigned to the *Soghdian* alphabet mentioned by the Arab en-Nedim, author of the *Fihrist*. These eleven letters were deciphered by me, and represent the words *Bukhâr-Khudâth*, or, 'Lord of Bokhârâ.' These words, and not 'Kudan, Bukhar,' as given by my friend Mr. Brandreth, are the title of the princes of Bokhârâ before the Arabian conquests in Transoxiana. Mr. Brandreth also ascribes to me a statement that a similar title is applied by contemporary Chinese authors to the princes in question. I fear I must have been misunderstood by my honourable colleague at the meeting, since I do not remember having said anything of the kind; on the contrary I have stated that the title of 'Lord of Bokhârâ' is often quoted, besides *Narshakhi* (not 'Narshaki'), my principal authority in this matter, by other Arabian historians and geographers, as Ibn-el-Athir, Khordadbeh, Istakhri, Ibn-Hauqâl, Mokaddesi, who render this title *Bukhâr Khudâh* or *Bukhâr-Khudhâh*. The History of the Chinese Thang dynasty gives to the ruler of Bokhârâ the title 'Maowu,' the same which other Chinese sources give also to other princes of Transoxiana, and does not know the title cited by the Arabian authors. P. Lerch.

"*St. Petersburg: Nov. 1, 1876.*"

[7] References.—Frahn *Die Munzen*. Pl. xvi. figs. א and ב; Major Hay, *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. IX. (1840) p. 539, figs. 6, 7, Plate iii; Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. II. p. 117; Stickel, *Orientalische Münzcabinet zu Jena* (1870) p. 121 and Plate No. 90.

[8] I prefer the P. to B. both for derivation reasons and for the Chinese pronunciation of the name, see Hiouen Thsang. *Mém. sur les Cont. Occid.* tom. II. p. 232. Balkh, in like manner is *Po-ho* or *Po-ho-lo*, p. 29. D'Ohsson, tom. I. p. 5.

[9] The maintenance of the current values and incidental forms of the local money constituted a very important item, not only to the populace, but in the estimate of Revenues due from each province. See my *Sassanian Coins*, p. 90. *Num. Chronicle*, vol. XIII. p. 247. Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, p. 258; Istakhri, *text*, 1870, pp. 314, 323; *Journal Asiatique*, 1862, p. 179; and 1865 p. 248.

[10] Mohl *Shâh Nâmah*, Preface p. x., Hamza Isfahâni pp. 11, 16, 47; Masaudi, tom. II. 77, 228, 237. Ibn Khordâdbah. *Journal Asiatique*, 1865 p. 40. Tabari tom. IV., p. 164.

be fully prepared to trace the survival of this designation among the later sovereigns of the far East. The earliest counterpart of the title appears in the Sassanian Series, under the form of كدي *Kadi* in connexion with the name of Varahrân II.[11] It occurs frequently on the coins of Yezdegird I. and is constant on those of Firuz; and Khusrû Parvîz had a special Royal seal for the province of Khorâsân engraved with the words خراسان خدٰه *Khorâsân Khudah.*[12] So that, whether ethnologically or geographically, we arrive naturally at the continued use of the term on the local money of Bokhârâ under the Khâlif Mansûr.

One of the most interesting questions connected with these coins, is the palæographic associations of their legends which may be formulated thus, do these strange characters, which embody the sounds of *Bokhâra Khuddâo*, represent the original letters of the ancient Soghdian alphabet, or are they the outcome of a hybrid collection of symbols from current and more recent systems of writing? My own impressions are still in favour of the latter theory. On my first examination of this class of coin in 1858, I remarked that their "alphabetical devices" seemed "to pertain to more westerly nations, though the sites of discovery connect (the coins) with the Central Asian types," enumerated in the conjoint classification,[13] and I further remarked upon the fact, that "the forms of the letters" gave "it (the alphabet) a decidedly Phœnician aspect." This verdict must remain unimpaired with regard to the 1st, 2nd, 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 11th letters of the legend, consisting of eleven letters in all, the two compound letters doing duty for هو the Pehlvi equivalent of خ *khu* have the second conjunct letter identical in form with the other و's or *Waw's.* So that we have virtually only two characters remaining to account for, *i.e.* the triangular letter which constitutes the ه in هو and the reversed form of و *w* which represents the ا = *â*. Whatever may have been the derivation of this letter ه? its combination with و to form the equivalent of the later Arabic خ points to Pehlvi teaching and acknowledged conventional practice; and its appearance on these pieces indicates the mere imitation of the system of Pehlvi orthography in use upon their prototypes.

There is a letter very similar to this triangular ه = *h*, which stands for an Hebrew י = *i* in Aramæan in Gesenius' *Table* No. IV.[14] and a nearly similar form is given to the same letter in the Duc de Luynes' *Alphabets* Pl. xi. *a;* Prinsep's *Essays*. The خ *kh* may, after all, have been represented, in the anomalous conversion of sounds, by an initial *iu* or *eu*. It will be remembered that the خ has always been a Turkish difficulty, which survives to this day in *Tophana* and *Hiva*. The peculiar shape of the *a*, in its backward curve, reminds us of the Syriac definition of that letter, but the earliest type of that character on the *stèle* of Mesha (*the Moabite Stone*) with the omission of its downstroke might well have formed the model upon which many early varieties were designed and improved upon. There are other coincidences to be detected in this system of writing, which seem to connect it with Syrian (Nestorian) teachings,[15] the fuller examination of which may be reserved for a future opportunity.

Albîrûnî tells us, that the whole stock of the primitive literature of Khârizm was utterly destroyed, root and branch, by Kotaibah bin Muslim—even as the Khalif O'mar, on the other extremity of the Arab conquests, sanctioned the conflagration of the Library of Alexandria.[16] If this eradication of all ancient records, and the coincident extermination of the living exponents of traditional lore, was practically carried out, to the extent the Khârizmian author would imply—we can well understand and account for the necessity of a reconstruction of alphabets—partaking alike of what had been preserved and recovered from local sources, readjusted to the advanced spread of independent forms of writing and intermixture of speech. Albîrûnî's invaluable

"Wardân Khodsah" roi de Bokhâra 535, and Albîrûnî Àsâr 'ul Bâkya, Sachau's text, p. 102. شیربامیان کوزکان خداه بخارا خداه خوارزم شاه and ملوک مرو ماهویه *J. R. Asiatic Society* N. S. vol. III. p. 284.

[10] *Num. Chron.* vol. XII., p. 110, coin No. 29; see also pp. 283, 287.

[12] Masaudi, tom. II. p. 228-9. *J.R.A.S.* N. S. vol. III. p. 348.

[13] Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. II. p. 116.

[14] Carpentras *Insc.* Ist Cent. A.D. See also F. Lenormant (Paris, 1872). *Alphabet Araméen des Papyrus*, tom. I, Plate xi. and Pls. xii. to xiii, xv., xvi.; as well as Dr. J. Euting's *Tables*, Strasbourg, 1877.

[15] Gibbon, Cap. xlvii. vol. V. p. 259, edition of 1867.

[16] Ockley, *History of the Saracens*, A.H. 21 = A.D. 641, under *Omar*. Gibbon.

records of local traditions, with his personal confirmation of their credibility and virtual authenticity, are here reproduced from the new English version of the Arabic text.

"Kutaiba bin Muslim had extinguished and "ruined in every possible way all those who "knew how to write and to read the Khwâ-"rizmî writing,[17] who knew the history of the "country, and who had studied their sciences. "In consequence these things are involved in "so much obscurity, that it is impossible to "obtain an accurate knowledge of the history "of the country since the time of Islâm (not "to speak of pre-Muhammadan times)." Albîrûnî Sachau's *Translation* p. 42. And again at p. 58 we are told—"For after Kutaiba bin "Muslim Albâhilî had killed their learned men "and priests, and had burned their books and "writings, they became entirely illiterate (forgot "writing and reading), and relied in every "knowledge or science which they required "solely upon memory."

The determination of the circumstances under which the several names of Muhammad, Al Mahdi and the word سنّي or "orthodox" appear in the order stated on these coins, is sufficiently illustrated and explained in the following extracts from the Chronicle of the historian Tabari:—

"Après l'affaire des Ráwendiens, Mançour (envoya dans le Khorásán) son fils Mo'hammed, à qui il donna le surnom de Mahdí, en le désignant comme son successeur au trône . . . .

"Mo'hammed, fils d' 'Abdallah, avait pris le surnom de Mahdí; il disait à ses adhérents qu'il était le *Mahdí de la famille de Mohammed*, et que son frère Ibráhím était le *Hádí*. Or, lorsque Mançour fit reconnaître son fils comme son successeur au trône, il lui donna également le surnom de Mahdí, disant: C'est mon fils et non le fils d' 'Abdallah bin Hassan, [fils d' 'Alí, fils d'Abu Tálib], qui est le *Mahdi de la famille de* Mo'hammed. Tabari, Orient. Transl. Fund Zotenberg IV. 378. Depuis que Mançour était monté sur le trône, il cherchait à découvrir le séjour de Mo'hammed et d'Ibráhím fils d' 'Abdallah, fils de 'Hasan." . . . . .

"Or ceux-ci se cachaient tantôt à la Mecque, tantôt en E'gypte ou dans l' 'Irâq, en faisant de la propagande en vue des droits de leur famille, et its avaient des missionnaires dans le Khorásán". . . . . p. 382.

"Abû-'Aoun, governeur du Khorásán, annonça à Mançour que les partisans de Mo'hammed fils d' 'Abdallah, devenaient de plus en plus nombreux dans sa province et qu'un soulèvement était à craindre," p. 392. [Muhammad was killed in 145 A.H., and Ibrahim fell in action shortly afterwards.]

See also Masaudi (French Edition vi., 209 and viii. 293.)

I conclude the references to Mahdi's Bokhârâ coins by appending a specimen of his earliest Kufic coins, struck in that locality, on which will be found a full enumeration of his names and titles.

No. 4. Coin of Muhammad, Al Mahdi. *Struck at Bokhárá A.H.* 143 (*A.D.* 760—1).

Obverse. Area. لا اله الا الله وحده

Margin بسم الله ضرب ببخارا سنة ثلث واربعين ومية

Reverse. Area. محمد رسول الله

Margin امر به الاشعث في ولية المهدي الامير محمد بن امير المومنين

(Frœhn. *Recensio* p. 21, No. 22; Tiesenhausen, *Monnais des Khalifs Orient.* (in Russian), St. Peterburgh, 1873, p. 71, No. 724.)

GRANT OF NANDIVARMÂ-PALLAVAMALLA.

BY REV. THOMAS FOULKES, F.L.S., CHAPLAIN OF SAINT JOHN'S, BANGALORE.

Description.—This is an inscription on five thin plates of copper, 9¾ inches long, 3¼ inches wide, and $\frac{1}{10}$ to $\frac{1}{16}$ inch thick. The plates are numbered with old Grantha or antique Tamil numerals on the margin of the second side of each plate. They are united by a seal-ring about four inches in diameter, made of ¼ inch copper-rod. The seal is 2¼ inches in diameter, and has an almost entirely obliterated recumbent bull, facing to the proper right. The inscription on the seal is completely effaced by rust.

The inscription is written on the inner side of the first plate, and on both sides of the four following plates. The language is Sanskrit:

[17] At p. 57 Albîrûnî describes the Khwârizmians as "a branch of the great tree of the Persian nation."

and,—with the exception of the three opening verses, three laudatory verses descriptive of the grantor in the genealogical portion, and two verses at the end,—it is in prose form. The original inscription is followed by an almost verbatim copy of the Tamiḻ endorsement upon the grant of Nandivarmâ published in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII., page 167 ff.

The character used in the original inscription is antique Grantha. This is a fact worth noting; forasmuch as it shows that the Grantha character, whatever its birth-place may have been, was used by the Pallava rulers of the basin of the Pâlâr previous to its conquest by the Choḷa princes of Tâñjâvûr. If the date of this grant is the 9th century A.D., as I now think, we have here a specimen of a completely developed Grantha alphabet in existence, and used by the Pallavas at that time.

The Tamiḻ character used in the endorsement is the same as in the previous copy of this endorsement, referred to above.

This Tamiḻ addition to the original grant commences close to the final marks at the end of the grant, and on the same line, namely, the sixth line of the outer side of the last plate: and it occupies three whole lines besides, and part of a fourth line. The size of the Tamiḻ letters is the same as the preceding Grantha letters on this plate: and those letters which are common to both alphabets are exactly alike in form. This general resemblance is close enough to suggest, not merely that the engraver of the Tamiḻ purposely copied the Grantha letters, but that the same hand may have engraved both the grant and the endorsement.

If this was the case, it would follow that the distance of time between the date of the grant, which at present there are no means of ascertaining—and the date of the endorsement which is approximately known, cannot be further apart than the two extremes of the adult life of a single generation. It would thus give us a rough clue to the date of the grant; which would then belong to the last days of the Pallava rule in the basin of the Pâlâr, a little while before its conquest by the Chôḷas. However this may be, the general resemblance of the two parts of the inscription on this last page of the plates is so great, that at a first glance few persons would notice any difference between them.

This document is a grant by Nandivarmâ-Pallavamalla of two villages called Kumâramaṅgalam and Vennattû-rakkoṭṭa, situated on the river Pâlâr, which were now united to form a single Brâhmaṇ settlement, to which the new name of Udaya-chandramaṅgalam was given, to one hundred and eight Brâhmaṇs, to commemorate the victories of his general Udayachandra over the armies of his enemies. It is dated in the twenty-first year of his reign, without any reference to an era.

The Tamiḻ addition to the grant records, as already mentioned in the description of its counterpart in *Ind. Antiq.*, Vol. VIII., p. 168, the mutual agreement of the village-communities of the above-named Udayachandramaṅgalam and of the adjoining village of Ikanmarai-maṅgalam, which had also the name of Kâñchivâyil, to unite together to form a single village-community. It is dated the 26th year of the reign of the Choḷa king Koppara-Keśarivarmâ, but without any indication of an era.

Transliteration.

Plate I.

[1] Śrî Svasti Sumerugi[ri]mûrddhani prâvarayogabaddhâsana-
[2] ṁ jaga[t]trayavibhûtaye raviśaśâṁkanetradvayamumâsahitamâdarâ-
[3] dudayachandralatshmi[kshmî]pradaṁ Sadâśivamahannamâmi śirasâ jaṭâdhâ
[4] riṇaṁ Śrîmânanekaraṇabhuvi[bhûmi]shu Pallavâya râjyapradaḥ para-
[5] hita[ḥ] parachakradandî Pâchâṅkulasya tilakaḥ prathitaḥ pra[pri]thivyâṁ sthe
[6] yâtsa Vilvalapurâdhipatiśchirâya bhûpâlavanditapadadvayapallavânâṁ
[7] [san]ma[ṇ]juhâravinamanka[tka]rapallavânâṁ samyaggaṇochchayanirastavipalla-
[8] vânâṁ aṁśaśchirañjagati tishṭhatu Pallavânâṁ AvyaktâtBra[dBra]hmâjâya-
[9] ta Brahmaṇ Oṁgirâ Aṁgiraso Brihaspatiḥ Bra[Bri]haspate[ś] Śaṁyuḥ Śaṁ-
[10] yor Bharadvâjâḥ Bharadvâjâd Droṇaḥ Droṇâdaparimitateja[jo]dhâmâ
[11] Aśvatthâmâ Tato nirâkritâkulavipallavaḥ Pallavaḥ Evamanu-

GRANT OF PALLAVA MALLA NANDI VARMA.

I.

IIa

GRANT OF PALLAVA MALLA NANDI VARMA.

IIb.

IIIa.

Plate II; side 1.

[12] kramena santatiparamparayâ hi varddhamâne Pallavakule bhaktyârâdhi-
[13] taVishṇuḥ Siṁhavishṇuḥ Siṁhavishṇurapi Mahendrasadṛiśavikramo
[14] Mahendravarmmâ Tasmât Agastya iva vinathitaVâtâpiḥ Pariya[Bhû]maṇima-
[15] ṁgalaŚûramâraprabhṛitishu jetâ bahuśo Vallabharâjasya Narasiṁ-
[16] havarmmâ Tasya putraḥ punareva Mahendravarmmâ Tataḥ Peruvaḷanalkuyyuddhe vi-
[17] jitaḥ[ta]Vallabhabalaḥ Parameśvaravarmmâ Tasmâtparamamâheśvaraḥ paramabrahma-
[18] ṇyo Narasiṁhavarmmâ Tasya Parameśva[ra] ivâdhikadarśanaḥ paramadhârmmikaḥ
[19] Parameśvaravarmmâ Tasya Parameśvaravarmmaṇaḥ putro Bharata iva sarvvadama-
[20] no . Merurivâchalaḥ Divasakara iva svakaraireva riputamasânniro-
[21] dhabhedakaḥ śaśadhara iva sakalakalâpariṇataḥ nya[k]k.itaNṛigaNaḷaNishadhaNa-
[22] hushaNâbhâgaBhagîrathâyamânaparanarapatigaṇḍasthalavigaḷitama-
[23] dajalâ[la]dhârâdurddinakalmashîkṛitavâmetarabâhuda

Plate II; side 2.

[24] ṇḍaḥ digarantavijṛimbhamâṇakumudavanavipulakîrttiḥ praṇatâvanipatima-
[25] kuṭamâlikâlîḍhacharaṇâravindaḥ Kusumachâpa iva vapushi Vatsarâ-
[26] ja iva kuñjareshu Nakula iva turaṅgameshu Arjjuna iva kârmmukeshu Droṇa i-
[27] va dhanurvvede kâvyanâṭakâkhyâyikâsu pravîṇaḥ bindumatishu chatu-
[28] rtthapraṇairttarakaharachyutakamâtrachyutakâdishu nipuṇaḥ nayanidhirddharmma-
[29] bhâjanaḥ kalaṁkarahitaḥ kalibalamarddanaḥ kalpakavrataḥ Kṛitânto ripûṇâm Ana-
[30] ṅgo vadhûnâm alaṁghyo balânâmanûno guṇânâm Śaraṇyaḥ prâjñânâṁ
[31] satâṁ kalpavṛikshaḥ kṛitî Nandivarmmâ patiḥ Pallavanaṁ[vânâm] Tîkshṇairbâṇairyyo na-
[32] ranâtha[ḥ] karisainyaṁ Bhindannâjau râjati râjâ raṇaśûraḥ Mandaṁ bhindandhvân-
[33] tasamûhaṁ karajâlair Udyannadrau paṁkajabandhusSaviteva Jaitra-
[34] ndhanuḥkaravibhûshaṇamaṁgarâgasSenâmukheshu ripuvâraṇadânavâri Â-
[35] kalpamatra parametadudâraki[kî]rtteryYasya prabhorbhavati palla-

Plate III; side 1.

[36] vaketanasya Narapatiradhipatiravanernnayabharaḥ Pallavamallo-Na-
[37] ndivarmmâ tasya putro babhûva Tasminmahîṁ śâsati · Narapatau tasyaiva Na-
[38] ndivarmmaṇo[ṇa] ekaviṁśatisaṁkhyâmapûrayati saṁvatsare kramukanâ-
[39] ḷikerasahakâratâlahintâlatamâlanâgapunnâgaraktâśokakura-
[40] vakamâdhavikarṇṇikâraprabhṛititarubhavanopaśobhitatîrâyâḥ mada-
[41] vighûrṇṇitamânasama[mâ]nini[nî]kuchamukhoddha[ddhû]takuṁkumagandha[dhâ]yâ Vega-
vatyâ
[42] nadyâḥ patirjjaladâgamajalamerarasa[maireya]rasâsitajaladopamapa-
[43] ravâraṇakulapushkaravivarântaraparinirggatasalilotva[tkva]ṇakaṇikâ-
[44] chitavipaṇî[ṇi]pathasya sakalabhuvanatalalalâmabhûtasya Vilvalâ-
[45] bhidhânasya nagarasyâdhipatiḥ Pallavakulaḥ paramparâgate Pûchâ-
[46] ṅkule prasûto Dramiḷanâpatibhiruparuddham Pallavamalanna[MallamA]nupure dṛishṭvâ tada-
[47] kshamayâ kuvalayadaladyutinâ niśitena kṛipâṇena Pallavamallaśatrubṛinda-

Plate III; side 2.

[48] sya kṛitânta iva vijṛimbhamâṇaśChitramâyaPallavarâjamukhânnihatya sakala-
[49] meva râjya[ṁ] prayacha[chchha]n Nimba[vana]ChûtavanaŚaṁkaragrâmaVanalûraNelveli-
Śûdravaru-
[50] ntyâraprabhṛitishu-raṇabhuvi[bhûmi]shu Pallavâya bahuśaḥ parabalaṁ vijetâ
[51] prâ[pra]kṛitajanadurvvigâhye bhairaṇena[ve][1] Nelvelisaṁgrâme Śaṁkha[ka]rasena[nâ]pa
[52] tisama[va]rûthadantidantayugaḷasaṁghaṭṭanaksharitamadajâlasamalaṁ-
[53] kṛitabâhudaṇḍaḥ Pratipaksham Udayanâbhidhânaṁ Śabararâjaṁ hi-
[54] tvâ mayûrakalâpavirachitam darppaṇadhvajaṁ gṛihîtavân U[t]tarasyâ-

[1] Here the plate has the following redundant words, with marks of obliteration before and after them, and also between the letters nâ and bhî:—tabâhudaṇḍaḥ pratipakshamudayanâbhidânaṁ Shabararâjaṁ hi-. They occur in their right place in line 58 below.

[55] mapi diśi Pra[Pṛi]thivîvyâghrâbhidhâ[dha]ṁ Nishada[dha]patiṁ prabalâyamânamaśvame-
[56] dhaturaṁgama[mâ]nusaraṇama[sâreṇâ]pata[nta]manusṛitya vijitya Vishṇurâjavishayât Pa-
[57] llavaṁ[va]sâtkṛityâdiśanniravadyapramukhâṁśuhârânaparimitasuva-
[58] rṇṇasañche[cha]yaṁ kuñjarânapi yo jagrâha Kâḷî Bhagavati[tî]pari-

Plate IV; side 1.

[59] pâlitaKâḷidurggaṁ vipinayitvâ Maṇṇaiku[saṁ]grâme Pâṇḍyasenâṁ
[60] vijitavân Udayachandrâkhyadhîravaraḥ parachakradaṇḍisvâmine vijñâpta-
[61] vân Tadvijṇâpanayâ sakalarâjyapradâturasidhârânishkrayârttha-
[62] mpaśchimâśrayanadîvishaye KumâramaṁgalaVennaṭṭûrakkoṭṭagrâ-
[63] me[mau] jalayantradvayañcha Udayachandramaṁgalamiti nâma kṛitvâ ashṭottaraśatebhyo
[64] brâhmaṇebhyo dadau Tasya purastâtsîmâ Stokanadîdakshi-
[65] ṇatassîmâ SamudradattaChaturvvedimaṁgalasyottarataś Chakratîrtthâ-
[66] duttaratastataḥ paśchime Koṭṭagrâmadevagṛihâduttaratastataḥ paśchi-
[67] me pûrvvavatSamudradattaChcha[Cha]turvvedimaṁgalasya paśchimottaratassîmâ
[68] Duraga[rga]hradâduttarastasmâtpaśchime Anadhutpâlâchala[lo]dakshiṇapârśva-
[69] asya pratîch[y]asîmâ Lohitagiristasmâduttarato gatvâ Ve-
[70] ḷâlaśikharâtparastâtKṛishṇaśilaśilochchayâtpaśchime
[71] Rauhiṇaguhâ paśchimottaratassîmâ Sinduvârahra-

Plate IV; side 2.

[72] daḥ uttaratassîmâ Kâñchîdvâranâmagrâmasya dakshiṇatassîmâ [ta]ddakshi-
[73] ṇataḥ prâgudi[dî]ch[y]asîmâ Kshîranadî Evañchatussîmântarânadîkulyâjâlabho-
[74] gyâṁstasarvvaparihâramanyânadharmmakṛityân vinâśya bhûmindattavân Kauṇḍinya-
[75] gotrâya Pravajanasûtrâya Rutra[dra]śarmmaṇe bhâgadvayaṁ Tatgo[dgo]trasûtrâya Gaṇadinda-
[76] śarmmaṇe Tatgo[dgo]trasûtrâya Gaṇamâtaśarmmaṇe Tatgo[dgo]trasûtrâya Dâmaśarmma
[77] ṇe Tatgo[dgo]trasûtrâya Agniśarmmaṇe Tatgo[dgo]trasûtrâya Maṇṭaśarmmaṇe Tatgo[dgo]tra Âpa-
[78] stambha[ba]sûtrâya Mâdhavaśarmmaṇe Tatgo[dgo]trasûtrâya Maṇṭaśarmmaṇe Tatgo[dgo]trasûtrâya Nârâ-
[79] yaṇaśârmmaṇe Pûrvvava[d]Droṇaśarmmaṇe Pûrvvavat Agniśârmmaṇe Kâśyapagotrâya Â-
[80] pastambasûtrâya Bhavamâtabhaṭṭâya bhâgatrayantadvanMaṇiśarmmaṇe bhâgadvayantadvat Kâḷaśarmma-
[81] ṇe Tadva[t] Tiṇṭaśarmmaṇe TadvadVîramaṇṭâya Tadvat Kûḷâya Bhâradvâjagotra Âpastambha[ba]sûtra Ru-
[82] drakumârâya TadvatSundâya TadvanNârâyaṇâya Tadvat Tâṛiśarmmaṇe Tadvachche[Cha]ndraśarmmaṇe Tatgo[dgo]-
[83] traPravachanasûtrâya Sûlamaṇṭâya Tadvat Kâṭâya Tadvad Dâṇa Rudrâya Jâtugaṇagotra Pravaja-
[84] nasûtrâya Porakshakeyâya Vatsagotrâya Âpastambha[ba]sutrâya Bhuṇḍi-Govinda-
[85] śarmmaṇe Pûrvvavat Mâdhavaśarmmaṇe Pûrvvavat Gandakâdâya

Plate V; Side 1.

[86] Pûrvvavat Tâṛiśarmmaṇe Pûrvva[va]n Nîlakaṇṭa[ṇṭha]śarmmaṇe Pûrvvavat Râma-śarmmaṇe Agni-
[87] vai[ve]śyagotrea[traÂ]pastambha[ba]sûtrâya Droṇaśarmmaṇe Vâdhûlagotra Âpastambha[ba]-
[88] sûtrâya Nârâyaṇâya Âtreyagotrâya Âpastampabha[ba]sûtrâya Chaṭṭipuranandi[ne]
[89] Vishṇa[ṇu]vṛiddhagotrâya Bahuvṛi[hvṛi]cha Nimbadâsiśarmmaṇe PûrvvavanNi[Nî]laka-
[90] ṇṭhâya Pûrvvavat Piṭṭaśarmmaṇe Pûrvvavan Nîlakaṇṭhâya Le[Lo]hitagotrâya Âpa-
[91] stambha[ba]sûtrâya Kârâmpinantiśarmmaṇe Vaśishṭhagotrâya Pravachanasûtrâya Kâva-
[92] nyâramastataśarmmaṇe Pûrvvavat Droṇaśarmmaṇe Gotamagotra Âpastambha[ba]sûtrâ-
[93] ya Nimbaśarmmaṇe Pûrvvavat Agniśarmmaṇe Tatgo[dgo]tra Pravachanasûtrâya Rudramaṇṭâya bhâ

GRANT OF PALLAVA MALLA NANDI VARMA.

IIIb.

IVa.

GRANT OF PALLAVA MALLA NANDI VARMA.

IVb.

Va.

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GRANT OF PALLAVA MALLA NANDI VARMA.

Vb.

[94] gadvayaṁ Parâśaragotra Pravachanasûtrâya Gaṇâmâtaśarmmaṇe Pûrvvavan Mâdhavaśarmmaṇe
[95] Tatgo[dgo]tra Âpastambha[ba]sûtrâya Nâkaśarmmaṇe HaritagotrâyÂpastambha[ba]sûtrâya Vinâ-
[96] yakaśarmmaṇe Tadva[t]Sundâya Tadvat Koṇṭâya Tadvat Tâmaśarmmaṇe Tadvat Tevaśarmmaṇe Mu-
[97] tga[dga]lagotrâyÂpastambha[ba]sûtrâya Channakâḷine Pûrvvavad Droṇâya Kaushikago-
[98] trÂpastambha[ba]sûtrâya Kumâramaṇṭâya TadvachChachumârâya Tatgo[dgo]tra Pravachanasûtrâya

Plate V; side 2.

[99] Tiṇṭadroṇaśe[śa]rmmaṇe bhâgadvayaṁ TadgotrÂpastambha[ba]sûtraya Kûlaśarmmaṇe
[100] Kaṭukuchattipâlapochana Ṭeḍḍîyyâ[ḍḍîyâ]ranaprashattikartre Paramêsvarâya Uttarakâkulo-
[101] tbha[dbha]vâyaikobhâgaḥ vaijya[dya]bhâgaścha Gaṁgapuravâsina[ḥ] Droṇaśreshṭhiraṇaputrasya Re-
[102] vatinâmnaḥ Paramamâheśvarasya dvau bhâgau Yâvachcharati khe bhânuryyâvattishṭha[ṁ]-
[103] ti parvvatâḥ Pûchâṅkulañcha vaitâva[t] 'stheyâdâchandratârakam Putra[ḥ] ŚrîChandra-Devasya kavi
[104] tvaparameśvara[ḥ] Praśasteḥ kavitâñchakre Sa Medhâvikulotbha[dbha]vaḥ

Tamil endorsement.

Matin koṇṭa

[105] KopparaKesari[2]varmakku[3] yâṇṭu iru[4]ppatâru[râ]vatu Uta[5][ya]chantiramankala-
[106] ttu sabhaiyoṛum[rum] Kâñchivâyilâkiya Ikanmaraiman kalattu[6] sabhaiyoṛum[rum]
[107] ivviraṇṭûroṛum[rum] kûḍi[7] yonrunmaiyil[8] itan mel paṭṭatu ôrûrây vâ-
[108] ṛvômânôm[9]

Translation.

Wealth and health.—I bow my head to Sadâśiva, who wears the matted hair; who sits immoveably in silent meditation on the summit of Mount Meru for the good of the three worlds with Umâ reverently by his side; who has the sun and moon for his two eyes; while the rising moon sheds its rich glory upon him.

May the lord of Viḷvalapura live for ever,—the wealthy, who gave a kingdom to Pallava from many a battlefield, the benevolent, the punisher of foreign armies, the ornamental forehead-spot of the Pûchâm race, and famous throughout the world.

May (some member) of the Pallavas flourish on the earth for ever,—whose feet, tender as young leaflets, are worshipped by kings; whose hands, tender as young leaflets, are hung with beautiful garlands; whose slightest misfortune is thrust aside by the multitude of their excellent qualities.

From the Invisible, Brahmâ was born: from Brahmâ, Aṅgiras: from Aṅgiras, Bṛihaspati: from Bṛihaspati, Śamyu: from Śamyu, Bharadvâja: from Bharadvâja, Droṇa: from Droṇa, Aśvatthâmâ, covered with unmeasured glory: afterwards Pallava, from whom perplexing instability was far removed.

In the course of the lineal succession of the augmenting race of Pallava, Siṁhavishṇu was born, an enthusiastic worshipper of Vishṇu: from Siṁhavishṇu came Mahendravarmâ, a hero equal to Mahendra: from him Narasiṁhavarmâ, the equal of Agastya the crusher of Vâtâpi, who frequently conquered Vallabharâja at Pariya-Bhûmaṇimaṅgala, Shûramâra, and other places: his son was another Mahendravarmâ: then came Parameśvaravarmâ, who conquered the army of Vallabha in the battle of Peruvuḷalku:

[2] In the counterpart this word is written *Keshari.*
[3] *Varmarku* in the counterpart.
[4] *Yaṇṭiru* in the counterpart.
[5] *Utia* in the counterpart.
[6] The order in which these two villages are named here is reversed in the counterpart: the first place is given in each to the village to which each grant belongs.
[7] The counterpart has the Tamil *ṭi* instead of the Grantha *ṭi* which is used here.
[8] *Onruyinmaiyil* in the counterpart.
[9] There are some other minor differences between the two copies, such as an interchange of the two Tamil *n*s, and the use or omission of Sandhi; and therefore I conclude that the two endorsements were not engraved by the same person.

from him, Narasiṁhavarmâ, the devotee of Maheśvara, and a great patron of the Brâhmaṇs: his son was Parameśvaravarmâ, of beautiful appearance just like Parameśvara, and a very great donor of charities.

The son of this Parameśvaravarmâ was a universal conqueror like Bharata; immoveable as Mount Meru; a rebuker and divider of the opposing darkness of his enemies with his own hands, like the sun; skilled in all the arts, as the moon is complete in all its phases; whose right hand was blackened by the cloudlike dark stain produced by the stream of rutting elephants' juice which gushed out of the temples of the kings who opposed him in battle, mighty kings the equals of Nṛiga, Naḷa, Nishadha, Nahusha, Nâbhâga, and Bhagîratha, whom he thrust aside with contempt; of far spreading praise, like a bed of water-lilies expanding in all directions; whose lotus feet were swept by the garlands upon the diadems of the kings who bowed down before him; the equal of Kusumachâpa in beauty; the equal of Vatsarâja in the management of elephants; the equal of Nakula in the management of horses; the equal of Arjuna in the use of the bow; the equal of Droṇa in his knowledge of the art of war; well-versed in the epic poems, dramatical works, and historical compositions; . . . .; the abode of justice; the treasure-house of charity; of spotless purity; the destroyer of the power of Kali; reliable as the wishing-tree; the Kṛitânta of his enemies; the Anaṅga of woman-kind; unsurpassed in bodily strength; perfect in all his virtues; the protector of his subjects; the wishing tree of the good; the skilful and wise and accomplished Nandivarmâ lord of the Pallavas.

The king who now rules as lord of men, was the son of that warlike hero who with sharp arrows divided the hosts of elephants in battle; like the sun, the friend of the lotus, rising over the crest of the hills and gently dividing the ranks of darkness with his innumerable beams; that lord whose victorious bow was the ornament of his hand; whose body-unguent was the temple-juice of his enemies' elephants occupying the front rank of their battle array; whose fearless valour formed his characteristic praise here upon earth for ever; the war-standard of the Pallavas;—Nandivarmâ, lord of men, chief lord of the earth, the upholder of righteousness, Pallavamallaḥ.

While this king was ruling the earth, and while the twenty-first year of the reign of this same Nandivarmâ was still unexpired, the lord of the river Vegavatî, on whose banks grow groves of areca-nut trees, the cocoanut, the graft mango, the palmyra, the marshy date-palm, the *tamâla*, the *nâga*, the *punnâga*, the red *aśoka*, the *kuravaka*, the *mâdhavî*, the *karṇikâra*, and other trees; and which emits the odour of the perfumes washed off the necks and faces of the women who bathe in it with their minds tossed with passion; the lord of the city of Vilvala, whose market-places are met with the noisy drops of water which fall from the orifice at the end of the trunks of the herd of elephants which formerly belonged to his royal enemies, dark as clouds, black with the wine-like waters of the winter rain; and which is the forehead spot of all worlds;—of the Pallava race, born in the Pûchâm family of ancient lineage;—who, when he saw Pallavamalla besieged in the town of Anupura by the kings of the Dramiḷa country, swelled with rage like Kṛitânta, set out to destroy the multitude of Pallavamalla's enemies; and when he had slain Chitramâya-Pallavarâja, and the other kings with his keen-edged sword, which glittered with the blue bloom of the leaf of the water-lily, he gave all their kingdoms to the Pallava, conquering their hostile armies for him at different times on the battlefields of Nimbavana, Chûtavana, Śaṁkaragrâma, Vanalûr, Nelveli, Śûdravaṛuntyâra, and other places;—whose arm was decorated with the plentiful temple-juice which gushed out upon the collision of the tusks of the mailed elephants of Śaṁkara-Senâpati in the terrible battle of Nelveli into which no ordinary mortal dared to venture;—who released the hostile king of the Śabaras, Udayana by name, and captured his mirror-banner made of peacocks' feathers;—who followed up the king of Nishadha Pṛithivîvyâghra, who had grown powerful in the north also, and was marching in the track of the horse devoted to his horse-sacrifice, and conquered him, and sent him prisoner from the territory of Vishṇurâja, and delivered him into the hands of the Pallava, having taken as spoil

faultless highly-glittering necklaces of precious stones, a countless heap of gold, and elephants; —who turned the fort of Kâḷidurga into a desert, though it was under the protection of the goddess Kâḷi, and defeated the Pâṇḍya army in the battle of Maṇṇaiku.

The brave Udayachandra reported these victories to his lord the punisher of hostile beings.

In consequence of this communication, and as the reward of the keen edge of the sword of him who gave him all these kingdoms, he gave the two villages of Kumâramaṅgala and Vennaṭṭûrakkoṭṭa, changing their names to Udayachandramaṅgala, together with their two water-sluices, situated in the district of the western river Âśraya, to one hundred and eight Brâhmaṇs.

Its eastern boundary is the small river.

Its southern boundary runs along the north side of the tank called Chakratîrtha, which lies to the north of the village of Samudradattachaturvedimaṅgalam: from thence westwards it runs on the north side of the Koṭṭagrâma temple: from thence westwards the boundary is the north-western boundary of the above Samudradatta-chaturvedimaṅgalam: from thence westwards the southern boundary is the hill Anadhutpâla lying to the north of the pond called Durgâhrada.

Its western boundary is the hill Lohitagiri: proceeding northwards from thence the boundary is the cave Rauhinaguhâ, which lies to the west of the hill Kṛishṇaśilaśilochchaya beyond the hill Veḷâlaśikhara.

The north-western boundary is the pond Sinduvârahrada.

Its northern boundary is the southern boundary of the village of Kâñchidvâra.

To the southwards of this the river Kshîranadî is the north-eastern boundary.

He gave the land contained within these four boundaries, together with the rivers and all water-courses, to be enjoyed free of all taxes, having first of all removed from it all those whose deeds are offensive to religion,—to Rudraśarmâ, of the Kauṇḍinya tribe and Pravajana school, two shares; to Gaṇadiṇḍaśarmâ of the same tribe and school; to Gaṇamâtaśarmâ of the same tribe and school; to Dâmaśarmâ of the same tribe and school; to Agniśarmâ of the same tribe and school; to Maṇṭaśarmâ of the same tribe and school; to Mâdhavaśarmâ of the same tribe and the Âpastambha school; to Maṇṭaśarmâ of the same tribe and school; to Nârâyaṇaśarmâ of the same tribe and school; to Droṇaśarmâ of the same; to Agniśarmâ of the same; to Bhavamâtabhaṭṭa of the Kâśyapa tribe and Âpastambha school, three shares; to Maṇiśarmâ of the same, two shares; to Kâlaśarmâ of the same; to Tiṇḍaśarmâ of the same; to Vîramaṇḍa of the same; to Kûḷa of the same; to Rudrakumâra of the tribe of Bhâradvâja and the school of Âpastambha; to Sunda of the same; to Nârâyaṇa of the same; to Târiśarmâ of the same; to Chandraśarmâ of the same; to Sûlamaṇḍa of the same tribe and the Pravachana school; to Kâta of the same; to Dânarudra of the same; to Porakshakeya of the Jâtugaṇa tribe and Pravajana school; to Huṇḍi-Govindaśarmâ of the tribe of Vatsa and the school of Âpastambha; to Mâdhavaśarmâ of the same; to Gandakâḍa of the same; to Târiśarmâ of the same; to Nîlakaṇṭhaśarmâ of the same; to Râmaśarmâ of the same; to Droṇaśarmâ of the Âgniveśya tribe and Âpastambha school; to Nârâyaṇa of the Vâdhûla tribe and Âpastambha school; to Chaṭṭipura-Nandî of the Âtrêya tribe and Âpastambha school; to Nimbadâsiśarmâ of the Vishṇuvṛiddha tribe, and a Bâhvṛicha; to Nîlakaṇṭha of the same; to Piṭṭaśarmâ of the same; to Nîlakaṇṭha of the same; to Kârâmapinantiśarmâ of the Lohita tribe and Âpastambha school; to Kâvanyâramastaṭaśarmâ of the Vasishṭha tribe and Pravachana school; to Droṇaśarmâ of the same; to Nimbaśarmâ of the Gautama tribe and Âpastambha school; to Agniśarmâ of the same; to Rudramaṇṭa of the same tribe and the Pravachana school, two shares; to Gaṇamâtaśarmâ of the Parâśara tribe and the Pravachana school; to Mâdhavaśarmâ of the same; to Nâkaśarmâ of the same tribe and the Âpastambha school; to Vinâyakaśarmâ of the Harita tribe and Âpastambha school; to Sunda of the same; to Koṇṭa of the same; to Tâmaśarmâ of the same; to Taivaśarmâ of the same; to Chennakâḷi of the Mudgala tribe and Âpastambha school; to Droṇa of the same: to Kumâramaṇṭa of the Kauśika tribe and Âpastambha school; to Chenchumâra of the same; to Tiṇṭadroṇaśarmâ of the same tribe and the Pravachana school, two shares; to Kûḷaśarmâ

of the same tribe and the Âpastambha school; to Paraméśvara of the Uttarakâ family, the maker of [*apparently some kind of medicine*], one share, and also the village doctor's share; and to Rêvati, the son of Droṇa-Cheṭṭi, of the town of Gaṅgâpura, the zealous worshipper of Maheśvara, two shares.

May the Pûchâm race continue to flourish as long as the sun circles in the heavens, as long as the mountains continue to stand fast, and as long as the moon and the stars exist.

The poet Parameśvara, the son of Śrî-Chandradeva, composed this eulogistic grant. He was born in the family of Medhâvî.

Tamil endorsement.

In the twenty-sixth year of the reign of the honourable Koppara-Kesarivarmâ, the village-councils of these two villages, namely, Udayachandramaṅgalam and Ikanmaraimaṅgalam, which is Kâñchivâyil, having assembled together this agreement was unanimously made:—We have become one village, and will so live and prosper.

The mythological or earlier portion of the pedigree of the Pallavas given in this grant assigns to the origin of this ancient line of kings a highly spiritual character. Their previously-published inscriptions describe them simply as belonging to the *gotra* of Bharadvâja, with one exception (*Ind. Antiq.* Vol. V. p. 177), which assigns to them the *gotra* of Sâlaṅkâyana. Here their pedigree starts immediately from the divinity: and it is carried down in detail through a succession of Ṛishis, including Bharadvâja, thus:—The invisible deity, Brahmâ, Aṅgiras, Bṛihaspati, Śamyu, Bharadvâja, Droṇa, Aśvatthâmâ, and then, after a long vacant interval, Pallava, the name-giver of their line. All this is, of course, a mere pretty tale of flattery: its remotest possibility is contradicted by the circumstance that this line of Aṅgiras came to a natural end in Aśvatthâmâ, whose history, though told with abundant detail, contains no record of a son being born to him, and makes it virtually impossible that he should have had one. Perhaps, however, while rejecting this earlier portion of the pedigree, it may be justifiable to gather this much from it,—that a combination of learning, and warlike skill, and personal valour, was sufficiently conspicuous in the Pallava kings to suggest to the flattering genealogist the embodiment in them of the old spirit of Droṇa and Aśvatthâma when once the *gotra* of Bharâdvâja had been assigned to them.

Pallava himself also must for the present remain doubtful, until he shall appear again with better authenticated credentials;—appearing as he does here for the first time in the fag end of the history of the race, floating loosely at a distance from both Ṛishis and ordinary men.

The later portion of the pedigree may be accepted without hesitation as strictly historical:—

Siṁhavishṇu;
Mahendravarmâ I. his son;
Narasiṁhavarmâ I. his son;
Mahendravarmâ II. his son;
Parameśvaravarmâ I. his son;
Narasiṁhavarmâ II. his son;
Paramêsvaravarmâ II. his son;
Nandivarmâ his son; and
Pallavamalla-Nandivarmâ his son.

We have thus the names of nine Pallava kings hitherto unknown, whose collective reigns are almost sufficient to cover a period of nearly two centuries: and if the date of this grant is rightly placed in the 9th century A.D., these reigns run up into the 7th century. This circumstance is thus far interesting, that it brings us near the time of Hiwen Thsang's visit to Kâñchîpuram, and makes it certain that the king whom he found reigning there was of the Pallava race. It is further interesting inasmuch as the earliest of the reigns of this new series of kings is, on the above supposition of date, only separated by about two centuries from the last reign of the earlier series of the five kings whose names have been recovered from the inscriptions which have been already published in this Journal, and who belong to the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. Then we have the two kings of a still earlier date in Sir Walter Elliot's earliest Pallava inscription, for whose reigns,—after making a reasonable allowance for some interval between them and those five,—place must probably be given in the early part of the fourth century A.D., and possibly in the later years of

the third century. So far up into the past these grants have traced back the Pallava kings.

This grant affords some information respecting the religion of these later Pallava kings. Simhavishṇu, who belongs by the calculation to the seventh century, was "an enthusiastic worshipper of Vishṇu"; and so we may regard the Vaishṇava cult, whatever its form may then have been, as having obtained a conspicuous and influential position in these parts at that time.[10] Four generations later Narasimhavarmâ II., who belongs to the end of the 8th century, was a "devotee of Mahêśvara and a great patron of the Brâhmaṇs." The earlier Pallava grants have taught us that the Brâhmaṇs in these parts were already in the fourth and fifth centuries sufficiently in the enjoyment of court favour to receive land-grants from the kings of the Pallavas: this great patronage of Narasimha II. towards them points to a considerable extension of Brahmanical influence in his reign; and the revival at this time was evidently on the Śaiva side, since this king, their patron, was devoted to the worship of Śiva in the form of Mahêśvara. The religion of the donor of the grant is probably indicated by the devotional verse at the head of the inscription: he was a worshipper of Sadâśiva.

At the close of the description of the boundaries of the present donation there is an allusion to the former Jaina proprietors, or at least co-inhabitants, of one or both of the villages here united, who are described as "those whose deeds are offensive to religion": and their expulsion at the time of the formation of this endowment, is a little black mark of the religious intolerance of Pallavamalla, which was however in close accordance with the spirit of his age. We shall see these offenders again and more distinctly in another inscription belonging to this interesting group of grants.

The political events brought to light by this grant belong partly to the times of the ancestors of the donor, and partly and more fully to his own reign.

The former group consists of the frequent victories of Narasimha I. over Vallabharâja, and of the defeat of the army of another of the Vallabha kings by that king's grandson Paramêśvaravarmâ I. Who were these Vallabharâjas? The name is evidently a dynastic title. This title was borne by the Western Chalukya king Pulikeśî I. and also by his son Kîrttivarmmâ, and in its fuller form of Prithivîvallabha by other kings of that line: and when the Raṭṭa kings supplanted these Chalukyas, they adopted it among their other titles probably as a memento of their conquest. From these and other similar circumstances, and considering what is known of the political distribution of Southern India at that time, I think we may safely consider the Vallabharâjas of this grant to be the Western Chalukya contemporaries of the Pallavarâjas Narasiṃha I. and Paramêśvara I. It is now well known from the Chalukya inscriptions that warlike operations were not infrequent between these two powers, with results alternately in favour of each of them. Thus, for one instance out of others, we have (see *Ind. Antiq.* vol. V. p. 51) an invasion of the Chalukya dominions by the Pallava king in the reign of Pulikêśî II., and a counter invasion of the Pallava dominions by the Chalukya: and, as the dates of Pulikêśî II. range from A. D. 585 to 628, those events were sufficiently near the time of the frequent victories of Narasimha I. to afford some confirmation of the statements of this present grant, since they afford evidence of such a relationship between those kingdoms about that time as would naturally lead to these results.

I will digress for a moment to draw an inference from these circumstances respecting the great political and military power of the Pallava kings in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. For it was this same Pulikêśî II. who successfully resisted the formidable invasion of the Dakhaṇ by Harshavardhana, backed by the resources of the great empire which he had established to the north of the Vindhyas (*Ind. Antiq.* vol. VI. p. 78): and yet we find the Pallava kings capable of maintaining a long-continued contest with these same Chalukyas about the time when they were in the zenith of their power, and powerful enough to inflict frequent defeats upon their armies. And

[10] It will be remembered that when Hiwen Thsang visited Kâñchîpuram about this time, he found there a very mixed state of religion, which was represented by 100 Buddhist convents, 80 Hindu temples, and numerous Jaina "heretics."

lest it should be supposed that this was a mere exaggerated boast of the Pallava genealogists, we have a confirmation of its historical accuracy in the admission of the Chalukyas themselves, that when Vikramâditya I. obtained his victory over the Pallava king, and captured his capital, about the middle of the 7th century, the lord of Kâñchî had never before bowed down to any king (*Ind. Antiq.* vol. VI. p. 87). We have also the Chalukya admission that the power of the Pallavas was "extremely exalted" at that time, and that they "had been the cause of the humiliation and destruction" of the Chalukya family (*Ind. Antiq.* vol. VI. pp. 78, 85, 87).

The second series of political events recorded in this grant belongs to the reign of the grantor, and therefore, by the present supposition, to the 9th century A. D. It consists partly of internal commotions, and partly of external wars.

An alliance of the kings of Dramiḷa had been formed against Pallavamalla, with a prince of the Pallava line, here called Chitramâya-Pallava,[11] at their head. The allies had defeated Pallavamalla in the field; and they were closely besieging the town of Anupura, in which he had taken refuge. Hereupon, seeing the straits to which the king was reduced, another subordinate prince of the Pallava line, Udayachandra, lord of the district lying on the river Vegavatî of which the city of Vilvalapura was the capital, proceeded to attempt his rescue. He succeeded in reversing Pallavamalla's previous misfortunes; for he slew the chief of the insurgent confederates, and defeated their armies in a succession of terrible battles after he had raised the siege of Anupura. Some of the other rebellious chiefs were also slain in the course of this war; and the whole of their little kingdoms were confiscated to the crown.

The river Vegavatî is the stream on which Kâñchîpura is built: it falls into the Pâlâr a little way below Kâñchî. Vilvalapura is perhaps an eponym of Kâñchîpura: for it is dignified with the title of *nagara*, "the capital," and is called "the forehead beauty-spot of all worlds;" and no place but Kâñchî deserved this description in this neighbourhood at any time. Anupura is also probably an eponym or a translated name: the meaning of the word contains the idea of relative inferiority, and perhaps it was a kind of secondary capital. It may therefore be regarded as the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamil name Chittûr:[12] and we have accordingly an important town of this latter name in the north-western portion of the present district of North Arcot. It has always been a place of some importance: and its situation is particularly suitable to the part played by Anupura in the commotions between Pallavamalla and his rebellious chieftains. The names of the battlefields of the war are all Tamil or Tamil-Prâkrit; and, from the circumstances, they were no doubt all situated within the limits of the Dramiḷa kingdom. This word *Dramiḷa* is one of the equivalents of the better known name *Drâviḍa*: and, as one of the fifty-six countries of India recognized by the lexicographers, &c.; its limits corresponded with the basin of the Pâlâr and its immediate neighbourhood.

The prosperous condition of this part of Southern India at this time is to be gathered from several little indications in the description of the garden culture, timber trees, &c. on the banks of the Vegavatî. The short description of the city of Vilvalapura is similarly suggestive: and it tells us also of the turbulent times in which Pallavamalla's lot was cast.

The foreign wars of Pallavamalla here mentioned are these three; first, the war with Udayana king of the Śabaras; secondly, the war with Pṛithivîvyâghra king of Nishadha; and thirdly, the war with the Pâṇḍya king.

The Śabaras are always connected with the Eastern Ghâṭs: but of the precise position and extent of the Śabara kingdom here referred to there is nothing at present to show. These uncivilized mountaineers,—the Suari of Pliny, the Sabaræ of Ptolemy,[13] and the Śabaras or Śavaras of the *Purâṇas*,—are now represented by the Savaralu, or Sauras

[11] The name Chitramâya is apparently a nickname, and is suggestive of imposture of some kind.

[12] This is evidently the Chittûr ("Adeyarenâda Chittûra") of Mr. Lewis Rice's Jain Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa, No. II. (See *Ind. Antiq.* vol. II. p. 323): for it was situated in the Adeyarênâda, the Adeyârarâshṭra of Nandivarmâ's grant in *Ind. Antiq.* (*ante*, p. 168), and the Âshrayanadî-vishaya of the present grant, which lay on the Pâlâr.

[13] *Geog.* VII. i. 80; conf. also *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 127; vol. VII. p. 290; Lassen *Alterth.* B. III. S. 159.

of the Vizagapatam hills, and apparently by the Chenchuvandḷu of the Karnul, Nelur, and Krishṇâ districts. (See Wilson's *Mack. MSS.* Introd. p. lxi; *Journ. Mad. Lit. & Sc. Soc.* vol. XV. pp. 181, 182; Mr. Carmichael's *Manual of the Vizag. Distr.* p. 86; and Gen. Cunningham's *Anc. Geog.* pp. 506, 509.)

The name Udayana may be either the proper name of their king; or it may be like some of the other names of this grant, an eponym expressive of his habit as a mountain chief; for the word means 'an ascender.' He was apparently a personage of no great importance: for when he was taken prisoner by Udayachandra, he was contemptuously set at liberty again; his barbarous war-standard made of peacocks' feathers and mirrors, being the only trophy which his conqueror thought worthy of being carried into the presence of Pallavamalla.

The war with Pṛithivîvyâghra was a more formidable affair. This prince had grown powerful, seemingly by conquests in Northern India: and he was now challenging to himself the right of universal sovereignty by means of an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. He had advanced into the Dakhaṉ, at the head of an army which included elephants, in the track of the horse destined for that sacrifice; and Udayachandra followed him up through territory beyond the limits of his own sovereign's dominions, captured him in the kingdom of Vishṇurâja, and sent him prisoner to Pallavamalla, together with *much rich spoil.* The name here given to the captured king is probably only a title, "The tiger of the earth." His country was that of Nala, the husband of Damayantî; and it was situated on the slopes of the Vindhyas between Mâlwâ and Kôśala. Vishṇurâja, in whose territory Pṛithivîvyâghra was taken prisoner, was possibly one of the Chalukya kings: and this name, like the others, was probably a descriptive rather than a proper name. The political geography of the period supports, and perhaps requires, this identification: and the fact that Vishṇu, in the boar incarnation, was the *kula-devatâs* of the Chalukyas, makes this title specially appropriate to them. But how came Udayachandra to be pursuing the enemy on foreign territory? Was he on Chalukya ground as a friend or a foe?

The field of Pallavamalla's third foreign war was in the south; and, in the course of it, Udaychandra took and razed the fort of Kâḷidurga, and defeated the army of the king of Pâṇḍya in the field. If Kâḷidurga is merely the Sanskṛit form of the equivalent Tamiḻ and Malayâḷam names, Kâḷikoṭṭai and Kâḷikoṭṭa, this place is Calicut on the western coast. Of Kâḷidurga it is here said that it "was under the protection of the goddess Kâḷi," and, similarly, in the *Keralolpatti*, Paraśurâma is said to have selected the goddess Durgâ (Kâḷi) to be the guardian divinity of the sea-shore of Keraḷa upon which Calicut is situated. From the connection of the sentence it seems that Kâḷidurga at this time belonged to the king of Pâṇḍya, whose army, perhaps sent to the relief of Calicut, was defeated by Udayachandra. But for what reason was Calicut obnoxious to the Pallavas? Had this commercial emporium of the western coast interfered in any way with the interests of these grand old lords of the commerce of the eastern coast? It is singular that the Chôḷas are not mentioned in this inscription, nor the kings of Koṅgu, the two next neighbours of the Pallavas to the south and south-west, down to the 9th century A.D., through whose territory Udayachandra must necessarily pass on his route to Calicut. The reason of this may be that the lowland portions of the old Koṅgu kingdom had by this time been annexed to the Chôḷa and Pâṇḍya dominions, and that the Chôḷa power was now temporarily united to that of Pâṇḍya, as it sometimes was during the alternating supremacy of the Chôḷas and Pâṇḍyas about this period of their history.

We may now turn to the object of the grant and its situation. The two villages of Kumâramaṅgalam and Vennatûrakoṭṭa were now united to form this present donation: and the name of the donor's victorious general was given to the united property in commemoration of his triumphs. In the description of the boundaries of this united village it is placed in a general way upon the Kshîranadî, 'the milk-river,' which is the Sanskṛit equivalent of the Tamiḻ name of this river,—the Pâlâr. It is also described as lying in the district of the western Âśrayanadî, which is the Sanskṛit equivalent of the mixed Tamiḻ-and-Sanskṛit

name Adeyârarâshṭra occurring in the grant of the older Nandivarmâ in *Ind. Antiq.* Vol. VIII., p. 168: and this name again takes us in a similar general way into the western and inland districts of the Pâlâr. And here Mr. Rice's Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa inscriptions come to our help: for there we learn that Chittûr was in the Adeyâra-nâttu (Tam. and Can. *nâḍu* = Sansk. *râshṭra* and *vishaya*); and we are thus led to look for Udayachandramaṅgalam somewhere on the banks of the Pâlâr within a reasonable distance from Chittûr. The village of Kâñchîdvâra, mentioned in the description of the boundaries of this donation, has already appeared in the body of the grant of the older Nandivarmâ referred to above, and also in its endorsement: and that endorsement contains also the name of our present grant village of Udayachandramaṅgalam, and so links these two inscriptions together. The position of this village in a general way is therefore pretty clearly defined: nearer than this we cannot yet come to its actual situation; for all these old names have now passed away.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from p. 246.)

No. LVII.

After the inscription of the Mêguṭi temple, the next of the Aihoḷe inscriptions in point of age is that at the temple called Huchchîmallî-guḍi.

This temple is in Survey No. 276, on the north-west of the village, and near the Brâhmanical cave. Inside the temple there is a large memorial tablet, without any writing on it; but I could not find any trace of the *śilâśâsana*, or inscription-tablet, spoken of by Mr. Burgess in his *First Archæological Report*, p. 40. There is a figure of Garuḍa over the door of the shrine, which shews, as Mr. Burgess remarks, that this was a Vaishṇava temple.

The inscription consists of five lines of writing on the outside of two of the stones of the front wall, on the north side of the door. A photograph from the estampage made by myself has been published[1], and a lithograph facsimile is now given from the same estampage. The stone containing the greater part of the inscription,—the whole of it except the ends of ll. 4 and 5,—is 4′ 11½″ long by 1′ 10″ high. The language is Old-Canarese, but with the peculiarity that the ending of the locative cases used is *uḷ*, which Dr. Caldwell, in his *Comparative Grammar of the Drâviḍian Languages*, p. 199, gives as the Tamiḷ locative suffix. I have met with no other instance of its use in an Old-Canarese inscription; but it corresponds to, and probably is etymologically identical with, the Old-Canarese locative suffix *oḷ*.

The inscription, which is now published for the first time, is one of the Western Chalukya king Vijayâditya, and records a grant of oil to one who was evidently the priest of this temple. It is dated, in rather an unusual way, in the thirteenth year *and the third month* of his reign, and on the day of the full-moon of the month Aśvayuja. At Vol. VII., p. 112, I have noticed another of his inscriptions, which is dated in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, on the full-moon of Phâlguṇa of Śaka 651. And I have two more of his inscriptions, in which the dates are given in full; one is dated in the third year of his reign, on the full-moon of Jyaishṭha of Śaka 621,—and the other, in the fourth year of his reign, on the full-moon of Âshâḍha of Śaka 622. From a comparison of these dates it will be seen, that he commenced to reign during the dark fortnight of Âshâḍha, or the bright fortnight of Śrâvaṇa, of Śaka 618 (A. D. 696-7), and that the present inscription is one of Śaka 630.

The earlier Old-Canarese inscriptions,—and these at Aihoḷe, and the subsequent inscriptions at Bâdâmi, Mahâkûṭa, and Paṭṭadakal are some of the very earliest, of certain date,—contain here and there words of which no explanation is to be had, either from dictionaries or from Paṇḍits, and for the explanation of which we must wait until a larger number of such inscriptions have been collected and published, so as to be available for collation. My translations, therefore, will stand open to amendment. But, with the assistance of Mr. Veṅkaṭ Raṅgô Kaṭṭi of the Educational Department, whom I have always found a most willing and able

[1] No. 76 of *Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions*.

coadjutor in deciphering these ancient records, I hope, now that I have returned to India, to be able to determine the meaning of words and passages that would otherwise have remained unintelligible to me. And if Mr. Kittel would further assist,—by giving separate notes in this Journal on words which Mr. V. R. Kaṭṭi and myself are still unable to explain, or in the explanation of which we may be in error,—it would be a favour to all who are interested in elucidating the development of the modern dialect of the Canarese language.

Transcription.

[1] Svasti Śrî-Vijayâditya-Saty[â]śraya-śrîprithu(thi)vivallabha-mah[â]r[âj-âdhirâ ja-para]-

[2] mêśvara-bhaṭârara(r) trayôdaśa-varshamuṁ mu(mû)ṟu-tiṁgaḷuḷ[2] koṭṭâre .[|*] Âśvayuja-pû[r]ṇṇamâ-

[3] saduḷ vishupaduḷ Eḷtugolugasaṇiyâ ittodu pûravaḷagosâsigarâ maṟu

[4] dharmma-tusavanin=paḍed=eppaṭṭâdu oṁdu gâṇaduḷ=ondu soṁṭige tê(tai)lam=âge koṭṭ[â]ra(r) bhaṭârargge [||*]

[5] Yâ(?) dattiyân=kiḍipon=Vâraṇ[â]siyuḷ s[â]sirvvar=parvvaru[ṁ] kaviley[u][mâ*]n=ko[3]nda lôkakke sando[3]n=akkum [||*]

Translation.

Hail! Śrî-Vijayâditya-Satyâśraya,—the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme king, the venerable one,—in the thirteenth year and the third month (*of his reign*) gave (*sanction to a grant, which was as follows*) :—

On the day of the full-moon of (*the month*) Âśvayuja, at the time of the (*autumnal*) equinox, the gift of Eḷtugolugasaṇi was one *soṇṭige*[4] of oil on (*each*) one oil-mill, wherever it might be[5], allotted on account of[6] religion, ...[7]; (*this much*) he gave to the venerable one.

May he, who injures this grant, be on an equality with people who kill a thousand Brâhmaṇs, or (*a thousand*) tawny-coloured cows, at Vâraṇâśi!

No. LVIII.

The next of the Aihoḷe inscriptions, in chronological order, is that at the Durga temple.

This temple is on the north-east outskirts of the village, and derives its name from being the principal shrine of the *durga*, or 'fort.' It has been described by Mr. Fergusson in his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, pp. 218 *et seqq.*; and also, more in detail, by Mr. Burgess in his *First Archæological Report*, pp. 40 *et seqq.*, where, in addition to the woodcut-view of the apse from the south-west originally given by Mr. Fergusson, there are given three beautiful photographs, of the front and north side of the temple from the north-east,—of an elaborately carved pillar in the inner porch,—and of three fine and boldly worked sculptured slabs lying at the south-east corner. Mr. Burgess says of it, "as the only known example of its class as a structural building, it is, to the Indian antiquary, one of the most interesting temples in the south of India." And, on account of the close similarity of the style of the interiors, he places the date of its construction within a century after that of Bâdâmi Cave III., which was excavated, or at least was finished, in the reign of the Chalukya king Maṅgalîśvara, and contains on one of its columns an inscription of his dated Śaka 500 (A.D. 578-9). He also considers that "the temple was neither Jain nor Śaiva, but a genuine Chalukya temple of Vishṇu." I would, however, point out that one of the stones in the base of the temple has on it, as may be seen in the photograph, Pl. LIV. of the *First Archæological Report*, the word *Śrî-Jin-âlayan*, *i.e.* 'the holy temple of Jina', in characters which may be somewhat earlier, but which seem to me to have been cut by the hand of the very same man who engraved the inscription of Vijayâditya on a pillar in the porch of the temple of Mahâkûṭêśvara at Bâdâmi.[8]

On a pillar in the temple is another short Old-Canarese inscription, in characters of the eighth or ninth century A. D., of which a facsimile is given in Pl. LV., No. 32, of the *First Archæological Report*. The transcription is :—

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[2] The upper part of the ḷ is effaced here.

[3] Part of the o is effaced in each instance.

[4] *sc.*, 'a ladleful'; a derivative from the old form of the Canarese *sôṭu*, *sauṭu*, 'a spoon, or ladle.'

[5] *Eppaṭṭâdu* is probably connected with the Telugu *eppaṭṭu*, 'in what way, in any way.'

[6] *Tusavanin* is probably of the same purport as the Canarese *tusuka*, 'on account of'; but it may be connected with *tusa*, *tusu*, 'little, few, small.'

[7] *Pûra* &c., to *maṟu*; meaning not known.

[8] No. 50 of *Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions.*

[1]*Śrî-Basam-ayyan* [2]*Kisuvoḷala bhaṭṭa*[*n*]; *i. e.* 'Śrî-Basamayya, the *bhaṭṭa* of (*the city of*) Kisuvoḷal.'[9]

These two seem to be all the inscriptions on the temple itself. The inscription given below is on the outside of portions of four stones of the north wall of the southern gateway, which is to be seen on the extreme left of the photograph, Pl. LI., of the *First Archæological Report*. The writing covers a space about 4′ 3″ long by 1′ 2½″ high. A photograph of it has been published[10]; and a lithograph facsimile is now given from the estampage made by Mr. Burgess. It is an undated Western Chalukya inscription, in the Old-Canarese language. It is a matter for argument whether it is of the time of Vikramâditya I., the son of Pulikêśî II., or of the time of Vikramâditya II., the son of Vijayâditya. My own opinion,—based, partly on the form of the characters; partly on the fact that, as I have indicated at Vol. VII., p. 219, the authority of Vikramâditya I. did not extend over this part of the country;—and partly on the fact that all the Western Chalukya inscriptions at the neighbouring village and former capital of Paṭṭadakal are of the time either of Vijayâditya or of Vikramâditya II.,—is, that it is of the time of Vikramâditya II., who commenced to reign in Śaka 654 (A. D. 732-3) or 655.

The grant is to Âditya, a priest of the temple. Âṭada-Âḷekomara-Siṅga, or 'Âḷekomara-Siṅga of the games,' must be the founder of the temple.

On another stone a few feet lower down on the same wall, there is a short Old-Canarese inscription in characters of the same period, of which a facsimile is given in Pl. LV., No. 31, of the *First Archæological Report*, and which appears in the same photograph. The transcription is:—[1]*Śrî Savitaran* [2]*Piriṟeyya*[11] *putran*, *i. e.*, 'Śrî-Savitara, the son of Piriṟeyya.'

Transcription.

[1] Svasti Vikkra(kra)mâditya-Satyâśraya śrîpri(pṛi)thivîvallabha mahârâj-âdhirâja

[2] paramêśvara bhaṭâra[r*] pri(pṛi)thivirâjyam-geye Pesado[12]râ magan Revaḍibaddar=Âṭada-

[3] Âḷekomara-Siṅgana dêgulada Âditya-bhaṭârage[13] koṭṭudu [|*] Tamage suṁkkaṁ(kaṁ) bîḷdalli

[4] ondu pêṟige o(oṁ)-mânaṁ bhaṇḍa-vêṟige aydu visavaṁ ele-vêṟige ayvattu [||*] Inituṁ râjâ(ja)-śrâvitaṁ

[5] mahâjana-muṁ-naka(ga)ra-śrâvitaṁ [||*] Idân=salisuge âvon-ânuṁ kiḍipon=uḷḷoḍe Vâraṇâsi[ya*] o[ṁ]d[u]-

[6] sâsira kavileyuṁ sâsirba(rbar)=parvarumân=konda lôkakke sandon=akkuṁ ||*

Translation.

Hail! While Vikramâditya-Satyâśraya,—the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the worshipful one,—was ruling the world, the gift of Revaḍibadda, the son of Pesada, to the venerable Âditya of the temple of Âṭada-Âḷekomara-Siṅga, (*was*) one *mâna*[14] on each *pêṟu*[15], and five *visas*[16] on each *bhaṇḍa-pêṟu*[17], and fifty (*betel-leaves*) on each *pêṟu* of betel-leaves, whenever the customs-duty should come in to him. This much was proclaimed by the king, and by (*the people of*) the city, headed by the *Mahâjanas*.

Whosoever injures the continuance of this (*grant*), may he be on an equality with people

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9 *i. e.*, Paṭṭadakal.

10 No. 77 of *Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions*.

11 The lower *y* is imperfect.

12 The turn-up stroke of the *da* is exaggerated in the original, and still more so in the facsimile, so as to look like *ḍa*. But a separate and distinct form is used for *ḍa* in this inscription, as may be seen in *kiḍipon* and *uḷḷoḍe*, l. 5.

13 Over the *ge* there is a mark which looks like *Anusvâra*; but it is probably only a fault in the stone.

14 *Mâna*; the modern maund.

15 *Pêṟu, hêru*, 'a sack of corn, a measure equivalent to sixty-four seers.'

16 *Visa*. In the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, New Series, Vol. XX., p. 56, Plate II., Sir Walter Elliot gives representations of two old iron weights. One is circular, and weighs exactly 3 lbs. 1 oz. 4 drs. It has, on the front, the figure of a boar (the Chalukya emblem), and above it a sword with the sun and moon; and, on the back, the words *Pramâdicha-saṁ vi* 1, *i.e.*, "one *visa*, (*stamped in*) the Pramâdicha *saṁvatsara*." The other is octagonal, and weighs 12 ozs. 2 drs. It has, on the front only, a sword, with the sun and moon, and, below them, the words *Pramâdicha-saṁ vi* ¼, *i.e.* "a quarter-*visa*, (*stamped in*) the Pramâdicha *saṁvatsara*." In the modern dialect, Sanderson gives *vîsa*, 'one sixteenth,' and also *vîse*, 'five seers, or the weight of 120 rupees,' (3 lbs. 1 oz. 5·94 drs.) In some others of the early inscriptions, the word occurs again with the vowel of the first syllable short, as here,—*visa*. But in the later Old-Canarese inscriptions, the vowel is long,—*vîsa*.

17 The meaning of *bhaṇḍa* is not apparent.

ON THE FRONT FACE OF THE TEMPLE CALLED HUCHCHIMALLI-GUDI, AT AIHOLE.

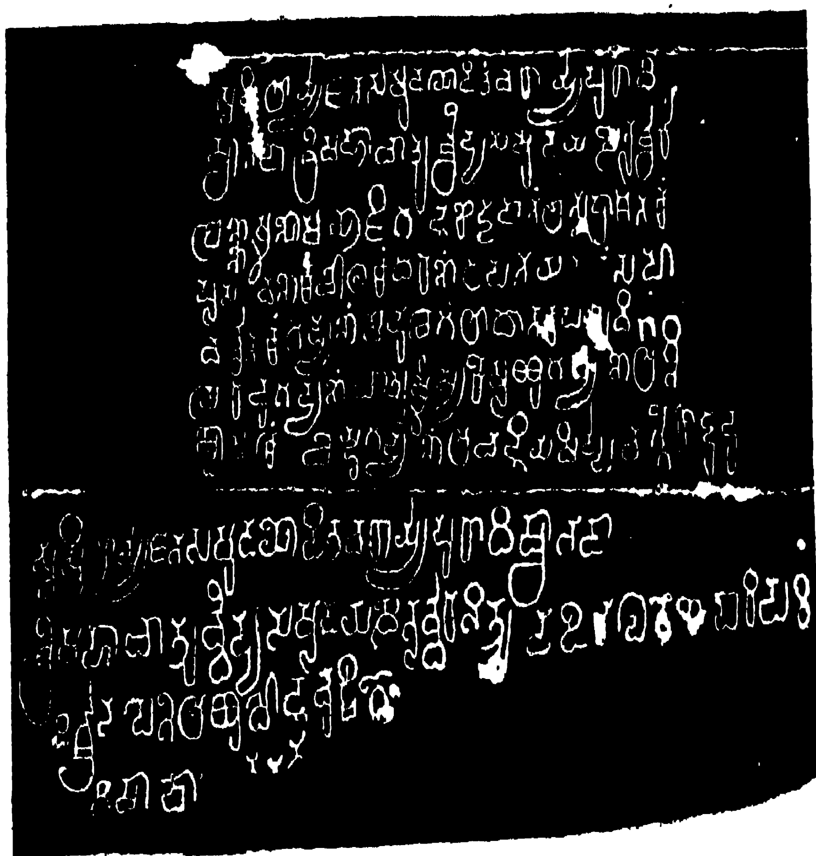
FROM AN IMPRESSION BY J. F. FLEET, BO. C. S.

W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH. PECKHAM.

ON THE WALL OF THE GATEWAY OF THE DURGA TEMPLE, AT AIHOLE.

FROM AN IMPRESSION BY J. BURGESS.

ON THE FRONT FACE OF THE TEMPLE OF LAD KHAN, AT AIHOLE.



FROM AN IMPRESSION BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C. S.

W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH, PECKHAM

who kill a thousand tawny-coloured cows and a thousand Brâhmaṇs of V â r a ṇ â s i!

No. LIX.

Inside the village of Aihoḷe, there is an old Hindu temple,—whether originally Jain, Śaiva, or Vaishṇava, I cannot say,—which has for a long time past been used as a residence by a Musalmân family, and is now known as 'the temple of Lâḍ-Khân.'

The accompanying two inscriptions are on the outside of the front or east wall, on the south of the door. The characters are of the eighth or ninth century A.D., but are not very well executed; and the language is Old-Canarese. The writing covers an extreme breadth and height of 4′ 7½″ and 2′ 8″ respectively. A facsimile, from the estampage made by myself[18], is given herewith.

With the exception of mentioning the town under its Sanskrit name of Â r y a p u r a, these inscriptions furnish no historical information. But they are of interest as containing probably the earliest reference to a guild, called 'The Five-hundred of A y y â v o ḷ e', which is frequently mentioned in later inscriptions, and seems to have been one of considerable importance. The members of this guild are, for instance, spoken of as *Śrîmad-Ayyâvoḷey=aynûrvvar=svâmigaḷ*, *i.e.* 'the five hundred *Svâmîs* of the glorious (*city of*) A y y â v o ḷ e', in ll. 44, 54, and 55 of a Western C h â l u k y a stone-tablet inscription[19] of the time of S ô m ê ś v a r a I., dated Śaka 976 (A.D. 1054-5), at Baḷagâṁve in Maisûr; and among the numerous epithets applied to them there, is that of *Vîra-Baṇaṁju-dharmma-pratipâḷa*, or 'protectors of the *Vîra-Baṇañju* religion', which suggests the inference that they were a Śaiva guild.

Transcription.

First Inscription.

[1] Sva[st]i Âryya-jana-samuday-ôdita[20]-var-Âryyapur-âdhi-
[2] shṭhânadâ śrî-mahâ-châturvvidya-samudayam=ai-nûrvvarkaṁ
[3] Beṇṇamma-sômayâjigaḷa koṭṭa dânaṁ [|*] An[n]a-prâśanakkaṁ
[4] pû-savaṇakkaṁ chaulakkaṁ dharaṇaṁ upanaya[nakka]ṁ samâ[21]
[5] varttanakkaṁ gadyaṇaṁ maduvegaṁ âdhânakkaṁ paśu-[vi*]dhiga[22]
[6] m=eraḍu gadyaṇaṁ châturmmâsyakke mûru ga[d]yaṇaṁ agni-
[7] shṭômakke[22] che(a?)ydu gadyaṇaṁ [|*] Achaḷiyam=ippavargge koṭṭudu [||*]

Second Inscription.

[8] Svasti Âryya-jana-samuday-ôdita-var-Âryyapur-âdhishṭhânadâ
[9] śrî-mahâ-châturvvidya-samû(mu)dayam=ai-nûrvvara nitya(?)da dî . . . la . . . . . . pa(?)-ripavi(?)-
[10] di(?) . . . sa(?)pegî âṛumauḷavu . . . .[23]. . . . .
[11] dhishâpâ(?)[24] . . . .

Translation.

The grant that was given by B e ṇ ṇ a m m a-S ô m a y â j î to the Five-hundred, (*who constituted*) the great body of *Chaturvêdîs* of the excellent capital of Â r y a p u r a which arose from[25] a collection of worthy people (*was*) :—A *dharaṇa*[26] at the ceremony of feeding a child with boiled rice, and at the festival held when the first signs of life are perceived in the fœtus[27], and at the ceremony of tonsure; a *gadyaṇa*[28] at the ceremony of investiture with the sacred thread, and at the rites performed when the religious student returns home after completing his studies; two *gadyaṇas* at marriage, and at the ceremony performed on the first sign of conception, and at the celebration

[18] No. 78 of *Pâli, Sanskṛit and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions.*

[19] No. 158 of *Pâli, Sanskṛit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions.*

[20] Here, and in two instances in ll. 5 and 7 below, there are marks which look like the *Anusvâra*, but which are faults in the stone.

[21] Part of the *m* is effaced, so that in the facsimile this letter looks like *ha*, instead of *mâ*.

[22] See note 20. [23] About fifteen letters are effaced here.

[24] Four or five letters are illegible here and the rest of the inscription is effaced.

[25] *i.e.*, "was founded by."

[26] *Dharaṇa*, 'a coin equal to one quarter of a *honnu*, or pagoda; V. R. K.—C. P. Brown, and Sanderson, say that it is 'an imaginary coin of the value of eight *dubs*'; and Monier Williams says it is 'a weight variously reckoned.'

[27] *Pûsavaṇa* is a corruption of *puṁsavana*.

[28] The later form is *gadyâṇa*. Sanderson gives it as 'a weight used in weighing silver.' Monier Williams gives it as 'a weight equal to thirty-two *guñjâs*, or, among physicians, sixty-four *guñjâs*.' In the inscription published by me at Vol. I. p. 141, we have mention made of five *gadyâṇas* of gold, of the kind called 'of Gaṅga', which seems to be some particular standard *gadyâṇa* devised or adopted by the Western Châlukyas.

of an animal sacrifice[29]; three *gadyaṇas* at the celebration of the *châturmâsya* sacrifices; and five *gadyaṇas* at the celebration of the *agnishṭôma* sacrifice. Such was the grant (*to them and*) to those who shall be . . . .[30]

Hail! . . . . of the perpetual . . . . of the Five-hundred, (*who constituted*) the great body of *Chaturvêdis* of the excellent capital of Â r y a p u r a which arose from a collection of worthy people . . . .

A FURTHER FOLKLORE PARALLEL.

BY GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.S., MADHUBANÎ, DARBHANGA.

Professor Tawney (*ante* pp. 37, 38) has given an interesting parallel between three legends,—Norse, Sanskrit, and Danish, respectively.[1] I am able to give another parallel—an Irish one. It is to be found in Carleton's *Traits of the Irish Peasantry*, Vol. I., p. 23. The story briefly is as follows:—

"Jack Magennis was crossing the bog near his house one fine, frosty, moonlight night, when he saw a dark-looking man leaning against a clump of turf, and a black dog, with a pipe of 'tobacky' in his mouth, sitting at his ease beside him. By the side of the dark-looking man was a bag full of sovereigns, and, after some conversation with Jack, he offered to play him a game of 'five and ten' (a game of cards). The conditions of the game were—that if Jack won he was to have the contents of the bag, while if he lost, he was to serve the black-favoured man a year and a day. Jack agreed to these terms, and began to play. He was deceived by a stratagem of the dog's, and of course lost. Jack asked as a favour to be allowed a year's grace before commencing his service, promising to keep his bond faithfully at the end of the term. To this the dark man assented, and Jack went home. At the end of the year Jack is summoned, by the dog, and bidding farewell to his mother, sets out. No one knows how far he and the dog travel till they reached the dark gentleman's castle, who appears very glad to see Jack, and gives him a hearty welcome.

"The next day, in consequence of his long journey, he was ax'd to do nothing; but in the course of the evening, the dark chap brought him into a long, frightful room, where there were three hundred and sixty-five hooks sticking out of the wall, and on every hook but one, a man's head. When Jack saw this agreeable sight, his dinner began to quake within him, but he felt himself still worse, when his master pointed to the empty hook, saying, 'Now, Jack, your business to-morrow is to clane out a stable that wasn't claned for the last seven years, and if you don't have it finished before dusk—do you see that hook?' "

Being thus duly impressed, Jack begins to clean out the stable in the morning, but for every shovel-full he throws out, three more come in. He is half dead with vexation, when a beautiful lady, who lives in the castle, comes to call him to breakfast. Jack takes the opportunity of "blarneying" her as only an Irishman can, and after breakfast resumes his work. At dinner-time the beautiful lady comes again, and being quite won over by Jack's flattery, charms his shovel; so that now, instead of three shovel-fulls coming in, with every shovel-full he sends out, nine more go along with it. He thus, much to the disgust of the dark gentleman, accomplishes his task before dusk.

The next day's order, with a like terrible sanction, was to catch a wild filly that had never been caught. He was unable to do so till the beautiful lady came to his assistance again, by blowing three times on a magic whistle, which caused the filly to come up, and allow herself quietly to be bridled.

The third day's task was to rob a crane's nest, on the top of a beech tree, which grew in the middle of a little island in a lake in the demesne. He was to have neither boat, nor oar, nor any kind of conveyance, and if he failed to bring the eggs, or if he broke one of them, his head was to occupy the vacant hook. Jack walked round and round the lake, in vain,

[29] *Paśuvidhi* seems to be used here as equivalent to *paśukriyâ*, 'the act of animal sacrifice; acting like cattle, copulation.'

[30] Mr. V. B. Kaṭṭi suggests that *achaliyam* should be corrected into *avaḷiyim*, or *âvaḷiyim*, which is equivalent to *paramparayiṁ*, 'in succession'. The objection to this is that the final *m*, or rather *ṁ*, of *avaḷiyim* must become *n* before a following vowel. I am more inclined to connect the word with the Canarese *achchaḷa*, 'pure, excellent'; *achchâḷi*, or *achchâḷu*, 'one who lives a single life, an unmarried person', seems inapplicable, because of the occasions on which some of the grants herein recorded were to be made.

[1] See also p. 230 *ante*.

to find a crossing; and was much disgusted to find, on this occasion, the dog, and not the beautiful lady calling him to breakfast. In the evening, however, she came, and pulling a white wand out of her pocket, struck the lake, "and there was the prettiest green ridge across it to the foot of the tree that ever eye beheld. 'Now,' says she, turning her back to Jack, and stooping down to do something that he could not see, 'take these,' giving him her ten toes, 'put them against the tree, and you will have steps to carry you to the top, but be sure, for *your* life and mine, not to forget any of them. If you do, my life will be taken to-morrow morning, for your master puts on my slippers with his own hands.' "

Jack followed her directions, except that he forgot the little toe of the left foot. It was impossible to return for it, as the causeway had melted away. The dark gentleman counted her toes, she said, every evening, and would be sure to miss it. The only remedy was for them both to ride away on the wild filly he had caught yesterday.

They had not gone far when they heard the tramping of horses behind them. "Put your hand," said she, "in the filly's right ear, and tell me what you find in it." "Only a piece of dried stick," said Jack. "Throw it over your shoulder," said she. Jack did so at once, and there was a great grove of thick trees growing so close to one another, that a dandy could scarcely get his arm betwixt them. This made them safe for a day, but as they rode on, the dark-faced man collected all the hatchets and hand-saws in the country, and soon cleared a way for himself and his men.

Next day, Jack and the beautiful lady again heard them coming, and again she told him to search in the filly's right ear. He found a three-cornered pebble, which he threw over his left shoulder like the stick; and it became a great chain of high sharp rocks in the way of "divel-face and all his clan." That saved them for another day, but the dark man collected all the gunpowder, crow-bars, spades, and pick-axes that he could find, and soon cleared a passage sufficient for them to pass over. Next day, again, the lady heard them coming, and "quick as lightening, Jack," said she, "or we're lost—the right ear and the left shoulder as before." He found a little drop of green water in the filly's ear, which he threw over his shoulder, and in an instant there was a deep, dark gulf filled with black filthy-looking water between them. Into this "divel-face" plunged in desperation, and was never seen again. Shortly after this Jack found himself and the lady on the banks of the Shannon.

The rest of the legend need not be repeated here. What has been already given presents an almost exact parallel to the story of the Widow's Son, as given by Mr. Tawney.

JAGJIVANDÂS THE HINDU REFORMER.

BY THE REV. B. H. BADLEY, LAKHNAU.[1]

This illustrious Hindu was the founder of the Satnâmî sect, the members of which are counted by the ten thousand, and are to be found in all parts of North India from Banâras to Amṛitsar. For the following particulars we are indebted in part to an article in the *Oudh Gazetteer*, the statements of which we verified in our recent visit.

Jagjivandâs was born at Sardaha in the Barabanki district, forty miles east of Lakhnau, in Saṁvat 1738 (A.D. 1682). The village was then probably on the bank of the Ghogrâ (Sarjụ), which, shifting its channel from year to year, now flows a mile away. The house in which he was born has long since fallen into decay, and at present nothing but the site is to be seen. The village itself is a small, quiet, out-of-the-way place, with perhaps five hundred inhabitants. The Bâba was a Ṭhâkur by caste. His father Gaṅga Râm was a Chandel (the family came originally from Râjputânâ) and a landholder, living at Sardaha. When six months old his father's *guru*, Bisheśvar Pûri, threw his mantle over him, and instantly a saffron-colored *tilak* appeared on the babe's forehead.

The reformer was not a peripatetic; he spent the greater part of his life at Sardaha, doing many wonderful works, as is stated, and gaining followers. His four chief disciples were:—

1. Gosain Dâs, an Upâdhya Brâhmaṇ; 2. Debi Dâs, Châmar Gauḍ Ṭhâkur; 3. Dulam Dâs, Somvaṅsi Ṭhâkur; 4. Kheni Dâs, Teivari Brâhmaṇ.

Besides these there were—

5. Sanwal Dâs, Brâhmaṇ; 6. Ude Râm, Urya

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[1] From the *Ind. Evangelical Review*, Vol. VI. 1879, pp. 309 ff.

Brâhman; 7. Śiva Dâs, Gauḍ Brâhman; 8. Râm Dâs and Baddri Dâs Kurn; 9. Mansa Dâs, Mochi (shoemaker); 10. Bhowani Dâs, Bahrelia Ṭhakur. 11. Ahlad Dâs, Chandel; 12. Sundar Dâs, Brâhman; 13. Tunur Dâs, Somvańsi; 14. Kara Dâs, Brâhman.

With but two or three exceptions these disciples located themselves in villages near Sardaha, all in the same district. One went to Ambâlâ and another to Amṛitsar, where they took up their abodes and gained followers.

The Sardaha reformer resembled Nânak (A.D. 1469—1538) in several respects. "Although a thorough Hindu, he was able to establish some communion of thought between himself and Muhammadans." Two at least of his disciples were Muhammadans. He adapted himself to all classes, and among his disciples was one of the low caste of Kori who converted Chamârs and other low-caste Hindus to the faith. He founded a kind of church universal, taking in all kinds and classes of people, high and low, rich and poor.

The Satnâmîs profess (as their name signifies) "to adore the true name alone, the one God, the cause and creator of all things, the *Nirguṇa*, or void of sensible qualities, without beginning or end. They borrow however their notions of creation from the Vedanta philosophy, or rather from the modified forms in which it is adapted to vulgar apprehension; worldly existence is illusion, or the work of *Maya*, the primitive character of Bhavânî, the wife of Śiva. They recognize accordingly the whole Hindu Pantheon, and although they profess to worship but one God, pay reverence to what they consider manifestations of his nature visible in the avatâras, particularly Râma and Kṛishṇa. * * Their moral code is much the same as that of all Hindu ascetics, and enjoins indifference to the world, its pleasures or its pains; devotion to the spiritual guide; clemency and gentleness; rigid adherence to truth; the discharge of all ordinary social or religious obligations; and the hope of final absorption into the one spirit with all things."[2]

It will be seen from the foregoing that there is but little difference between the Satnâmîs and some of the Vaishṇava sectaries. As has been said of the Sikhs, so we may say of the Satnâmîs:—

"The conception of God and of his creation is pantheistic; the whole universe and all things therein being identified with the supreme. Finite beings have therefore no separate existence apart from the Absolute; and it is merely owing to the *Maya* or deception which the Absolute has spread over the universe, that creatures are led to consider themselves individual beings distinct from God. 'By Himself the vessels are formed, and he Himself fills them.' The world is therefore nothing but a mere farce in which the Absolute Being plays and sports, and no reason can be given for the production or destruction of created beings, which are regarded but as cosmogonic revolutions, to be accounted for only by the sporting propensity of the great Supreme. * * The human soul is represented as being light which has emanated from the Absolute, and is by itself immortal, and it must be the great aim and object of this divine spark, to be re-united with the fountain of light from which it has emanated, and to be re-absorbed in it."[3]

As of Nânak so of Jagjivandâs it may be said:—"It does not appear that he actually forbade the worship of other gods than the great Supreme, but he certainly did much to lower their position and to place them in absolute subordination to the one God"[4]

The Satnâmîs ought to discard idolatry, and professedly do; but the manner in which they heap sweatmeats, flowers and coins upon the tombs of their departed leaders at the time of their semi-annual festivals does not speak well for their consistency. When questioned regarding this reprehensible proceeding they answer with more readiness than conscientiousness:—"It is the custom of the world, hence we do it." The offerings made at the tombs go to support the priests and attendants.

Jagjivandâs composed the sacred book of his sect, which is called *Agh Binsh* (*aghavinśa*, 'sin-remover'). It is in verse, and believed to be inspired; it however contains stories from the *Purâṇas*, as also lessons on morals; it prescribes certain rules of piety and contains lessons on ethics and divinity, being all extracts from Sańskṛit works on the Hindu religion. It is in Hindi, but as it has never yet been printed, it is difficult for the missionary to obtain a copy. It is said that numerous commentaries have been written upon it; and being in couplets it is easily memorized by the rhyme-loving people.[5]

The *Agh-Binsh* is a thick quarto volumé, written by hand in red and black ink. It is of various metres, the language being a compound of Sańskṛit and Hindi. The following quotations will be sufficient to indicate its general character:—

Chhand Aghbinsá.

Íśwara âgyâ pâwâun, gun dâs hoke gâwâun,
Man pratitam jânke main charan te chitt lâwâun,

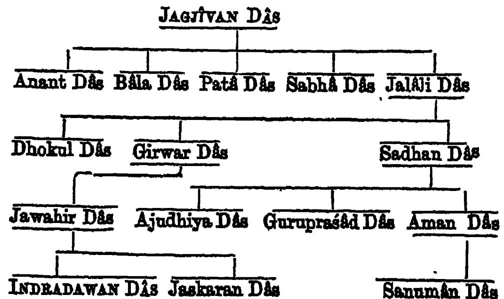
[2] *Oudh Gazetteer*, vol. I., p. 362.
[3] *Indian Christian Intelligencer*, vol. II., No. 6, pp. 166-7.
[4] *Id.* p. 166.
[5] We have just been shown a copy by the chief *mahant* of Lakhnau.

day of the sun. A good deal of liberality is shown towards local superstitions. Incense is weekly burnt to Hanuman under the title of Mahâbîr, whilst Râm Chandra seems to come in for a share of adoration. The water in which the Guru's feet have been washed, is drunk only when the Guru is of equal or higher caste than the disciple. Satnâmîs seem steadily to observe the festivals of their Hindu brethren. Their distinctive mark is the *ându*, or black and white twisted thread, generally of silk, worn on the right wrist. The full-blown *mahant* wears an *ându* on each wrist and each ankle. The *tilak* is one black perpendicular streak. The bodies of the dead are buried, not burned."[6]

The use of the egg-plant is forbidden for this reason :—

"Râja Debi Baksh, late *taluqdâr* of Gondâ, married in the family of Jagjîvandâs, and on the occasion of his marriage he was entertained as a guest, together with his whole suite. But he declined their hospitality unless served with flesh. The Satnâmîs at last prepared a curry of *baingan*, pronounced a prayer upon it, and when served out it was found to be flesh; from thenceforth the Satnâmîs renounced the eating of *baingan* as a thing convertible into meat."[7]

We append a genealogical chart of the family. Bâba Indradawan Dâs being the older of the two surviving members occupies the *gadi*, or seat of honor, at Kotwâ :—



[6] *Oudh Gazetteer*, vol. I., pp. 363-4.

[7] *Oudh Gazetteer*, vol. I., p. 362.

MISCELLANEA.

EDUCATED HINDUS AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH.

From an Address to Graduates of the Madras University, by the Right Rev. Bishop R. Caldwell, D.D., LL.D.

Educated Natives may fairly be expected both to contribute to the enlargement of the bounds of human knowledge in everything that pertains to their own country, and also to endeavour to exemplify in their intercourse with society and their public duties the benefits of the education they have received.

The study of the history, ancient literature, and archæology of the country will never reach anything like completeness of development or realise results of national importance, till it is systematically undertaken by educated Natives. Learned Natives of Calcutta and Bombay, trained in European modes of thought, and vieing with Europeans in zeal for historical accuracy, have already made a promising beginning in this department of research. I trust that the Native scholars of the South will resolve that they will not be left behind in the race. The most important aid educated Natives can render to the study of the history of their country is by means of a search after inscriptions, many of which, hitherto unnoticed and unknown, they will find inviting their attention on the walls of the temples in almost every village in the interior. The only ancient Indian history worthy of the name is that which has been spelled out from inscriptions and coins. Popular legends and poetical myths, by whatever name they are dignified, may be discarded, not only without loss, but with positive advantage. No guide but our own intelligence is better than a faithless guide. Something has already been done in the direction of the search for and decipherment of inscriptions by Europeans, though less systematically in Madras, than in Calcutta and Bombay, but much remains to be done and will always remain, till educated Natives enter upon this branch of study with the zeal with which so many people in Europe have devoted themselves to it. Natives possess various facilities for this study which are denied to Europeans living in India. They have no reason to fear the sun. They can generally stop in their journeys without inconvenience, and examine any antiquity they see; and whilst Europeans must be content with examining only the inscriptions on the outer walls of temples, inscriptions in the interior also can be examined by Natives. They will also be allowed to examine inscriptions on copper plates in the possession of respectable Native families, which would not readily be allowed to pass into the hands of Europeans.

A humbler, but still very important, branch of archæological work lies open to every educated Hindu in the Tamiḷ districts in this Presidency. Let him set himself, before it is too late, to search out and discover the vernacular works that are commonly supposed to be lost. The names only of many Tamiḷ works of the earlier period survive,

and many works must have been composed at a still earlier period of which even the names have been forgotten. Tamiḷ literature seems to have known no youth. Like Minerva, the goddess of learning amongst the Greeks, it seems to have sprung, full-grown and fully armed, from the head of Jupiter. The explanation of this is that every work pertaining to, or illustrative of, the youth of the language appears to have perished. Probably, however, a careful search made by educated Natives in houses and *maṭhas* would be rewarded by some valuable discoveries.

What an extensive and interesting field India presents for the comparative study of languages, and nowhere will ampler scope be found for this study than in the districts, directly or indirectly, under the Madras Government. The Dravidian family, which has its chief home in this Presidency, includes, according to the most recent enumeration, 14 languages and 30 dialects; in addition to which, Sanskṛit, Hindustani, and English claim attention. The comparative study of the languages of India has remained up to this time in the hands of Europeans, but it is a branch of study to which educated Natives might be expected to apply themselves with special zeal, and in which, if they applied themselves to it, I feel sure that they would attain to special excellence. The people of India have surpassed all other peoples, ancient or modern, in the earnestness and assiduity with which they have studied the grammars of their various tongues, and to this must be attributed the wonderful perfection several of those languages have reached as organs of thought, and much of the acuteness for which the Indian mind is famed. But the study of the languages of their country by Indian scholars has never become comparative, and, therefore, has never become scientific. It has fallen behind the scholarship of Europe in grasp and breadth, and consequently in fruitfulness in results. If, however, educated Natives resolved to apply themselves to a study so peculiarly suited to them, I consider it certain that excellent results would soon be realised. If they began to compare their vernaculars one with another, ancient forms with modern, and both with Sanskṛit, they would soon find that Language had a history of its own, throwing light on all other histories, and that instead of being the driest of subjects, it was one of the richest in matters of wide human interest. A further advantage of priceless value might also, it is to be hoped, be realised in time in the commencement and development of a good modern Vernacular Literature—a literature equal—if that were possible—to the ancient literature in beauty of form, and superior to it—which would be possible enough—in the value of its subject-matter.

BOOK NOTICES.

The Song of the Reed and other Pieces, by E. H. Palmer, Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic, Cambridge. (London: Trübner & Co.)

"The Song of the Reed" from the *Masnavi* is one of the shortest of the twenty-six pieces in this volume, of which twenty-one, occupying, with the notes on them, about two-thirds of the 200 pages of type in it, are from the Persian and Arabic. Among the poets from whom translations are made are Jelâlu'd-dîn Rûmî, Hâfiz, Auhadu'd-dîn Anvarî, Omar el Kheiyâm, 'Amâk, Hussein Vâiz Kâshifi, author of the Persian version of the Fables of Pilpai, Firdausi, 'Antărăh ibn Moâwiyeh ibn Sheddâd—a pre-Musalmanik poet, and others. Professor Palmer is a master of Arabic and Persian, and has a most thorough command of English versification, so that, whether strictly literal or not, he seizes the spirit of his original, and gives his readers a version that is racy and poetical. Here, for example, are the last two stanzas of the first poem:—

"Nature's great secret let me now rehearse—
Long have I pondered o'er the wondrous tale,
How Love immortal fills the universe,
Tarrying till mortals shall His presence hail;
But man, alas! hath interposed a veil,
And Love behind the lover's self doth hide.
Shall Love's great kindness prove of none avail?
When will ye cast the veil of sense aside,
Content in finding Love to lose all else beside?

"Love's radiance shineth round about our heads
As sportive sunbeams on the waters play;
Alas! we revel in the light He sheds
Without reflecting back a single ray.
The human soul, as reverend preachers say,
Is as a mirror to reflect God's grace;
Keep, then, its surface bright while yet ye may,
For on a mirror with a dusty face
The brightest object sheweth not the faintest trace."

And here is his version of *Tâza batâza nau banau*, generally attributed, though wrongly, to Hâfiz, and so often translated[1]:—

"O minstrel! sing thy lay divine,
Freshly fresh and newly new!
Bring me the heart-expanding wine,
Freshly fresh and newly new!

"Seated beside a maiden fair,
I gaze with a loving and raptured view,
And I sip her lip and caress her hair,
Freshly fresh and newly new!

[1] See *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 228, for Bicknell's version.

"Who of the fruit of life can share,
Yet scorn to drink of the grape's sweet dew?
Then drain a cup to thy mistress fair,
Freshly fresh and newly new!

"She who has stolen my heart away
Heightens her beauty's rosy hue,
Decketh herself in rich array,
Freshly fresh and newly new!

"Balmy breath of the Western gale,
Waft to her ears my love-song true;
Tell her poor love-lorn Hâfiz' tale,
Freshly fresh and newly new!"

The 'Original pieces' hardly lie in our line; they sparkle with wit and fun, and with all classes of readers will only add to the relish with which Professor Palmer's spirited little volume will be read and enjoyed by all who can obtain it.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST, Vol. I.: THE UPANISHADS translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Part i.—The *Khândogya*-Upanishad, the Talavakâra-Upanishad, the Aitareya Âranyaka, the Kaushîtaki-Brâhmana-Upanishad, and the Vâgasaneyi-Samhitâ-Upanishad. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879.)

We have now at length in three volumes (of which the first is that named above, and the others are on Indian laws by Dr. Bühler, and on Confucianism by Dr. Legge), the first instalment of a series of translations of Oriental works of which Prof. Max Müller announced the intended publication, under his own Editorship, in October 1876. The following are the names of the Indian books (excepting the Buddhistic ones) which are now mentioned in the general Preface. (pp. xlv, xlvi) as selected for translation and publication. These are the *Hymns of the Rig-veda*, the *Śatapatha-brâhmana*, the *Upanishads*, the *Grihya-sûtras* of Hiranyakeśin and others, the *Sûtras* of Âpastamba, Gautama, Baudhâyana, Vasishtha, Vishnu, &c. the *Laws* of Manu, Yâjñavalkya, &c. the *Bhagavad-gîtâ*, the *Vâyu-purâna*.

The translation of the Hymns of the *Rig-veda* is to be undertaken by the editor himself, who in his original program writes as follows (Pref. p. xliv):—"From among the Sacred Books of the Brahmans I hope to give a translation of the *Hymns of the Rig-veda*. While I shall continue my translation of selected hymns of that *Veda*, a *traduction raisonnée* which is intended for Sanskrit scholars only, on the same principles which I have followed in the first volume[1], explaining every word and sentence that seems to require elucidation, and carefully examining the opinions of previous commentators, both Native and European, I intend to contribute a freer translation of the hymns to this Series, with a few explanatory notes only, such as are absolutely necessary to enable readers who are unacquainted with Sanskrit to understand the thoughts of the Vedic poets."

This announcement is highly satisfactory. For, although all who read German can already refer to the two recent translations of Ludwig and Grassmann,—not to speak of the smaller collection of Geldner and Kaegi,—yet all these scholars differ in many renderings. Such as they are, Prof. Müller will have the benefit of their views on the sense of different passages, and we may hope that by the labours of so able and experienced a scholar as he is, the interpretation of the hymns will make a further step in advance.

The greater part of Prof. Max Müller's "Preface to the Sacred Books of the East," contained in this volume, is occupied with remarks upon three points; the first warns his readers that those "who have been led to believe that the *Vedas* of the ancient Brahmans, the *Avesta* of the Zoroastrians, the *Tripitaka* of the Buddhists, the *Kings* of Confucius, or the *Koran* of Mohammed are books full of primeval wisdom and religious enthusiasm, or at least of sound and simple moral teaching, will be disappointed on consulting these volumes," p. ix. "Scholars also who have devoted their life either to the editing of the original texts or to the careful interpretation of some of the sacred books, are more inclined, after they have disinterred from a heap of rubbish some solitary fragments of pure gold, to exhibit these treasures only than to display all the refuse from which they had to extract them." (p. x.) He afterwards goes on to say:—"The time has come when the study of the ancient religions of mankind must be approached in a different, in a less enthusiastic, and more discriminating, in fact, in a more scholarlike spirit." For although "the religions of antiquity must always be approached in a loving spirit," "true love does not ignore all faults and failings: on the contrary, it scans them keenly, though only in order to be able to understand, to explain, and thus to excuse them."

As these ancient sacred books have, besides what deserves our admiration, much that is of a different character, we must not, in order to form a just conception of their contents, be satisfied with extracts, but have before us complete and faithful translations of these books. "No one," the writer proceeds to say, "who collects and publishes such extracts can resist, no one at all events, so far as I know, has ever resisted, the temptation of giving what is beautiful, or it may

[1] *Rig-veda-sanhitâ, The Sacred Hymns of the Brahmans*, translated and explained by F. Max Müller. Vol. i.: *Hymns to the Maruts or the Storm-Gods.* London, 1869.

out what is strange and startling, and leaving out what is commonplace, tedious, or it may be repulsive, or, lastly, what is difficult to construe and to understand. We must face the problem in its completeness, ... how the Sacred Books of the East should, by the side of so much that is fresh, natural, simple, beautiful, and true, contain so much that is not only unmeaning, artificial, and silly, but even hideous and repellent." The paragraph in p. xliii. contains remarks to the same effect.

How is the presence of this worthless matter in these Sacred Books to be explained? Prof. Müller can account for it to a certain extent, though not entirely to his own satisfaction. His explanation is to the following effect:—In the early ages to which these Sacred Books belong, whatever was handed down from father to son soon received a sacred character. Some of these ancient sayings were preserved for their inherent value. Others might have derived their importance from the circumstances to which they owed their origin. Thus verses sung before a battle which issued in victory might often be invested with a charm independent of their poetic merit, would be repeated in memory of the victory, and when the event was forgotten, would survive as relics of the past: or words connected with a ceremonial, performed on the occasion of some calamity, which was attended by remarkable success, might often be preserved with superstitious awe, repeated on similar emergencies, and even if they had failed, still survive in recollection. Then the utterances of men who had attained a certain prestige, would often be valued beyond their merits, and the worthless handed down along with the valuable. Further, many words handed down may have been misunderstood, many sentences corrupted before they became fixed in tradition, and had assumed a form which could no longer be changed. Lastly, those who transmitted the treasures of ancient wisdom would often feel inclined to add what seemed likely to benefit themselves, and could only be preserved by being made to form part of a hallowed tradition. "The priestly influence was at work, even before there were priests by profession, and when the priesthood had once become professional, its influence may account for much that would otherwise seem inexplicable in the sacred codes of the ancient world."

"These are some of the considerations which may help to explain how, mixed up with real treasures of thought, we meet in the sacred books with so many passages and whole chapters which either never had any life or meaning at all, or if they had, have, in the form in which they have come down to us, completely lost it." After making every allowance for the different light in which things and thoughts appear to Eastern and Western eyes, Prof. Müller appeals to the best Oriental scholars "whether they think that" his "condemnation is too severe, or that Eastern nations themselves would tolerate, in any of their classical literary compositions, such violations of the simplest rules of taste as they have accustomed themselves to tolerate, if not to admire, in their sacred books."

Prof. Max Müller's second caution to the readers of these translations is that they are not to suppose that they have only to peruse them "in order to gain an insight into the nature and character of the religions of mankind." "Translations can do much, but they can never take the place of the originals, and if the originals require not only to be read, but to be read again and again, translations of sacred books require to be studied with much greater care, before we can hope to gain a real understanding of the intentions of their authors or venture on general assertions." After giving some instances of the danger of generalising even where we have complete translations of sacred books, he adds:—"It is far easier to misapprehend, or even totally to misunderstand, a translation than the original; and it should not be supposed, because a sentence or a whole chapter seems at first sight unintelligible in a translation, that therefore they are devoid of all meaning." The writer illustrates this by a reference to the mystic monosyllable *Om*, introduced at the beginning of the *Ohhândogya* (which he spells *Khândogya*) *Upanishad*. He says:—"Meditation on the syllable *Om* consisted in a long continued repetition of that syllable with a view of drawing the thoughts away from all other subjects, and thus concentrating them on some higher object of thought of which that syllable was to be made the symbol. This concentration of thought. . . . is something to us almost unknown. . . . . With the life we are leading now. . . . . it has become impossible, or almost impossible, ever to arrive at that intensity of thought which the Hindus meant by *ekâgratâ*, and the attainment of which was to them the indispensable condition of all philosophical and religious speculation. The loss may not be altogether on our side, yet a loss it is, and if we see the Hindus, even in their comparatively monotonous life, adopting all kinds of contrivances . . . to assist them in drawing away their thoughts from all disturbing impressions and to fix them on one object only, we must not be satisfied with smiling at their simplicity, but try to appreciate the object they had in view." When by repetition of *Om* a certain degree of mental tranquillity had

been attained, "the question arose what was meant by this *Om*, and to this . . . the most various answers were given, according as the mind was to be led up to higher and higher objects." In one place *Om* is said to be the beginning of the *Veda*, or of the *Sáma-veda*, so that he who meditates on *Om* may be supposed to meditate on the whole of the *Sáma-veda*. Then *Om* is said to be the essence of the *Sáma-veda*, which again may be called the essence of the *Ṛig-veda*. As the *Ṛig-veda* stands for all speech and the *Sáma-veda* for all breath of life, *Om* may be conceived as the symbol of these. "*Om* thus becomes the name not only of all our physical and mental powers, but especially of the living principle, the *Práṇa* or spirit." "He therefore who meditates on *Om*, meditates on the spirit in man as identical with the spirit in nature, or in the sun; and thus the lesson that is meant to be taught in the beginning of the *Khândogya* (*Chhándogya*) Upanishad is really this, that none of the *Vedas* with their sacrifices and ceremonies could ever secure the salvation of the worshipper, *i.e.* that sacred works, performed according to the rules of the Vedas, are of no avail in the end, but that meditation on *Om* alone, or that knowledge of what is meant by *Om* alone, can procure true salvation, or true immortality. Thus the pupil is led on step by step to what is the highest object of the *Upanishads*, viz. the recognition of the self in man as identical with the Highest Self or *Brahman*. The lessons which are to lead up to that highest conception of the universe, both subjective and objective, are no doubt mixed up with much that is superstitious and absurd; still the main object is never lost sight of." "This," the writer concludes his second caution by saying, "is but one instance to show that even behind the fantastic and whimsical phraseology of the sacred writings of the Hindus and other Eastern nations, there may be sometimes aspirations after truth which deserve careful consideration from the student of the psychological development and the historical growth of early religious thought, and that after careful sifting, treasures may be found in what at first we may feel inclined to throw away as utterly worthless." Pro. Max Müller's third caution is that we must not expect "that a translation of the sacred books of the ancients can ever be more than an approximation of our language to theirs, of our thoughts to theirs." "Those," he says, "who know French and German well enough, know how difficult, nay, how impossible it is, to render justice to certain touches of genius which the true artist knows how to give to a sentence. Many poets have translated Heine into English, or Tennyson into German . . . . But the greater the excellence of these translators, the more frank has been their avowal, that the original is beyond their reach. And what is a translation of modern German into modern English compared with a translation of ancient Sanskrit or Zend or Chinese into any modern language?"

"The translator, however," Prof. Müller proceeds, "if he has once gained the conviction that it is impossible to translate old thought into modern speech, without doing some violence either to the one or to the other, will . . . . prefer to do some violence to language rather than to misrepresent old thoughts by clothing them in words which do not fit them. If therefore the reader finds some of these translations rather rugged, if he meets with expressions which sound foreign. . . . . . let him feel sure that the translator has had to deal with a choice of evils, and that when the choice lay between sacrificing idiom and truth, he has chosen the smaller evil of the two." The writer then instances the word *âtman* in his own translation of the *Upanishads*. This word, when it occurs in philosophical treatises, has generally been rendered by "soul, mind, or spirit." He tried to use one or other of these words, "but the oftener" he "employed them, the more" he "felt their inadequacy, and was driven at last to adopt s e l f and S e l f as the least liable to misunderstanding." Further on he explains this: "If we translate â t m a n by s o u l, m i n d, or s p i r i t, we commit, first of all, that fundamental mistake of using words which may be predicated, in place of a word which is a subject only, aud can never become a predicate. We may say in English that a man possesses a soul, . . . is out of his mind, . . . has or even is . . . . a spirit, but we could never predicate *âtman*, or self, of anything else." Spirit, mind, and soul, in certain of their meanings, "may be predicated of the *âtman*, as it is manifested in the phenomenal world. But they are never subjects in the sense in which the *âtman* is; they have no independent being, apart from *âtman*." Prof. Max Müller then gives a specimen (fuller than where it appears in its place in p. 101) of his own mode of translating the *Chhândogya-Upanishad* vi., 8, 7: 'That which is the subtile essence (the *Sat*, the root of everything), in it all that exists has its self, or more literally, its self-hood. It is the True (not the Truth in the abstract, but that which truly and really exists). It is the Self, *i. e.* the *Sat* is what is called the Self of everything:' and then remarks: "No doubt this translation sounds strange to English ears, but as the thoughts contained in the Upanishads are strange, it would be wrong to smooth down their strangeness by clothing them in language familiar to us, which, because, it is familiar, will fail to startle us," and so "will

fail also to set us thinking." The Preface to the Sacred Books is followed (pp. lvii ff) by an Introduction to the *Upanishads*, which first relates the translation into Persian of the Upanishads by, or under the orders of, Dârâ Shukoh, eldest son of Shah Jehan; the translation of that version into Latin by Anquetil du Perron; and the careful study of this Latin translation by the German philosopher Schopenhauer, who, we are told, made no secret of the fact that "his own philosophy is powerfully impregnated by the fundamental doctrines of the *Upanishads*." Translated extracts from the works of that writer are given to show his appreciation of the *Upanishads*. An account is then given of the work of Rammohun Roy,[2] "the reformer and reviver of the ancient religion of the Brahmans. A man who in his youth could write a book 'Against the Idolatry of all Religions,' and who afterwards expressed in so many exact words his 'belief in the divine authority of Christ,'[3] was not likely to retain anything of the sacred literature of his own religion, unless he had perceived in it the same divine authority which he recognised in the teaching of Christ. He rejected the *Purânas*, he would not have been swayed in his convictions by the authority of the *Laws* of Manu, or even by the sacredness of the *Vedas*. . . . But he discovered in the *Upanishads* and in the so-called Vedânta something different from all the rest, something that ought not to be thrown away, something that, if rightly understood, might supply the right native soil in which alone the seeds of true religion, aye of true Christianity, might spring up again, and prosper in India, as they had once sprung up and prospered from out the philosophies of Origen or Synesius." "The death of that really great and good man," Prof. Max Müller adds, in page lxiv, during his stay in England in 1833, was one of the severest blows that have fallen on the prospects of India. But his work has not been in vain." The religious movements which have followed his death are then adverted to. After sections on the "Position of the *Upanishads* in Vedic Literature" (where Prof. Max Müller tells us that his own "real love for Sanskrit literature was first kindled by the *Upanishads*,") on the "Different Classes of *Upanishads*," on the "Critical treatment" of their text, and "Works on the *Upanishads*"—the titles of which I need not enumerate, the author furnishes us with introductory remarks on the *Chhândogya* and *Talavakâra Upanishads*, the *Aitareya Âranyaka*, the *Kaushîtaki-Brâhmana-Upanishad*, and the *Vâjasaneyi-Samhitâ Upanishad*, the translations of which, with notes, fill the rest of his volume. Of the Upanishads translated by Dr. Roer in the *Bibliotheca Indica* Vol. XV. (Nos. 41 and 50) (1853) the *Taittiriya*, *Svetâśvatara*, *Katha*, *Praśna*, *Mundakya*, and *Mândukya* are absent from this volume. Translations of these will, no doubt, sooner or later, be issued by Prof. Max Müller as part of his series. The *Brihad-âranyaka Upanishad*, also translated by Dr. Roer in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, (1856) forms part of the *Śatapatha-Brâhmana*, a translation of which forms part of Prof. Max Müller's program.

The well known ability and scholarship of the translator, as well his careful study of the subject, as evinced by the tenor of his remarks, which have been quoted in this paper, afford a sufficient guarantee for the general accuracy of his renderings, though in the case of such occasionally obscure and difficult works as the *Upanishads*, the opinions even of competent scholars cannot always be expected to coincide. That such diversity of opinion is to be looked for is remarked by Prof. Max Müller himself in his Introduction to the *Kaushîtaki Upanishad*, where he says of Prof. Cowell's translation of that tract; "I have had the great advantage of being able to consult for the *Kaushîtaki Upanishad*, not only the text and commentary as edited by Prof. Cowell, but also his excellent translation."

If I differ from him in some points, this is but natural, considering the character of the text and the many difficulties that have still to be solved, before we can hope to arrive at a full understanding of these ancient philosophical treaties.

I do not pretend to have examined Prof. Max Müller's translations; but I give a specimen from *Chhândogya-Upanishad* iii. 14, followed by the translation of the same passage by Dr. Râjendralâl Mittra in the *Bibliotheca Indica* for comparison:

Prof. Müller's version:

"1. All this is Brahman (*n*). Let a man meditate on that (visible world) as beginning, ending, and breathing[4] in it (the Brahman).

"Now man is a creature of will. According to what his will is in this world, so will he be when he has departed this life. Let him therefore have this will and belief:

2. "The intelligent, whose body is spirit, whose form is light, whose thoughts are true, whose nature is like ether (omnipresent and invisible), from whom all works, all desires, all sweet odours

[2] Born 1774, died at 2-30 A.M., on Friday, 28th September 1833.

[3] *Last Days of Rammohun Roy*, by Mary Carpenter, 1866, p. 135.

[4] Prof. Müller says in a note; "*jalân*" [the word rendered beginning, ending, and breathing] is explained by *ja*, born, *la*, absorbed, and *an* breathing. It is an artificial term, but fully recognized by the Vedânta School, and always explained in this manner.

and tastes proceed; he who embraces all this, who never speaks and is never surprised.

3. "He is myself within the heart, smaller than a corn of rice, smaller than a corn of barley, smaller than a mustard seed, smaller than a canary seed, or the kernel of a canary seed. He also is myself within the heart, greater than the earth, greater than the sky, greater than heaven, greater than all these worlds.

4. "He from whom all works, all desires, all sweet odours and tastes proceed, who embraces all this, who never speaks and is never surprised, he, myself within the heart, is that Brahman (*n*), when I shall have departed from hence, I shall obtain him (that self). He who has this faith[5] has no doubt; thus said Śâṇḍilya, yea, thus he said."

Dr. Rajendralâla's translation:

1. "All this verily is Brahma, for therefrom doth it proceed, therein doth it merge, and thereby is it maintained, with a quiet and controuled mind should it be adored. Man is a creature of reflection, whatever he reflects upon in this life, he becomes the same hereafter; therefore should he reflect [upon Brahma].

[Saying] "that which is nothing but mind, whose body is its life, whose figure is a mere glory, whose will is truth, whose soul is like space (*ākāśa*), which performeth all things and willeth all things, to whom belong all sweet odours and all grateful juices; which envelopes the whole of this [world], which neither speaketh nor respects anybody.

3. "Is the soul within me; it is lighter than a corn, or a barley, or a mustard, or a canary seed, or the substance within it. Such a soul is within me, as is greater than this earth, and greater than the sky and greater than the heaven, and greater than all these regions [put together].

4. "That which perfometh all things, and willeth all things, to which belong all sweet odours and all grateful juices, which envelopes the whole of this [world], which neither speaketh nor respecteth anybody, is the soul within me; it is Brahma; I shall obtain it after my transition from this world." He who believeth this and hath no hesitation will verily obtain the fruit of his reflection: so said Śâṇḍilya —[the sage] Śâṇḍilya.

It will be seen that, though differently worded, and with occasional differences of rendering, these versions essentially agree. At the very beginning Professor Max Müller seems inadvertently to have left the word *śânta* ("calm or tranquil in mind") untranslated before "meditate." The one version renders *kratumaya* by "a creature of will," the other by "a creature of reflection," and *kratuṁ kurvita*, immediately after, is translated by Max Müller "let him therefore have this will *and belief*[6];" by Râjendralâla by "therefore should he reflect [upon Brahma]." *Sankalpa* is rendered by the one, "thoughts," by the other, "will;" *anâdara* by the one, "*never surprised*," by the other, "nor respects anybody." I need not try to settle which of the two translators is right in each case. It may be worth while to mention that this passage occurs in a modified form in the *Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa*, x. 6, 3ff. which I translate:

1. "Let a man meditate on the true Brahma. Now this man is full of insight (*kratumaya*). Whatever amount of insight he possesses when he departs from this world, with the same he is born after death in the next world. 2. Let him meditate on the soul (or self), which is instinct with mind, has breath for its body, has a luminous form, has the nature of the ether, changes its form at will, has the fleetness of thought, forms true designs, has true determination, possesses all odours and all flavours, extends in all directions, pervades this universe, is speechless, indifferent. Like a grain of rice, or barley, or *śyâmâka*, or its seed, so in the inner soul (or self) is this golden man,—like a smokeless light, and greater than the heaven, greater than the ether, greater than the earth, greater than all being. This is the soul (or self) of life (breath), this is my soul (or self). After death I shall enter into this soul (or self). He who so believes is freed from doubt." J. MUIR.

PROLEGOMENA zu des VASANTARÂJA ÇÂKUNA nebst Textproben, von Eugen Hultzsch, Dr. Phil. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1879 (88 pp. 8vo.)

Though omens and auguries have from time immemorial played a conspicuous part in Indian folklore, a comprehensive treatise on the subject, based on a careful collection of the attainable facts in all parts of India and in all strata of the population, is still a desideratum. Incidental notices of particular superstitions connected with omens are indeed scattered in a great number of books, but they have never yet been brought under one focus. Valuable materials, from older Sanskrit sources, toward a scientific treatment of the question, are supplied by Dr. Hultzsch in his *Prolegomena* to *Vasantarâja's Çâkuna*. In the introductory chapters the author gives an account of the earlier Sanskrit literature bearing on omens and auguries, from the respective passages in the *Adbhuta brâh-*

[5] "Or he who has faith and no doubt, will obtain this."

[6] If "will" was a proper and adequate translation of *kratu* in what precedes, was it necessary to add to it "and belief," when it next occurs?

maṇa and *Kauśikasûtra* (edited and translated by Weber) down to the 12th or 13th century, to which he assigns Vasantarâja: and the last fifty pages he devotes to a conspection of the work, with copious extracts and critical and explanatory notes. At pp. 22 to 25 he dwells in great detail and with much emphasis on the high degree of indebtedness of his author to the *Gargasanhitâ*, and expresses a hope that Prof. Kern or some other competent Sanskṛit scholar may be induced to make that important work generally accessible. As MS. copies of it are very rare, both in India and Europe, we take this opportunity to invite the attention of our readers to any aid which they may be able to give, and to mention that, in addition to the "three MSS. known to exist in European libraries," there is a portion of the *Sahitâ* in the Whish collection of the Royal Asiatic Society. R. R.

Prâkṛtica von Siegfried Goldschmidt, (Strassburg, K. T. Trübner, 1879. (32 pp. 8vo).

Professor S. Goldschmidt of Strasburg has for some years been engaged upon an edition and translation, with critical apparatus and indices of the Prakṛit epic *Setubandha*. On the eve of its publication, he discusses in two successive papers—the first in the *Zeitschrift* of the German As. Soc., vol. XXXII. p. 99 ff., and the second in a separate pamphlet entitled *Prâkṛitica*,—a number of difficult Prakṛit words, such as *vahutta, parinta, thakkaï, khuppaï, choha* occurring in that work. Judging by the philological acumen which he has displayed in these and in previous essays, we may look forward to a carefully constituted text at his hands. Those who resort to Prakṛit for aid in tracing the origin of words and forms in the North-Indian vernaculars should well study the recent contributions to Prakṛit philology by Professors Goldschmidt and Pischel, not only with a view to their main results, but more especially as to the strictly scientific method by which those results have been arrived at. R. R.

The Light of Asia, or the Great Renunciation (Mahâbhinishkramana), being the Life and Teaching of Gautama, Prince of India and Founder of Buddhism (as told in verse by an Indian Buddhist). By Edwin Arnold, M.A., F.R.G.S., &c. (12mo, pp. 238). London: Trübner & Co. 1879.

Except for a line on the title page, and an expression to the like effect in the preface, one might be led to conclude from this long poem in eight books and of over 4,000 lines, that the author's own creed was summed up in its concluding verses printed in capitals:—

"Ah! Blessed Lord! Oh, High Deliverer!
Forgive this feeble script, which doth thee wrong,
Measuring with little wit thy lofty Love.
Ah! Lover! Brother! Guide! Lamp of the Law!
I take my refuge in thy name and thee!
I take my refuge in thy Law of Good!
I take my refuge in thy Order! *OM!*
The Dew is on the lotus! Rise, Great Sun!
And lift my leaf and mix me with the wave.
Om mani padme hum, the Sunrise comes!
The Dewdrop slips into the shining Sea!"

Elsewhere (p. 209) he again apologises for his deficiencies in these lines:—

"I cannot tell
A small part of the splendid lore which broke
From Buddha's lips: I am a late-come scribe
Who love the Master and his love of men,
And tell this legend, knowing he was wise,
But have not wit to speak beyond the books!
And time hath blurred their script and ancient sense,
Which once was new and mighty, moving all."

And we think it would have been well had Mr. Arnold stuck a little more closely to "the books," for wherever he has ventured to depart from them, he has erred: thus, even in describing the palace of Prince Siddârtha (pp. 43, 44), he says,—

"Its beams were carved with stories of old time—
Radha and Krishna and the sylvan girls—
Sita and Hanuman and Draupadi;
And on the middle porch God Ganesha,
With disc and hook—to bring wisdom and wealth—
Propitious sate, wreathing his sidelong trunk."

This is a gross anachronism,—none of these mythological personages figure in the early Bauddha literature, nor had the cry of "Râma, Râma" (p. 76) then come into use at funerals.

The author exhibits an extravagant admiration for the founder of Buddhism, and has traced with no small degree of literary skill, in a poem of much grace and beauty, the legend of his earlier history, asceticism, attainment of Buddhahood, teaching and return to Kapilavastu, with the conversion of his wife Yaśôdharâ.—The other wives, Gôtamî and Manôdara or Utpalavarṇâ, are not alluded to. But Mr. Arnold is not particular in colouring his story according to the purely oriental and original pictures: he passes it through the filter of his own taste, and tints it with tones borrowed both from Christian teaching and mysticism: and the reader is struck with this even in verbal expressions, such as:—

"he told the *things which make*
For peace and pureness" (p. 204; conf. *James* iii. 18, 1 *Tim*. ii. 22, *Heb*. xii. 14.)

"—While our Lord taught, and, while he taught, *who heard—*
Though he were stranger in the land, or slave,

High caste or low, come of the Aryan blood,
Or Mlech or Jungle-dweller—*seemed to hear*
What tongue his fellows taught." (p. 210; conf. *Acts* ii. 8).

And—

"More is the treasure of the Law than gems;
Sweeter than comb its sweetness;"—(p. 232; *Psalm* xix. 10: cxix. 103.)

And look at this mercantile calculation of ultimate profits, based on self-sufficiency and pride of birth, put into the mouth of Buddha before he leaves his palace: for the "stupendous conquest of humanity," which is ascribed to him, had really, in his own view, no higher object than the cowardly one of escaping old age, sickness, and death, by escaping that future existence which he believed in as an evil, and taught men was the chief evil to be delivered from by passing
"Unto *Nirvâṇa* where the Silence lives."—

"If one not worn and wrinkled, sadly sage,
But joyous in the glory and the grace
That mix with evils here, and free to choose
Earth's loveliest at his will: one even as I,
Who ache not, lack not, grieve not, save with griefs
Which are not mine, except as I am man;—
If such a one, having so much to give,
Gave all, laying it down for love of men, ..."
"Surely at last, far off, sometime, somewhere,
The veil would lift for his deep-searching eyes,
The road would open for his painful feet,
That should be won for which he lost the world
And Death might find him conqueror of death.[1]"
(p. 98.)

We have a very fair representation of the *Mahâbhinishkramana Sûtra* as Buddhists themselves regard it in Beal's *Romantic Legend*,[2] and we think Mr. Arnold might have done well to have studied to represent it as they do, and not to trick it out with a few borrowed feathers, and tell us this is how "an Indian Buddhist" represents his religious teacher. Buddha was "certainly one of the heroes of humanity"—perhaps one of its greatest; but he fell far short of perfection, and those who wrote the legends of him had probably a less idea than himself how far short he came: it does not surely serve the interests of truth then to hide out of sight the errors of his system, and to supplement his defects or dress his tenets in Christian forms and nineteenth-century aspirations. This can only lead to misconception or breed distrust.

Mr. Arnold's oriental acquirements do not seem high, if we may judge from his using *chuddah* (p. 87) for *chddar* or *chaddar*, *tilka* (p. 27) for *tilaka*, *palsal* (p. 4) for *paláśa* (Butea frondosa), *Swerga* (p. 152) for *Swarga*, *Vishramvan* (p. 42) for *Vaiśravaṇa* (Kuvera), and *Sujâta* (p. 145), *Yasôdhara*, &c. as feminines,—if diacritical marks are used at all, it would be well to employ them systematically. Then we have *Himalay* and *Himâla* used as he finds his verse requires—not the verse moulded with master-hand to suit the word.

The book however, if of no scientific value, is pleasant reading, and we may add to the specimens already given the following three:—1st, the well-known utterance of Buddha on rising from under the Bodhi-tree, thus rendered (p. 178):—

"Many a House of Life
Hath held me—seeking ever Him who wrought
These prisons of the senses, sorrow-fraught;
Sore was my ceaseless strife!
But now,
Thou Builder of this Tabernacle—Thou!
I know Thee! Never shall thou build again
These walls of pain,
Nor raise the roof-tree of deceits, nor lay
Fresh rafters on the clay;
Broken thy house is, and the ridge-pole split!
Delusion fashioned it!
Safe pass I thence—deliverance to obtain."

2nd, The Bauddha creed,—

Yé dhammâ hêtuppabhavâ
Têsan hêtun Tathâgatô
Aha têsancha yô nirôdhô
Evan vâdi mahâ Samanô (p. 189),—

"What life's course and cause sustain
These Tathâgato made plain;
What delivers from life's woe
That our Lord hath made us know."

"Evil swells the debts to pay,
Good delivers and acquits;
Shun evil, follow good; hold sway
Over thyself. This is the Way."

3rd, The *Five Rules* are thus versified;—

"Kill not— for Pity's sake—and lest ye slay
The meanest thing upon its upward way.

Give freely and receive, but take from none
By greed, or force of fraud, what is his own.

Bear not false witness, slander not, nor lie;
Truth is the speech of inward purity.

Shun drugs and drinks which work the wit abuse;
Clear minds, clean bodies, need no Sôma juice.

Touch not thy neighbour's wife, neither commit
Sins of the flesh unlawful and unfit."

[1] With this line conf. 1 *Cor.* xv. 54 ff; *Hosea* xiii. 14; *Isaiah* xxv. 8; *Acts* ii. 24; *Rev.* i. 18; 2 *Tim.* i. 10; &c.

[2] *The Romantic Legend of Sâkya Buddha; from the Chinese-Sanskrit.* By Samuel Beal. London: Trübner & Co. 1875.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from p. 283.)

No. LX.

AMONG the copper-plates belonging to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, is a spurious Valabhi grant of Dharasêna II. dated Śaka 400 (A. D. 478-9)[1],—and also a Valabhi grant of Dharasêna II., dated in the Valabhi year 252: the latter I now publish, from the original plates, with a facsimile.

The grant consists of two plates, each about 11¼" long by 7¼" broad. As will be seen from the facsimile, they are in a state of very excellent preservation. The edges of the plates are raised into rims to protect the writing. The right-hand ring, which was probably only a plain copper ring, has been lost. The left-hand ring has not been cut; but at some time or other slits have been made in the plates so that it can slide out. It is of irregular shape, and about ⅜" thick. The seal on it is roughly oval, about 2" by 1⅝", and has, in relief on a countersunk surface, a seated bull facing to the proper right, and below it the motto *Śrî-Bhaṭakka*,—for *Śrî-Bhaṭârka*. I have no information as to where these plates were found.

This inscription gives the usual genealogy from Bhaṭârka down to Dharasêna II., and then records grants made by him, on the fifteenth day of the dark fortnight of Vaiśâkha of the Valabhi year 252, at the villages of Madasaras, Vîraputra, Pṛithaputra, and Îśvaradêvasênaka.

Except in respect of the details of the grant, this inscription is of almost exactly the same purport as that published by Dr. Bühler at Vol. VII., p. 68; but the text is written somewhat more carefully. As in the case of that inscription, the officer in whose office it was written is the minister for peace and war, Skandabhaṭa,—and the *Dûtaka* is Chirbira. The details of the date are precisely the same in both grants.

It is frequently the case that the letters engraved on the inner sides of the first and last plates of a grant show through more or less distinctly in reverse on the outer sides of the same plates. In the present case the plates are of a fair average thickness, but the letters are rather unusually deep and show through in such strong relief on the backs of the plates that many of them can even be read there in reverse. It will also be seen in the facsimile that the different component parts of one and the same character are frequently far more detached than is usually the case. On these grounds, it was my opinion at first that this grant, instead of being engraved by hand with an engraving tool, must have been stamped. This opinion was fully endorsed by the experienced lithographer by whom the facsimile was made. But there is not a sufficient similarity in the repeated forms of one and the same letter, for those letters to have been impressed from a raised die cut in reverse, even though two or three different dies of each letter might have been used. And a closer inspection made it clear that most of the curved strokes show distinctly marks of the working round of a tool worked by hand; this may be seen, for instance, very clearly in the facsimile in the *r* of *pra*, three times, in l. 5,—and in the *i* of *śrî*, twice, in l. 7,—the result of these toolmarks being a succession of blurs on the outer edges of the curves. Some facsimiles that I shall publish hereafter will illustrate this point still more markedly. I have therefore had to abandon my original opinion, which was virtually that this was a printed grant. But the lithographer still considers that no characters worked by hand, however hot the plates may have been made, could show through on the backs of the plates so distinctly as the characters of this inscription; and, while accepting what I have pointed out in respect of the curved strokes, he still maintains that the heads of the letters, and many other of the straight strokes, were probably stamped with raised dies of different patterns.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] Svasti Valabhi(bhî)taḥ prasabha-praṇat-âmitrâṇâṁ Maitrakâṇâm=atula-bala-sa(saṁ)panna-maṇḍal-âbhôga-saṁsakta-saṁprahâra-śata-la-

[1] Mentioned by Dr. Bhau Dâjî at *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. VIII., p. 244; and by Dr. Bühler at *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII., p. 68.

[2] bdha-pratâpaḥ pratâpaḥ[2] pratâp-ôpanata-dâna-mân-ârjjav-ôpârjjit-ânurâg-ô(â)nurakta-maula-bhṛita-mitra-śrêṇî-bal-âvâpta-râjya-

[3] śrih(śrîḥ) parama-ma(mâ)hêśvaraḥ Śri(śrî)-sênâpati-Bhaṭârkkas=tasya sutas=tat-pâda-rajô-ruṇ-âvanata-pavitri(trî)kṛita-śirâḥ śirô-vanata-

[4] śatru-chûḍâmaṇi-prabhâ-vichchhurita-pâda-nakha-paṁkti-di(dî)dhitir=ddi(ddî)n-ânâtha-kṛipaṇa-jan-ôpaji(jî)vyamâna-vibhavaḥ parama-mâhêśvaraḥ

[5] Śri(śrî)-sênâpati-Dharasênas=tasy=a(â)nujas=tat-pâd-âbhipraṇâma-praśastatara-vimala-mauli-(liḥ) Manv-âdi-praṇi(ṇî)ta-vidhi-vidhâna-dharmmâ

[6] Dharmmarâja iva vidita-vinaya-vyavasthâ-paddhatir=akhila-bhuvana-maṇḍal-âbhôg-aika-svâminâ parama-svâminâ svaya-

[7] m=upahita-râjy-âbhishêkaḥ mahâ-viśrâṇan-âvapûta-râja(jya)-śrîḥ parama-mâhêśvaraḥ Śrî-mahârâja-Drôṇasiṁhaḥ siṁha iva

[8] tasy=ânujaḥ sva-bhuja-bala-parâkramêṇa para-gaja-ghaṭ-âni(nî)kânâm=êka-vijayi(yî) śaraṇ-aishiṇâṁ śaraṇam=avabôddhâ

[9] śâstr-ârttha-tattvânâṁ kalpatarur=iva suhṛit-praṇayinâṁ yaṭh-âbhilashita-phal-ôpabhôga-daḥ parama-bhâgavataḥ Śrî-mahârâja-

[10] Dhruvasênas=tasy=ânujas=tach-charaṇ-âravinda-praṇati-pravidhaut-âśêsha-kalmashaḥ su-viśuddha-sva-charit-ôdaka-kshâlita-sakala-

[11] Kali-kalaṁkaḥ prasabha-nirjjit-ârâti-paksha-prathita-mahimi(mâ) param-âdityata(bha)ktaḥ[3] Śrî-mahârâja-Dharapaṭṭaḥ tasy=âtmajas=tat-pâda-saparyy-âvâpta-

[12] puṇy-ôdayaḥ śaiśavât=prabhṛiti khaḍga-dviti(tî)ya-bâhur=êva samada-para-gaja-ghaṭ-âsphôṭana-prakâśita-satva-nikashaḥ tat-prabhâva-praṇat-ârâti-

[13] chûḍâratna-prabhâ-saṁsakta-sakhya(vya)-pa(pâ)da-nakha-raśmi-saṁhatiḥ sakala-smṛiti-praṇi(ṇî)ta-mârgga-samyak-paripâlana-prajâ-hṛidaya-raṁjanâd=anva-

[14] rttha-râja-śabdô ru(rû)pa-kânti-sthairyya-gâṁbhi(bhî)ryya-buddhi-saṁpadbhiḥ Smara-Śaśâṅk-Âdrirâj-ôdadhi-Tridaśaguru-Dhanêśân=atiśayânaḥ

[15] śaraṇ-âgat-âbhaya-pradâna-paratayâ triṇa-vad=apâst-âśêpa(sha)-svakâryya-phalaḥ prârtthan-âdhik-ârttha-pradân-ânandita-

[16] vidvat-suhṛit-praṇayi-hṛidayaḥ pâdachâr=i(î)va sakâ(ka)la-bhuvana-mah-âbhôga-pramôdaḥ parama-mâhêśvaraḥ Śri(śrî)-mahâra(râ)ja-

[17] Guhasênaḥ tasya sutaḥ tat-pâda-nakha-mayûkha-santa(ntâ)na-nirvṛitta[4]-Jâhnavi(vî)-jal-augha-vikshâlit-âśêsha-kalmashaḥ

[18] praṇayi-śata-sahasr-ôpajîvya[mâna*]-bhôga-saṁpat[5](pad-) ru(-rû)pa-lôbhâd=iv=âśritaḥ sarasam=âbhigâmikair=gguṇaiḥ

Second plate.

[19] sahaja-śakti-śikshâ-viśêsha-vismâpit-âkhila-dhanurddharaḥ prathama-narapati-samati-srishṭa(shṭâ)nâm=anupâlayitâ dhammya(rmma)-dâ-

[20] yânâm=apâkartta(rttâ) praj-ôpaghâta-kâriṇâm=upaplavânâṁ darśayitâ Śri(śrî)-Sarasvatyôr=êk-âdhivâsasya saṁhat-ârâti-

[21] paksha-lakshmi(kshmî)-parikshôbha-daksha-vikramaḥ kram-ôpasaṁprâpta-vimala-pârtthiva-śriḥ(śrîḥ) parama-mâhêśvarô mahârâja-Śrî-Dharasênaḥ=kuśali(lî)

[22] sarvvân=êv=âyuktaka-viniyuktaka-drâṅgika-mahattara-châṭa-bhaṭa-śaulkika-châṭa-bhaṭ-[6] âdi(dî)n=anyâṁś=cha yathâ-saṁbadhyamânakâ-

[23] n=samâjñâpayaty=astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ mayâ mâtâ-pitrôḥ puṇy-âpyâyanây=âtmanaś=ch=aihik-âmushmika-yathâbhilashita-phal-âvâptayê Madasara-

[2] This word is repeated unnecessarily.

[3] Here, and in ll. 13, 16, and 17, the *Visarga* is represented by an upright line, resembling a mark of punctuation,—instead of by two dots, as throughout the rest of the inscription. From its occurring three times, it seems to be really a form of the *Visarga*, and not merely a mistake of the engraver. It does not occur in the grant at Vol. VII., p. 68.

[4] In l. 15 of the grant at Vol. VII., p. 68, the reading is either *nisṛita*, by mistake for *nirvṛitta*, which we have here, and which is undoubtedly the correct reading,—or *nisṛita*, by mistake for *niḥsṛita*. Dr. Bühler's printed reading of *nirpṛita* must be a printer's error, for probably *nisṛita*, as he suggests *visṛita* in the footnotes.

[5] Here, and in ll. 24 and 33, we have a final form of *t*, written in rather an unusual way below the preceding syllable. In l. 16 of the grant at Vol. VII., p. 68, we have the more usual final form of *t*, and it is written in the usual place.

[6] This repetition of *châṭa-bhaṭa* is apparently unnecessary.

VALABHI GRANT OF DHARASENA II. — THE VALABHI YEAR 252.

J. F. FLEET, BO. C. S.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH. LONDON, S. E.

I

PLATES FULL-SIZE; SEAL REDUCED ONE-HALF

[24] si dakshiṇa-si(sî)mni pâdâvarttâ(rttâḥ) ppa(paṁ)châśat tathâ Vîraputrê uttara-si(sî)mni pâdâvarttâ(rttâḥ) shashṭi bahvṛicha-Kairâdi-sagôtra-brâhmaṇa-Ludra tasy=êdaṁ Pṛitha-

[25] putra I(i)śvaradêvasênakê apara-si(sî)mni pâdâvarttâ(rttâḥ) pañchâśatḥ[7] bahvṛicha-tathâ[8] Traivâlaṁbâyana-sagôtra-Dasilâya pâdâvarttâ aśi(śî)ti êta[t*]

[26] sôdraṅga-sôparikara-savâtabhu(bhû)tadhânyahiraṇyâdêyaṁ sôtpadyamânavishṭikaṁ samasta-râjakîyânâm=a-hasta-prakshê-

[27] paṇi(ṇî)yaṁ bhu(bhû)mi-chchhidra-nyâyên=aishâm=êva cha bali-charu-vaiśvadêv-agnihôtr-âtithi-paṁchamahâyâjñikânâṁ kriyâṇâṁ samutsa-

[28] rppaṇ-ârttham=â-chandr-ârkk-ârṇṇava-sarit-kshiti-sthiti-samakali(lî)naṁ putra-pautr-ânvaya-bhôgyaṁ udaka-sarggêṇa brahma-dêyaṁ nisṛishṭaṁ

[29] yatô=s(sy)=ôchitayâ brahmadêya-sthityâ bhuṁjatâṁ kṛishataṁ(tâṁ) karshayatâṁ pradiśatâṁ vâ na kênachit=pratishêdhê varttitavyam=â-

[30] gâmi-bhadra-nṛipatibhiś=ch=âsmad-vaṁśa-jair=a-nityâny=aiśvaryyâṇy=a-sthiraṁ ma(mâ)nush-yaṁ sâmânyaṁ cha bhûmi-dâna-phalam=avagachchhadbhiḥ

[31] ayam=asmad-dâyô=numatta(nta)vyaḥ paripâlayitavyaś=cha[9] yaśy(ś=ch)=ainam=âchchhiṁdyâd=âchchidyamânaṁ v=ânumôdêta sa paṁ-

[32] chabhir=mmahâpâtakaiḥ sôpapâtakaiḥ saṁyuktaḥ[10] syâd=ity=uktaṁ cha bhagavatâ vêda-vyâsêna Vyâsênaḥ(na) [|*] Shashṭiṁ varsha-saha-

[33] srâṇi | svarggê tishṭhati bhûmi-daḥ âchchêttâ ch=ânumatta(ntâ) cha | tâny=a(ê)va narakê vasêt || Pûrvva-dattâṁ dvija(jâ)tibhyô yatnâ-

[34] d=raksha Yudhishṭhira | mahi(hîṁ) mahi(hî)mataṁ śrêshṭha dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâlanam || Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ | râjabhi(bhiḥ) Sagar-âdibhiḥ

[35] yasya yasya yadâ bhu(bhû)miḥ tasya tasya tadâ phalam=iti || Likhitaṁ sandhi-vigrah-âdhikṛita-Skandabhaṭêna || Saṁ 252 Vaiśâkha-ba 15[11] [||*]

[36] Sva-hastô mama mahârâja-Śrî-Dharasênasya [||*] Dû[12] Chirbbiraḥ[13] [||*]

Translation.

Hail! From (*the city of*) Valabhî[14]:—(*In the lineage*) of the Maitrakas, who by force compelled their enemies to bow down before them, there was the *Sênâpati*[15] Śrî-Bhaṭârka,—who was possessed of glory acquired in a hundred battles fought within the circuit of the territories that he had obtained by means of his unequalled strength; who possessed the glory of sovereignty that had been acquired (*for him*) by the multitude of his hereditary followers and his friends who had been brought under subjection by his splendour, and were attached to him by affection, induced by the gifts (*which he gave them*) and the honour (*which he conferred on them*) and his uprightness; and who was a devout worshipper of (*the god*) Mahêśvara.

(L. 3.)—His son, whose head was purified by being made red with the dust of his feet when it was bowed down before him, was the *Sênâpati* Śrî-Dharasêna;—who had the brilliancy of the nails of his feet inlaid with the lustre of the jewels in the diadems of his enemies who bowed down their heads before him; whose wealth became the sustenance of the indigent and the helpless and the miserable; and who was a devout worshipper of Mahêśvara.

(L. 5.)—His son, whose spotless diadem was made more glorious (*than before*) by the performance of obeisance at his feet, was the Great King Śrî-Drôṇasiṁha, like to a lion;—who, like Dharmarâja, took as his law the rules and ordinances instituted by Manu and other (*sages*); who was acquainted with the treatises relating to the condition of good behaviour; whose installation in the sovereignty was conferred upon him by the paramount

[7] The *Visarga* is superfluous.

[8] This word, *tathâ*, ought to have preceded *bahvṛicha*. A reference to the facsimile will show that the engraver at first left out either *tathâ* or *bahvṛicha*, and then inserted the omitted word in the wrong place.

[9] First *śchai* was engraved, and then the *ai* was sufficiently cancelled not to appear in the facsimile, though it can be seen in the original.

[10] This *Visarga* is imperfect in the original, the lower part being omitted.

[11] *Vaiśâkha-ba*, and 15, are, in the original, by themselves at the end of l. 36; but this is the place that they properly belong to.

[12] *Sc. dûtakaḥ*.

[13] In l. 36 of the grant at Vol. VII. p. 68, the reading seems to be *Chibbira*[*ḥ**]; but the second syllable is not very clearly engraved there, and may perhaps be meant for *rbbi*, which it certainly is in the present grant.

[14] The context is *mahârâja-Śrî-Dharasênaḥ=kuśalî sarvvân=êva* (l. 22) * * * *samâjñâpayati* (l. 23). All the intervening matter is by way of a parenthesis.

[15] "Chief of the army; general."

master in person, the sole lord of the circumference of the territory of the whole world; the glory of whose sovereignty was purified by his great liberality; and who was a devout worshipper of Mahêśvara.

(L. 8.)—His younger brother[16] was the Great King Śrî-Dhruvasêna,—who was the sole conqueror of the multitude of the troops of his enemies by means of the prowess of the strength of his own arm; who was the protector of those that sought for protection; who was aware of the real meaning of the sacred writings: who was, as it were, a tree of paradise, in granting the enjoyment of the fruits of all the wishes of his friends and favourites; and who was a devout worshipper of (*the god*) Bhagavân.

(L. 10.)—His younger brother, whose sin was all removed by the act of performing obeisance to the waterlilies which were his feet, was the Great King Śrî-Dharapaṭṭa;—by the water of whose very pure actions all the stains of the Kali age were washed away; who forcibly conquered the renowned greatness of the ranks of his enemies; and who was a devout worshipper of the sun.

(L. 11.)—His son, who acquired much religious merit by worshipping his feet, was the Great King, Śrî-Guhasêna;—whose sword was a second arm to him from his childhood upwards[17]; the test of whose strength was manifested by slaying the troops of infuriated elephants of his foes; who had the rays of the nails of his left foot interspersed with the lustre of the jewels in the diadems of his enemies who were bowed down before him by his might; whose title of 'king' was one the meaning of which was obvious and suitable, because he pleased the hearts of his subjects by properly adhering to the path prescribed by all the traditional laws; who surpassed Smara in beauty, the moon in lustre, the king of mountains in stability, the ocean in profundity, the preceptor of the gods in intellect, and Dhanêśa in wealth; who, through being intent upon giving safety to those that came to him for protection, threw away all the results of his own actions as if they were (*as worthless as*) grass; who delighted the hearts of the learned and of his friends and favourites by giving more than they asked for; who, as if he were the sun[18], was the delight of the great circumference of the whole world; and who was a devout worshipper of Mahêśvara.

(L. 17.)—His son, whose sins were all washed away by the stream of the waters of (*the river*) Jâhnavî which was made up of the spreading rays of the nails of his feet, the Great King Śrî-Dharasêna,—who is with rapture inhabited by appropriate virtues as if through envy of his possessions and his riches and his beauty, which are the sustenance of a hundred thousand favourites; who astonishes all archers by the speciality of his innate strength and of his acquisition of skill by training; who is the preserver of religious grants bestowed with the consent of former kings; who drives away calamities which afflict his subjects; who is the exponent of (*the condition of being*) the sole (*joint*) habitation of (*the goddesses*) Śrî and Sarasvatî; whose might is skilful in causing annoyance to the goddess of the fortunes of the ranks of the enemies who are slain by him; whose spotless kingly glory was acquired by hereditary succession; and who is a devout worshipper of Mahêśvara,—being in good health, issues his commands to all the *Âyuktakas*, the *Viniyuktakas*, the *Drâṅgikas*, the *Mahattaras*; the irregular and regular troops, the *Śaulkikas*, the irregular and regular troops[19], &c., and others who are concerned:—

(L. 23.)—"Be it known to you! To increase the religious merit of my parents, and to attain such a reward as I myself desire in this world and in the other world,—there is given by me, with libations of water, as a *brahmadêya*[20], —in (*the village of*) Madasaras, in the

[16] No expression is used here, as it is in the preceding and following cases, to imply that Dhruvasêna was subordinate to Drôṇasiṁha. This omission, coupled with the expression *sva-bhuja-bala-parâkramêna &c.*, looks somewhat as if Dhruvasêna rose up in rebellion against Drônasiṁha, and usurped the kingdom instead of inheriting it.

[17] *Khaḍga-dvitîya-bâhuḥ* might, I think, also be translated by 'who carried a sword with his second arm', *i.e.* 'who could wield a sword with both arms at the same time.'

[18] *Pâdachârî*. The same passage occurs in the Valabhî grants published by Rao Saheb V. N. Mandalik at *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XI., p. 331, and is there translated by "who, like the traveller who walks, delights in the expanse of the whole circle of the universe." *Pâda-chârin*, 'going or walking on foot, fighting on foot; a pedestrian, a foot-soldier', may be translated by 'traveller'; but the meaning thus given to the passage is not a very intelligible one. On the other hand, one of the meanings of *pâdachâra* is 'the daily position of the planets'; whence *pâdachârin* (*pada-châra + in*) would mean 'a planet,' and the sun is the principal planet according to the Hindu astronomy. And, if we translate *pâdachârî* by 'sun,' the passage gives at once a suitable meaning.

[19] See note 6 above.

[20] *Brahmadêya*, 'that which is proper for a gift to a Brâhmaṇ'. The more usual word is *brahmadâya*, 'the inheritance, or portion, of a Brâhmaṇ.'

southern boundary, fifty *pâdâvartas*[21] (*of land*), and in (*the village of*) Vîraputra, in the northern boundary, sixty *pâdâvartas* (*of land*) to the Brâhman Ludra, of the Kairâdi *gôtra* and the Bahvṛicha *śâkhâ*; and in (*the villages of*) Prithaputra and Îśvaradêvasênaka, in the western boundary, fifty *pâdâvartas* (*of land*) (*to the same man*), and also (*in the latter two villages*) eighty *pâdâvartas* (*of land*) to Dasila, of the Traivâlambâyana *gôtra* and the Bahvṛicha *śâkhâ*, —with the *udraṅga*, the *uparikara*, the *vâta*, the *bhûta*, the *dhânya*, the *hiraṇya*, and the *adêya*; with the (*right to*) forced labour, as it arises; and not to be pointed at with the hand (*of confiscation*) by any of the king's people; and according to the law of *bhûmi-chchhidra*; and for the purpose of the performance by them of the rites of the *bali* and the *charu* and the *vaiśvadêva* and the *agnihôtra* and the *atithi* and the *pañchamahâyajña*; and to endure as long as the moon and the sun and the ocean and the rivers and the earth may last; and to be enjoyed by the succession of sons and sons' sons.

(L. 29.)—"Therefore no one is to behave so as to obstruct those who, in accordance with the established conditions of a *brahmadêya* which are applicable to this (*grant*), enjoy it, or cultivate it, or cause it to be cultivated, or assign it (*to others*). This Our gift should be assented to and preserved by future pious kings, born of our lineage, bearing in mind that riches do not endure for ever, and that the life of man is transitory, and that the reward of a gift of land is common (*to those who continue it*). He shall incur the guilt of the five great sins, together with the minor sins, who may confiscate this (*grant*) or assent to its confiscation!

(L. 32.)—"And it has been said by the holy Vyâsa, the arranger of the *Vêdas*:—The giver of land dwells for sixty thousand years in heaven; but the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to such confiscation*), shall dwell for the same time in hell! O Yudhishṭhira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been previously given to the twice-born; the preservation (*of a grant*) is better than making a grant! Land has been enjoyed by many kings commencing with Sagara; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the benefits of it!"

(*This charter*) has been written by Skandabhaṭa, the minister for peace and war. (*The date of it is*) the year 252; the fifteenth day of the dark fortnight of (*the month*) Vaiśâkha. This is the autograph of me, the Great King Śrî-Dharasêna. The *Dûtaka* is Chirbira.

[21] *Pâdâvarta*, 'a square foot.' The text reads as if the land given measured fifty square feet, which would be rather a small area. Possibly the meaning intended is 'a plot of land, fifty feet square.'

NOTES ON THE *KURRAL* OF THE TAMIL POET TIRUVALLUVAR.

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(*Continued from Vol. VII. p. 224.*)

No. II.

In my last paper I endeavoured to prepare the way for the study of this valuable monument of Tamil genius, I will now give an analysis of the work, and a translation of its first chapter.

The following is the analysis of the whole work:

It is divided into three parts [*pâl* = *pagal* 'division.' San. √ *bhag*]. These treat of the three great objects of human exertion: virtue, wealth and pleasure.

I. VIRTUE. (Chap. 1—38.)

The Tamil word is *arram* [co. Sans. *Ri* = *ar*; from whence *rita* and *riti*.] = S. *dharma*.

1. Preface. Chap. 1—4.

(1) On God. (2) Rain. (3) Ascetics. (4) The power of virtue.

2. Domestic virtue. Chap. 5—24.
3. Ascetic virtue. Chap. 25—37.
4. Destiny. Ch. 38.

II. WEALTH. (39—108.)

1. Of kings. (39—63.)
2. Of Government—accessories. (64—95).
3. Miscellaneous. (96—108.)

III. PLEASURE.

I. Clandestine love. (Ch. 109—115.)
II. Chastity. (Ch. 116—133.)

This analysis gives however a very imperfect

idea of the contents of the book; for the author, led by the desire of conforming to customary divisions, has brought together under these heads a series of ethical precepts on almost everything relating to human conduct, and forced them into an apparent conformity with his plan. I could almost imagine that having become enamoured of the *Kurraḷ* distich, he composed couplets on all the subjects that from time to time presented themselves to his mind, and at last threw them into this conventional form, adding a number of verses as 'padding'; for in almost every chapter there are inferior and superfluous couplets.

As an illustration of the three main divisions of the Kurraḷ, I may add that the *nannûl* (=" good treatise" : a standard Tamiḻ grammar) has the rule :

arram porul inbam vîḍ 'aḍaidal nûl payanê : " The benefit to be derived from the study of a treatise must be the obtaining of virtue, wealth, pleasure and heaven."

The poetess Avvai (=" the old woman"), whose real name is not known, and who is traditionally spoken of as a sister of Tiruvaḷḷuvar, was once asked for a definition of these four prime objects of human pursuit. Her reply was thrown into four very neat lines, of which the following is a rendering :

" Giving is 'virtue'; gathering together without evil is 'wealth'; the mutual affection of two consenting minds is 'pleasure;' the forsaking of these three in meditation upon God is the supreme bliss of 'heaven.' "

In the 26th ślôka of the *Hitôpadeśa* the same enumeration is given,—

Dharmmârtha kâma môkshâṇâm.

Our author has treated only of three of these: did he leave his work incomplete? Or, did he resolve to write only of the human side of his subject, leaving Vîḍu or *Moksha* as a subject too speculative for his genius?

Perhaps he was not satisfied with the glimpses he had obtained of man's future, and waited for light.

In chapters 35—37 there is something which seems like an approach to a consideration of the subject.

PART I. CHAPTER I.

It is a fundamental rule of Tamiḻ composition that the "praise of God" should stand first. The invocation must begin the book. Here the invocation has expanded into a chapter; being, in fact, not a mere conventional invocation, but a main topic of the work.

A summary of this chapter will give an idea of the method of the book :—

I. 1. God is first in the world.

II. 2. The end of learning is the worship of the only Wise.

[This also satisfies the condition that an author should state in the beginning the *benefit* to be gained by its study.]

III. The benefits of true devotion :

3. The devout worshipper shall enjoy prolonged felicity, in some higher sphere;

4. He shall be delivered from all evil;

5. He shall escape from the influence of human action, good and bad;

6. He shall enjoy prolonged felicity in this world.

IV. The evil results of ungodliness :

7. The undevout man has no relief from heart-sorrow;

8. He has no aid in the midst of the sea of evil;

9. His whole existence is null and void.

V. The devout and indevout contrasted :

10. These shall escape from endless transmigrations : those shall not.

11. *Agara' mudala eṛutt 'ellâm ; âdi*
pagavan mudaṭṭê ulagu.

Lit. trans. :

'All letters have *a* as their first; the world has as first the Eternal Adorable One.'

For the idea compare the *Bhagavadgîtâ* x. 33 : *aksharâṇâm a-kâro 'smi.*

'Inter elementa sum littera A.'

Tiruvaḷḷuvar needed not, therefore, to go beyond the *Bhagavadgîtâ* for this idea; nor is it quite in the style of a philosopher of the Sâṅkhya school.

The very name *pagavan* (= *bhagavân*) is suggestive. *Âdi* (S.) is used as an adj.= the eternal and adorable one. *Bhagavân* occurs in *Manu* I. 6. with *Swayambhu*, 'self-existent,' as its attribute.

Here *âdi* seems to imply the same.

It is not necessary to suppose any sectarian idea in the poet's use of the term.

Beschi's *numen primordiale* is Manu's *swayambhu-bhagavân* : with the difference made by the masculine termination.

The Personality of God is very distinctly brought out by the Tamiḻ poet.

Mudal [S. *mukha*] = first. The Tamiḻ idiom here is peculiar. To understand it, let us suppose that a noun, say *frost*, is made into a kind of participial adjective, *frosted*, ('the glass is frosted'). Suppose then that this word *frosted* is declined (like a Greek participle) sing. nom. neut. *frostedadu*; and pl. nom. neut. *frosteda*. Then, remember that Tamiḻ never inserts the mere copula: thus we have, *the glass is frosted* = glass frostedadu; *the glasses are frosted* = glasses frosteda. Thus a noun is partially conjugated as a verb, and at the same time declined as a noun, and used as a finite verb in the predicate. So here, *eṟutt 'ellâm mudala* = 'letters all are firsted;' *ulagu mudattu* = 'the world is firsted.' This makes Tamiḻ poetry very terse.

agara = 'the letter *a*.' In S. *kâra* (= action) is added to letters to form their names. In Tamiḻ this has been refined upon: a short letter shortens *kâra* into *kăra*; thus *ăgăra*; but *ágâra*. The Tamiḻ always changes a single tenuis into its appropriate media in the middle of a word thus, *kara* becomes *gara*.

ulagu, 'the world,' is a Tamiḻ form of S. *loka*.

1. No Tamiḻ word begins with *l* or *r*. Thus *ŭ* is prefixed.

2. *K* is changed to its tenuis.

3. Such nouns are made to end in Tamiḻ in *am* or *u*, which are neuter nominative case endings.

eṟuttu, 'letter.' Here final *u* is cut off before vowel *e* of following word; and the singular is used for the plural. [√*eṟud* = write, paint, draw. The Telugu root is *vrâ*. Kan. is *bare*. Tamiḻ has also √*vare*. Comp. A.S. *writ*.]

ell-âm 'all'. [comp. A. S. *eal*. whole.] I have already spoken of alliteration and initial rhyme as essentials of Tamiḻ verse.

It is curious that these characteristics of Scandinavian, Anglo-saxon, and even of English verse should be found in Tamiḻ. The 'hunting of the letter' as the Elizabethan poet calls it, is the most essential ornament of Tamiḻ verse.

1. '*Alliteration*' is called in Tamiḻ *mônai*, which is a contraction of *muganai* (= that which belongs to the beginning).

If *ă* begins the line, *ă*, *â*, *ai* or *au* must begin some other foot in the line.

If *ka* begins the line *ka*, *kâ*, *ki*, &c. must begin some other foot in the line.

Thus, in this *Kurraḷ* we have *ăgára* in the first foot, and *ádi* in the fourth foot.

In the second line *p* is sufficiently responded to by *m*, both being labials.

2. '*Rhyme*' is called in Tamiḻ *edugai* or *yethugai* (S. *yamaka*). It is as in English, but occurs in the beginning of the lines only; as in Keltic poetry. Thus *aga*, in this couplet, rhymes with *paga*.

The very learned Ellis translated this couplet thus:

'As ranked in every alphabet the first,
The self-same vowel stands, so in all worlds,
Th' eternal God is chief.'

He, following the native commentator, destroys the simplicity of the poet's conception: *a* is the first letter, the Eternal God is first of Beings.

Beschi translates:

'Literae omnes principium habent literam A:
Mundus principium habet numen primordiale.'

The epithets applied to God in the chapter are various and instructive. These are:—

I. 'The eternal (first) adorable one';

II. 'He who hath pure knowledge';

III. 'He who hath moved (as a breath of air) over the flower (of the expanded soul)';

IV. 'He to whom is neither desire nor aversion'; [qu. Lucretius: '*deos secure agere aevom*.']

V. 'The Lord'; (and X.)

VI. 'He who has destroyed the gates of the five senses'; [? 'without parts or passions.']

VII. 'He to whom no likeness is';

['*nec viget quid-quam simile aut secundum*.']

VIII. 'The ocean of virtue, beautiful and gracious one';

IX. 'He who possesses eight qualities.'

It is quite evident that the poet has selected epithets to be applied to the Supreme which admit of being explained in various senses. There is room for men of many systems to import into his verses, under the guise of commentaries, their own dogmas. Ellis sees in them an enlightened and sublime monotheism. To Beschi they serve as exponents of the Christian Theology. The Jains, delighted with the appropriation by the poet of one or two beautiful terms from their writings, claim him as their own. Perhaps it may be allowed me to say that I see in Tiruvaḷḷuvar a noble truth-loving devout man, *feeling in the darkness after God, if haply he might find Him.*

The language in which the poet expresses the mental attitude of the worshipper is also worthy of consideration:

In 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, the same idea is expressed, that of drawing near to, or worshipping at the foot of God: the idea being that of profoundest humility.

In 5 the devout are styled: 'those who desire the praise (those who with hearty desire offer praise) which is connected with reality.'

This 'reality' may be *true notions of God,*—or a true *and sincere mind.* It harmonizes well with the words '*in Spirit and in Truth*' uttered by a greater Master.

I shall simply translate the rest of the chapter, adding a few remarks.

2. "If men worship not the feet of Him who is pure knowledge, what benefit accrues from that which one has learned?"

There is a difficulty in the expression 'who is pure knowledge.' Ellis adds 'who is pure intelligence.' The phrase is explained (comp. Wilson's *Vishṇu Purâṇa*) by the S. *paramârthatas.* His knowledge is of the actual truth, not transmitted, and so tinged, by material vehicles of truth.

3. "Those who have clung to the august feet of Him who has passed over the flower, shall live long above the earth."

The Jain deity Arugan is represented as standing on a lotus flower. There seems to be a reference to this. I suppose the poet uses it in its poetical meaning: it is the foot-fall of God that makes His creation rejoice and put forth its flowers; as It rests on each 'Spirit's folded bloom.'

'Above the earth' may be 'on the earth:' the Tamiḷ admits of either. Beschi says: 'in loco terrae superiori diu vivet—id est in caelo aeternum beabitur.'

Graul interprets: 'supra terram diu vivent (antequam novam suscipient migrationem).' Each has read something into the text. The most ancient Tamiḷ commentator says: 'without decay in the world of relinquishment, above all worlds, they shall flourish.'

Ellis translates, or paraphrases and adapts the whole couplet thus:—

'They who adore His sacred feet, whose grace
Gladdens with sudden thrill the fervent heart,
High o'er the earth shall soar to endless joy.'

There is, I apprehend, an inconsistency in the Tamiḷ poet's conception of the invisible world, much the same as that which meets us in Virgil's Sixth Aeneid. The 'Pythagorean philosophy of transmigration' is a sublime one, and well adapted for poetry; but it is quite incompatible with the conception that pervades the rest of the description of the lower (upper) world.' See Conington's *Introduction.*

Nor must we expect consistency and a firm treatment of such subjects in a 'seeker after truth,' a poet too. The poet wanders 'in shadowy thoroughfares of thought': he tells us of his visions as they appear.

There is a mania for classification, as if human souls, and especially the souls of true poets, to whom God has given the 'vision and the faculty divine,' could all be arranged in *genus* and *species* like so many shells!

The poet seizes upon each form and phrase that has anything of truth or beauty, but the life he breathes into it is his own. The harp may be the old one of 'ten strings': the song is a 'new song.'

4. "Sorrow assails never those who have clung to the foot of Him who is free from desire and aversion."

He desires not, for there is no want to be supplied. He has no aversion, for nothing can enter the sphere of his being that troubles.

If from his Christian friends the sage had obtained any knowledge of the Life of Christ, we might imagine him referring to her who chose the "better part," sitting at her Master's feet; and to that other (if indeed another) who would have touched his feet; and to the many who found help and healing there.

5. "The two kinds of action, to which darkness belongs, approach not him who has with desire shown forth the true praises of the king."

Every form of Hindu faith—orthodox and unorthodox—regards action as evil. The word *môksha* and its equivalent Tamiḷ *Vîḍu* and the specially Buddhist *nirvâṇa* point to the same thing, though with characteristic differences.

The word *irraivan* here is, as I have elsewhere shown, a form of the S. *râjan.*

We too, regarding life as a probation; contemplating the coming judgment to be passed upon all actions, 'whether they be good, or whether they be evil'; feeling how we see all things, duties among the rest, as 'through a glass darkly'; and anticipating the time when

we hope we shall see 'the king in His beauty, and behold the land of far-off places'; we, I say, can understand that the poet may have risen in thought—I feel sure he did—above the mere technicalities of any of the systems, into the heart of which his poet's eye penetrated.

6. "Those who have stood firmly in the path of virtue free from falsehood, which is the path of Him who has extinguished the fire whose gates are the organs of sense, shall live long in prosperity."

Here, too, is a reference probably to the fair Arugan, one of whose titles is 'lord of the senses.' His grace extinguishes in others the fires of sensual passion.

7. "Hard is it to relieve the heart-felt anxieties of any save of those who have clung to the feet of Him to Whom there is none like."

The 'phrase epithet,' to whom there is none *like*, relates as Ellis says, as do all the others in the chapter, to the *Âdi-pagavân* of the first stanza, the Eternal Adorable One, 'whom no symbol can express and no form design.'

8. "Hard is it to swim the other sea (of this evil world) unless you cling to the foot of Him Who is the good and gracious Sea of Virtue."

The word *âṛi*, which is translated 'sea,' is also circle: 'ocean mirrors rounded large.' The idea may be 'the whole circle of existence.'

'Poor wanderers of a stormy day,
From wave to wave we're driven.'

Comp. Dante, *Paradiso I.*:

'Per lo gran mar dell' essere.'

9. "The head of the man who bows not before the foot of Him Who has the eight qualities, is void of all (good) qualities, like organs of sense devoid of the power of sensation."

It is impossible to say how the poet defined his eight qualities or attributes of the Supreme. The best I can find among the commentators is that given by Ellis from the *Âgamas*:

(1) Self-existence; (2) Essential purity; (3) Intuitive wisdom; (4) Infinite intelligence; (5) Immateriality; (6) Mercy; (7) Omnipotence; (8) Happiness.

It is significant, as Ellis remarks, that every Hindû enumeration omits justice as one of the essential attributes of God.

The eight beatitudes must suggest themselves to the mind of the Christian student; and in some way or other the Tamiḻ sage has insisted on them all.

10. "They shall swim over the vast sea of birth, who have clung to the foot of the king: no others shall do so."

Here we seem to have the doctrine of the metempsychosis:

'Eternal process moving on,
From state to state the spirit walks.'

The end is absorption into the Divine Essence. This seems, here at least, to be the poet's further bank, to which he attains after swimming over the 'sea of birth.' Our English poet's instinct is truer:—

'That each, who seems a separate whole,
Should move his rounds, and fusing all
The skirts of self again, should fall
Remerging in the general soul,
Is faith as vague as all unsweet:
Eternal form shall still divide
The eternal soul from all beside;
And I shall know him when we meet.'

I think that, among other things, these cursory notes may remind all who seek to influence the Tamiḻ mind, that there is some common standing ground for those who would teach and those who are to be taught, that there is a 'Light which lighteneth every one that cometh into the world.'

FIND OF ANCIENT POTTERY IN MALABAR.

BY WILLIAM LOGAN, M.C.S., COLLECTOR OF MALABAR.

During the last Easter holidays I spent a portion of my leisure in examining some subterranean cells near Calicut, of the existence of which I was informed by Mr. Kelappan, the Deputy Tehsildar of Taliparamba, who assisted me in the search.

The group of cells lies at a distance of about 6¼ miles north of Calicut in the Padinyâttamuri Dêśam of the Padinyâttamuri Amsham in the Calicut Tâluka. The Paramba (an upland under dry cultivation with some scattered fruit trees) in which the cells are situated is called Châllil Kurinyôli, and belongs to Pokkirâtta 'enna Teranyôli Chekku Nâyar. The occupant of the land, one Châllil Kurinyôli Chandu Kutti, had some ten years

previously been engaged in cutting blocks of laterite for building purposes at the western end of his ground, when suddenly the block, which one of the workmen was engaged upon, fell out of sight, disclosing a hollow in the ground. There was a rush of workmen from the spot in terror of the demons who are supposed to haunt such places, but after a time they mustered up courage to examine the place, and found one or two small earthenware pots lying at the bottom of the cell (D) thus disclosed. The pots were duly sent to the Tehsildâr, who forwarded them with a report to the Collector; the cell was inspected, the block of stone closing the entrance to it (see the plan) was partially broken, but no further exploration was made, and the superstitious fears of the people had served since then to prevent any further search being made even for buried treasure.

On digging into the floor of what turned out to be the first (D in the ground plan) of a group of cells, we came upon a large number of earthenware pots of different shapes and sizes. These pots had evidently been carefully *filled* with earth before being buried, and their extreme brittleness, owing to damp, coupled with the fact that most of the specimens were found in excellent preservation, made it likewise sufficiently evident that the contents of the cell had not been tampered with. As cell D was being cleared out, we discovered by means of a break (at A) in the partition wall the existence of a second cell (E). Cell E was opened by cutting down to it through the laterite rock, and similar openings were made into cells F and G, whose existence was similarly ascertained by breaks in the partition walls at B and C. All four cells were found to be about half filled with earth, and on clearing them out a large number of earthenware pots, a bill-hook of iron, a number of small iron chisels, scraps of iron which had formed portions of other bill-hooks or weapons, and a double iron hook for suspending a lamp or for some other purpose were found buried in the earth. A careful outlook was kept for coins and bones, but none were found. A few scraps of charcoal likewise found are pronounced by Dr. Bidie of the Central Museum at Madras to be wood charcoal, and some of them from the position in which they were found were certainly portions of the wooden handle of one of the iron instruments found. The second illustration, copied from a photograph, kindly taken by the Revd. Mr. Sharp, Chaplain of Calicut, will give a better idea than any detailed description in words could do of the character of the articles found, and the tape line stretched across the picture will give an idea of their size.

When the four cells had been cleared out, it became manifest that the entrances K, K, K, K, closed by means of blocks of laterite, led into a central cell or courtyard, H, and measures were accordingly taken to have this also explored. It was then found that this central space or courtyard was not roofed in like the cells. Nothing was found in it except the remains of the iron sword, about 26 inches in length, which was buried point upwards, and slightly inclined backwards towards the middle front of cells E and F. The section through W X gives an idea of the appearance of the front (facing eastwards) of cells E and F, the entrances to which are recessed in the manner shown by the lines, the depth of each recess being from one inch to one and a-half inches.

The ground plan and sections give only a rough approximation of the dimensions of the originals, for the cells, though exactly uniform in design, are not constructed with much exactness.

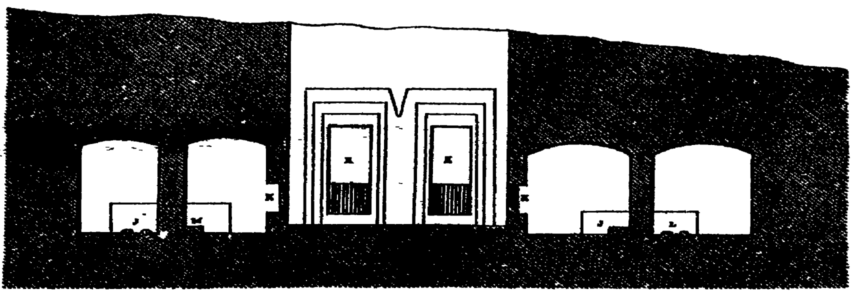
The people of the neighbourhood had no tradition respecting these remains, of the existence of which they were entirely ignorant until they were revealed by accident, as related above. The opening up of the cells excited much curiosity among all classes, and the general opinion was that it had been the abode of sages, or ṛishis,—a *ṛiśyâśramam*=a hermitage.

None of the articles found, and nothing about the cells themselves, sufficed to fix the religious belief of the constructors, and I feel inclined to regard them as sepulchral remains. Against this view it may be urged that no bones were found. Still, on the other hand, the bodies may have been burnt and the ashes[1] only placed in the cells; the pottery found was similar[2] to such

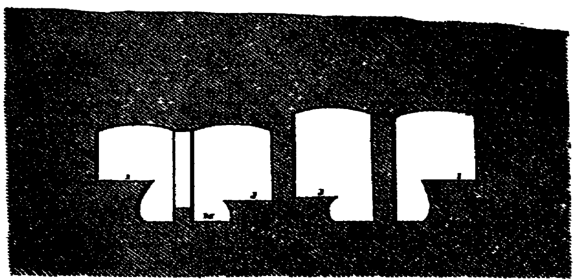
[1] Two of the pots in the second illustration will be seen to be full of a whitish substance. Both of the oil vessels in the [illegible] [illegible] were also full of apparently the same substance. What it was I had no means for determining.

[2] Some of the smaller vessels have the peculiar black polish described by Dr. Caldwell, *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI., p. 279.

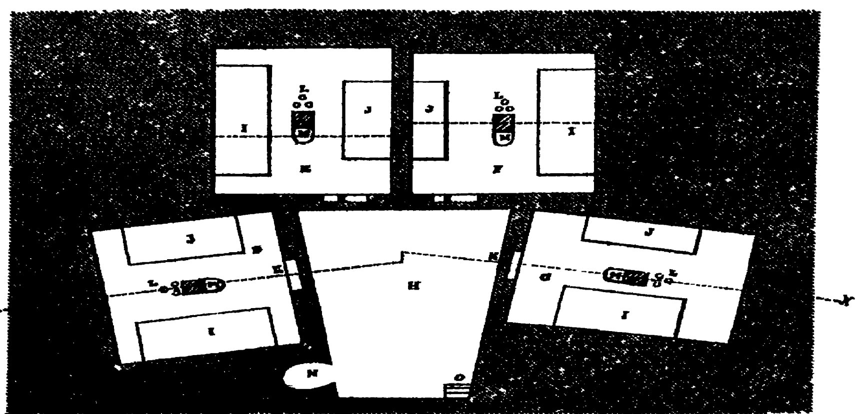
ROCK-CELLS AT CHÂLLIL KURINYÔLI.



SECTION THROUGH W. X.



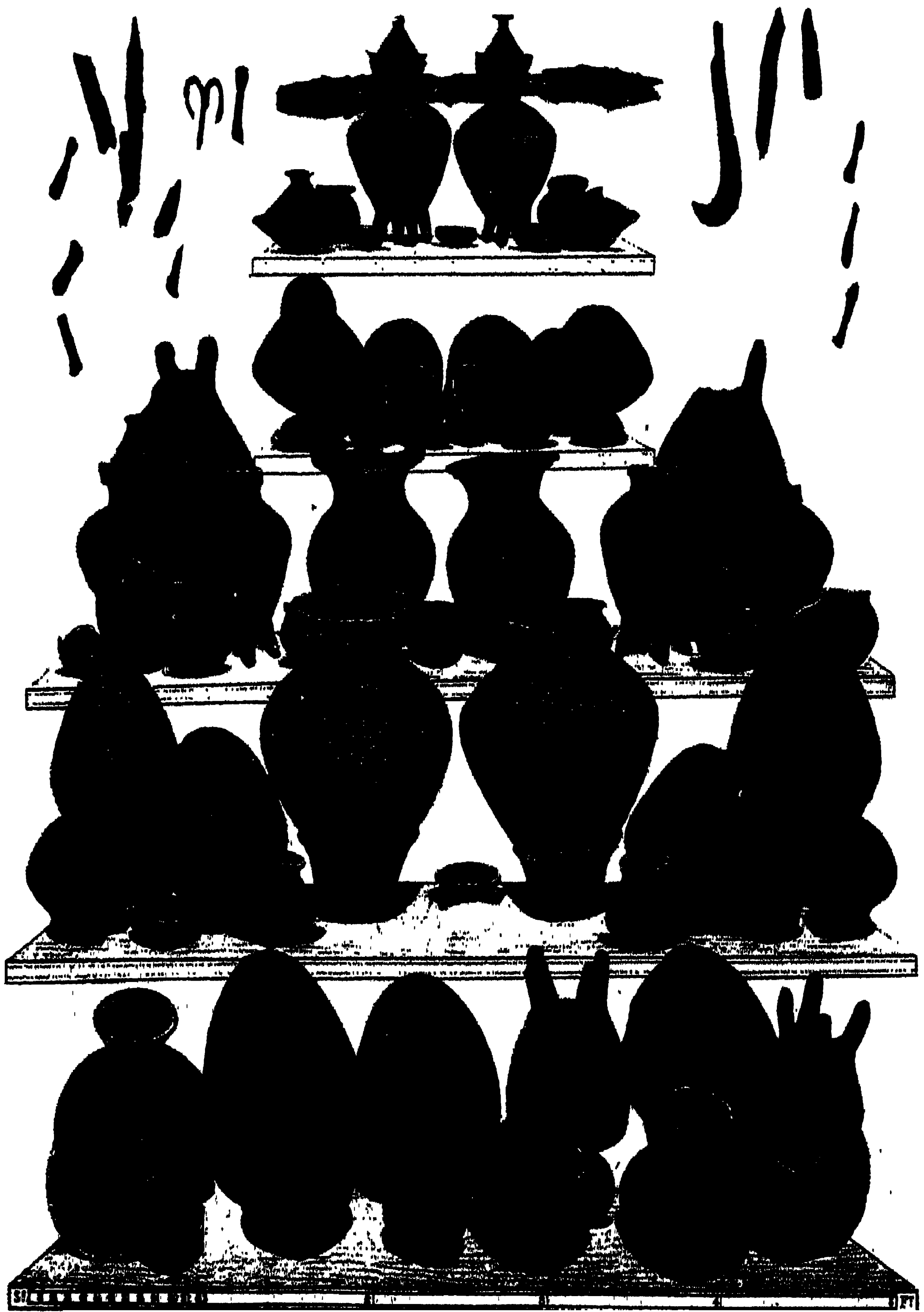
SECTION THROUGH Y. Z.



GROUND PLAN.

A, B, C, BREAKS IN THE WALLS.
D, FIRST CELL DISCOVERED.
E, F, G, OTHER THREE CELLS.
H, OPEN COURT.
I, I, I, I, STONE BEDS.
J, J, J, J, BENCHES.
K, K, K, K, ENTRANCES FROM THE COURT TO THE CELLS.
L, L, L, L, FIRE PLACES.
M, M, M, M, STOOLS OR LOW SEATS.
N, RECESS.
O, STAIR.

Scale of 10 5 0 5 10 15 20 feet



POTTERY &c. FOUND IN THE CELLS AT CHÂLLIL KURINYÔLI.

finds in sepulchral tumuli, &c. existing elsewhere in S. India; the pots themselves were found (with only one or two exceptions) crammed full of earth of a kind which prevented any theory as to this having been the result of infiltration by water; and finally the peculiar holes or entrances to the cells corresponded to similar entrances to undoubted dolmens elsewhere. The cells, though they each contained what I have taken to be a bed, a bench, a stool and a fireplace cut out of the solid rock, bore no appearance of ever having been inhabited. No doubt the constructors meant to provide for their deceased relatives dwellings as comfortable as they had been accustomed to in life, and whether such dwellings were tents or not is a matter for conjecture having regard to the form of the cells. I am inclined on the whole to regard the remains as the death-house of a family who burned their dead.

The cells after being opened up were roofed in with thatch, and other measures taken to protect them from the weather, and the articles found were forwarded to the Central Museum at Madras.

July 18, 1879.

THE SIX TÎRTAKA.

Five centuries before Christ, in the age of Buddha,[1] various persons in Asia founded religious associations proclaiming different doctrines for the salvation of man. Some were Digambaras: and the morality of the times suffered them to go about naked. Others were Svetâmbaras, or those who put on "white garments." Some were fire-worshippers, and others adorers of the Sun. Some belonged to the Sanyâsi, and others to the Panchatâpa[2] sects.

Some worshipped Padarânga; some Jîvaka; and others Nigantha.[3] The Jainas who followed the Lôkâyata, or the system of atheistical philosophy taught by Chârvâka, also appear to have flourished at this time.[4] In addition to these Gautama himself enumerates sixty-two sects of religious philosophers.[5]

"The broachers of new theories and the introducers of new rites did not revile the established religion, and the adherents of the old Vedic system of elemental worship looked on the new notions as speculations they could not comprehend, and the new austerities as the exercise of a self-denial they could not reach, rather than as the introduction of heresy and schism."[6] But few of these sects believed in a first Cause; and none acknowledged a supreme God; therefore they differed in this respect from the Brahmans who attributed everything to the creative hand of Brahmâ or Iśvara. One important point of agreement, however, between these sectarians and the Vedic Brahmans was, that none dared to violate the institution of castes which all Brahmans regarded as *sacred*. Yet amongst them there were six arch-heretics,[7] who regarded not the distinctions which divided men into Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śûdras; and for the simplest of all reasons, that they were themselves of mean extraction.

They preached to the people. They set forth their doctrines. They at first resorted to the most legitimate means of conversion, viz. argument and discussion. But these often were of themselves insufficient and availed little. Something else was required; and that was supernatural powers in those who passed for religious teachers. Well-versed however in deceit, they found no difficulty in invention, and in exhibiting supernatural powers. In proof of inspiration to which they laid claims, they declared doctrines unintelligible to the vulgar, and above the comprehension of the common orders of society. As possessing the power of *iddhi* they, like the teacher of Rasselas, often ascended an eminence to fly in the air. But unlike the

[1] Conf. Grote's *Greece*, vol. III. p. 114.

[2] A sect who practised certain austerities surrounded by four fires whilst the sun was shining, which they regarded as a fifth fire.

[3] See Buddhist annals in *J. A. S. Ben.* (Sept. 1837) vol. VI. pp. 718; *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 310; vol. VI. p. 150; vol. VII. pp. 28, 34n, 38.

[4] *Aswalâyâna Suttan* in the *Majjima Nikâya*.

[5] *Ambatta Suttan.*

[6] Stevenson, *Kalpa Sûtra*, p. xvii.; Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 356.

[7] "There are reckoned six principal heresiarchs, whose depraved hearts, perverse views, and mistaken judgment, disaffected to the true doctrine, brought forth error. The commencement of all these heresies is referred to Kia-pi-lo ('the yellow,' in Sanskrit Kapila); but they are divided into branches, and their propagation gave rise to six principal ones."—M. Remusat in *Foe Koue Ki*, Laidlay's translation, pp. 143, 144.

Abyssinian teacher, who leaped into the water, upon the strength of his wings which sustained him in the water, the Tîrtakas resorted to other frauds, which they easily practised upon a deluded population. Thus they soon became established as Arhantas, at the head of distinct fraternities, having numerous congregations consisting of thousands of poor deluded human beings.[8] An account of them may not prove uninteresting, and the following, compiled from several writers, especially from the *Sáddharmalankara*, is a brief outline of *the History of the Six Tîrtaka* :—

1. One was a half caste.[9] He was born in a nobleman's house of a girl that was a foreigner. He pretended to be a Brâhman, and assumed the name of the 'twice born.' He called himself Kaśyapa, and received the additional appellation of Purṇâ, because his birth served to "complete" the number of one hundred slaves in his master's household. For the same reason he became a favourite of his lord, and enjoyed many privileges which his fellow servants were denied. These acts of kindness, however, had a tendency to make him indolent and lazy; and the consequence was that his master soon put him to work and appointed him his porter. This situation deprived him of the unlimited liberty which he had previously enjoyed; and he therefore quitted the service of his master. In the helpless state in which he roamed about the country after his desertion, he was set upon by thieves, who stripped him of everything he had, including the very clothes on his person. Having, however, escaped death he repaired, in a state of perfect nudity, to the neighbouring villages, where poverty led him to practise many deceptions on the credulous, until at last he established himself as an ascetic, proclaiming his name to be Purṇâ Kaśyapa Buddha. Purṇâ, because (he said) 'he was full of all arts and sciences,' Kaśyapa, 'because he was a Brâhman' by birth, and Buddha, 'because he had overcome all desires and was an Arahat.' He was offered clothes in abundance, but declined accepting them, thinking that as a Digambara he would be better respected. 'Clothes,' said he, 'are for the concealment of shame, *shame* is the result of sin, and *sin* I have not,—since I am a person of sanctity (a *rahat*) who is free from evil desires.' In the then state of society, distracted by religious differences, he gained followers, and they soon exceeded eighty thousand![10]

"The heresy of this man consisted in the repudiation of all law; he recognised neither prince nor subject, father nor son; honesty of heart nor filial piety. He called it *form* and *void* (*ether*). *Form*, according to this heretic, breaks down whatever is in the world of desires; *void*, whatever is in the world of forms. Void is therefore the supreme fact, the being above all things."

2. Makkhaligôsâla was another sectarian teacher. He was a slave in a nobleman's house, and was called Makkhalî after his mother,[11] and by reason of his having been born in a *gôsâla* or 'cow-house' he received the additional appellation, *gôsâla*. One day he followed his master with a large pot of oil, and the latter, perceiving his servant was on slippery, muddy ground, desired him to be on his guard, but not listening to his advice, he walked carelessly, and the result was that he stumbled upon a stump and fell down with his heavy load, breaking the pot of oil. Fearing that his master would punish him for his misconduct, Gôsâla began to run away. His master soon pursued him, and seized him by his garments; but they loosening Gôsâla effected his escape naked. In this state he entered a city, and passed for a Digambara Jaina or Buddha, and founded the sect which was named after him.

"He falsely inferred that the evil and the good experienced by living beings, arose, not from anterior acts, but of themselves. This opinion of the spontaneity of things is an error which excludes the succession of causes."[12] 'His doctrine therefore was that of chance.'[13]

3. Nîgaṇṭha Nâtaputta was the

[8] See *Melindapprasna*.

[9] Burnouf, *Introd.* pp. 162, 163; *Lotus* p. 450. *Fou-lan-na* was the title of this heresiarch, the translation of which is not given. *Kia-she* (Kâśyapâ) was the name of his mother and became that of the family.—Remusat, *ut sup.* p. 144.

[10] Remusat, *ut sup.* and Sykes's *Essay on the Religious, Moral and Political State of India before the Muhammadan Invasion*, in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. VI. pp. 266 ff. The quotations from this paper have been omitted in the present extract, and their places supplied by others from Remusat from which Sykes has abridged.—ED.

[11] *Mo-kia-li-kin-she-li. Mo-kia-li* (in Sanskrit *non videns rationem*) is the title of this man. *Kin-she-li*, the meaning of which is not given, is the name of his mother.—Remusat, *ut sup.* [One of the disciples of Nîgaṇṭha Nâtaputta bears this name: Jacobi, *Kalpa Sûtra*, pp. 1, 2, 6.—ED.]

[12] Remusat, *ut sup.* p. 144.

[13] Sykes, *ut sup.*

founder of a third sect. He was the son (*putra*) of Nâtha, a husbandman[14], and because he boasted of an acquaintance with the entire circle of the arts and sciences, and moreover pretended to have destroyed the *ghanta*, the 'cores' or 'knots' of *keles*, he was called Nîgaṇṭha or Nirgrantha.[15] He too laid claim to the high sanctity of an Arhanta, and preached doctrines, which were soon embraced by thousands. He held that it was sinful to drink cold water: 'cold water,' he said 'was imbued with a soul. Little drops of water were small souls and large drops were large souls.' He also declared that there were three *daṇḍas*, or agents for the commission of sin, and that the acts of the body (*kâya*), of the speech (*vâch*) and of the mind (*mana*) were three separate causes, each acting independently of the other.

"This heretic asserted that crimes and virtues, happiness and misery, were fixed by fate, that as subject to these we cannot avoid them, and that the practice of the doctrine can in no wise assist us. In this notion his heresy consisted."[16]

4. A fourth was the servant of a noble family. Having run into debt, he fled from his creditors, and having no means of livelihood at the village to which he repaired, he became a practiser of austerities after shaving his head, and putting on 'a mean garment made of hair,' from which circumstance he received the appellation of Ajita Keśakambala.[17] Among other doctrines which distinguished him from the rest of the sectarians was that which invested the three kingdoms of nature with a soul. He held that man and beast and every creeping thing, and fowl of the air, as well as trees and shrubs had a *jîva* or intelligent and sentient soul, endued with body, and consequently composed of parts. 'The person,' said he, 'who took away the life of a being was equally guilty with the man who ate the flesh of a dead body. One who cut down a tree, or destroyed a creeper, was as guilty as a murderer. And he who broke a branch was to be regarded as one who deprived another of his limbs.' These doctrines procured for him many followers, and they soon exceeded five thousand.

"His error consisted in supposing that destiny might be controlled,—that happiness might be obtained, for example, independently of causes in an anterior existence, that the doctrine consisted in wearing coarse garments, tearing out the hair, exposing the nostrils to smoke, and the body to heat on five sides (the four sides of the body, and having fire besides on the head), in submitting in short to all manner of mortifications, in the hope that having in the present life experienced all sorts of sufferings, eternal happiness would be obtained in a future existence.[18]"

5. Sanjayabellante, who had an awkward-looking head, was also a slave by birth.[19] Obtaining his freedom from his master, he applied himself to study; and when he had become a great proficient in different branches of learning, he proclaimed himself a Buddha. He taught, as a distinguishing feature in his doctrines, that man in an after-birth would be as he is now. 'In the transmigration of the soul,' he said, 'it assumed the identical bodily form which it had retained before death. There could be no change of person. Whosoever is now great or mean; a man or a deva, a biped, a quadruped, or a milleped; without feet or hands or with deficient members of the body, will be exactly the same in the next birth.'

"His heresy consisted in thinking that it is not necessary to seek the doctrine (*bodhi*) in the sacred books, as the same will be obtained of itself when the number of *kalpas* of birth and death have been exhausted. He thought also that after eighty thousand *kalpas* the doctrine would be obtained naturally.[20]"

6. Kakudha Kâtyâyana was a found-

[14] *Ni-kian-tho-jo-thi-tseu*; *Ni-kian-tho* signifies 'exempt from bonds,' and is a very common title of heretics. He derived from his mother the title of *jo-thi*, the signification of which is not known. [Remusat makes him the sixth in his enumeration. Dr. Bühler regards this as the real name of Mahâvîra, the last Jaina Tîrthaṅkara: *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII. p. 143.—ED.]

[15] Also a name of contempt for a heterodox ecclesiastic. [Also for a Jaina;—*Ind. Ant.* vol. I., p. 310 note §; vol. VII., p. 143; Stan. Julien, *Mém. Sur les Cont. Occ.* t. I., pp. 41, 354; t. II., pp. 42, 93; and *Vie de. H. Thsang*, pp. 224, 228.—ED.]

[16] Remusat, *ut sup.* pp. 144, 145, who quotes *Tho-lo-ni-tsy-king*, *Collection of Dharanis*; *Fan-y-ming-i* quoted in the *San-tsang-fa-su*, Bk. xxvii. p. 11.; Sykes, *ut sup.* See also Burnouf, *Introd.* pp. 162, 568; *Lotus*, pp. 450, 488, 708, 776ff.

[17] *A-khi-to-hiue-she* was the title of this heresiarch, the explanation of which is not given. His surname *Khin-pho-lo* (kambala) signifies '*coarse garments*.'—Remusat places him fourth.

[18] Remusat, *ut sup.*: Sykes, *ut sup.*; see also Burnouf, *Introd.* p. 162; *Lotus*, p. 450.

[19] '*Shan-che-ye*' (Sanjaya) signifies *recta victoria*, and is the title of this heretic. *Pi-lo-chi* (Vailagi), *non agens*,—is the name of his mother. He is the third in Remusat's list, *ut sup.* p. 144.

[20] Remusat, *ut sup.*; and Sykes, *ut sup.*; also Burnouf, *Introd.* p. 162; *Lotus*, pp. 298, 426.

ling—the offspring of an illicit intercourse. His mother, who was a poor low caste person, had no house to live in, and was delivered of him under a Kakudha (*Pentaptera Arjuna* Rox.) tree: where she left him. A Brahman who picked him up from thence, adopted him as his son; and named him Kâtyâyana, with the prefix Kakudha,[21] because he was found under a tree of that name. Upon the death, however, of his adopted father, Kâtyâyana found himself in difficult circumstances, and resorted to various means and ways of procuring a livelihood—all of which failing, he became an ascetic, and established himself on a large mound of earth, where he preached his austerities as a teacher of high sanctity. Like Nîgaṇṭha Nâthaputta, Kâtyâyana also declared that cold water was imbued with a soul. His heresy, according to the Chinese legends,[22] consisted in asserting that some of the laws were appreciable by the senses (or understanding) and some not.[23]

THE WEDDAS.

BY BERTRAM F. HARTSHORNE.

The Weddas,[1] or, as they are more commonly but inaccurately called, the Veddas of Ceylon, occupy a portion of the island lying to the east of the hills of the Uva and Medamahanuwara districts, about ninety miles in length and forty in breadth. They have been described by Sir Emerson Tennent in his work on Ceylon,[2] and by Mr. Bailey in a paper printed in the *Journal of the Ethnological Society*[3]; but, interesting as their accounts are, the latter has suffered grievously from misprints, and the value of the former is impaired by the circumstance that its materials were not the fruit of original research. The excellent works of Dr. Davy, Percival, Cordiner, and others, do not give any full information regarding the Weddas: and the references to them in Knox's history of his captivity, and in the remarkable account of the travels of Ibn Batuta, the Moor, in the early part of the fourteenth century, are curious rather than precise.

The only real division of the Weddas places them in two classes—the Kelê Weddo, or Jungle Weddas; and the Gan Weddo, or semi-civilised Village Weddas; and the attention of the ethnologist should be almost exclusively directed to the former. It may be added that the terms Rock Weddas, Tree Weddas, and Coast Weddas, are unscientific and meaningless, and merely involve a cross division.

The relative numbers of the two classes must be merely a matter of guesswork, for their nomadic habits have rendered any enumeration of them impossible. Sir Emerson Tennent states that their entire number was estimated at eight thousand, but that was a mere conjecture, and probably an exaggerated one. Mr. Bailey, on the other hand, reckoned the total number of Jungle Weddas, in 1858, at three hundred and eighty only, and it is probably less than that at the present time.

He discriminates those which are found in the district of Nilgala from those belonging to a tract of country called Bintenna, but the difference is clearly only geographical, the customs, physical appearance and dialect of the two tribes being precisely identical. Tacit agreement and immemorial use have led them to confine themselves exclusively to particular tracts of the vast extent of forest which they regard as their prescriptive and inalienable property, and a member of one division of the tribe very rarely comes in contact with another. A gentleman who once witnessed a meeting between some of the members of the two different clans, observed that they were mutually embarrassed at the unexpected sight of each other. They peered inquisitively with an expression of mingled suspicion and astonishment, and manifested every disinclination to associate together. A somewhat similar effect was produced when a Jungle Wedda was shown a looking-glass. He appeared at first to be terrified and annoyed, but afterwards looked behind it and round about in a puzzled

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[21] *Kia-lo-kiew-tho*, the title of this heretic, signifies '*chest of the ox*.' *Kia-chin-yan*, '*shaven hair*,' was his family name. He stands fifth in Remusat's account, *ut sup*.

[22] Sykes, *ut sup*.

[23] This account of The Six Tîrtaka is taken from a scarce pamphlet—*Buddhism: its Origin; History; and Doctrines: its Scriptures; and their Language the Pâli*. By James Alwis, Esq. (63 pp. Colombo, 1862). To his text notes and additions have been made principally from a long note by M. Remusat in the *Foe-Koue-Ki* (Laidlay's translation pp. 143—145). See also a paper by Dr. Stevenson, *Jour. B. B. R. As. Soc.* vol. V. pp. 401—407; and conf. S. Hardy's *Manual of Budhism*, pp. 291, 380.—ED.

[1] The term signifies "an archer," or "one who shoots," cf. the *Sidatsangarawa* and the *Nâmâvali*, wherein the etymology of the word is fully explained. The corresponding Sanskrit term is *Vyâdha*, which Wilson explains to mean "a hunter, or one who lives by killing deer," &c. [The name *Bhîl* applied to the tribes who inhabit the Vindhya Hills, &c. in Central India, has an exactly similar meaning.—ED. *I. A.*]

[2] *Ceylon*, vol. II. p. 437, et seq.

[3] *Transactions*, New Series, vol. II.

and wondering manner, with his hand upon his axe, as if preparing to defend himself. Five or six others to whom the glass was successively shown displayed similar gestures, and made use of exactly the same expressions, asking, in a loud and excited tone, the meaning of the strange phenomenon.

The Village Weddas may be differentiated from the others rather by their habits of life than by any physical peculiarities. Their occasional contact with more civilised races has insensibly led them to cultivate land and to construct houses; and during late years an attempt has been made to introduce Christianity and a system of education among them.

The Jungle Weddas, on the other hand, as is well known, have no sort of dwelling-houses, and pass their lives entirely in the open air. They take shelter from a storm under a rock or inside a hollow tree, if one is at hand; and as they are constantly roaming about in their forest country, their manner of life makes it impossible for them to attempt any sort of cultivation. Their food, which they always cook, is very poor. It consists chiefly of honey, iguanas, and talagoyas, or the flesh of the wandura monkey, the deer, and the wild boar, for the supply of which they depend mainly upon their skill with the bow and arrow. They are, however, assisted in their hunting by their dogs, which are called by distinctive names, and are the only domesticated animals which they possess. They drink nothing but water, and, although they habitually chew the bark of certain trees, they never smoke or use tobacco in any way. The tallest Wedda measured by Mr. Bailey was 5 feet 3 inches, and the shortest 4 feet 1 inch. I found one, however, apparently about eighteen years of age, who was 5 feet 4¾ inches. But notwithstanding their small size and their slight physique, the strength which they possess in the arms, and especially in the left arm, is very remarkable. It is probable that this is due to their constant use of the bow, upon which they chiefly depend for their supply of food. It is about 6 feet long, and has generally a pull of from 45 or 48 to about 56 lbs. It therefore requires no ordinary strength to draw the arrow, which is 3 feet 6 inches in length, up to the end; but they invariably do this, and then take a careful and steady aim before letting it go. The annexed measurements[4] of two Weddas will perhaps show, with more clearness than any general description, the relative dimensions of fairly average specimens of the race. One of them (Latty) was able to hold his bow drawn to its full length for upwards of two minutes, without the slightest tremor of the left arm. They are, as a rule, good shots; and upon one occasion (in February, 1872) I saw a Wedda bring down a Pariah dog at a distance of thirty-five yards when it was running away. He took very deliberate aim, and the arrow passed through nearly the whole length of the animal, entering at the hinder quarter and coming out through the fore shoulder.

Sir Emerson Tennent and Mr. Bailey thought them indifferent marksmen; and the former[5] states that they occasionally use their feet for drawing the bow, but at the present time, at any rate, this practice is entirely unknown, and it is difficult to understand how or why it ever could have existed. They have, in fact, no exceptional prehensile power in their feet, and they are bad climbers. Their bodies are in no way hirsute, nor is there any especial tendency to convergence of the hair towards the elbows, or to divergence from the knees, or *vice versâ*.

With the exception of their bows and arrows, their only weapon is a small axe, but there is no trace of the use of any flint or stone implements at any period of their history, although it is observable that the word which they use for axe[6] implies the notion of something made of stone, and in this instance the ethnological value of language is probably shown by the survival in an expression of an idea which would otherwise have long ago been forgotten.

The arrows are made of the wood of the welan tree (*pterospermum suberifolium*), which is also used for the purpose of kindling fire by means of friction, a practice which still has existence amongst them, although they generally have recourse to the flint and steel by striking the head of their axe or the point of their arrow with some flint substance. They usually obtain their axes

[4] *Latty*. Age about 18. Height, 5 feet 4¾ inches. From top of forehead to bottom of chin, 6¾ inches. Across face 5¼ inches. Shoulder to elbow, 11 inches. From elbow to wrist, 10 inches, and on to end of middle finger, 7¾ inches. Round biceps of right arm, 10½ inches. Round biceps of left arm, 10¾ inches. Round muscle of right forearm, 8¾ inches. Round muscle of left forearm, 8¼ inches. Round chest, 31 inches. Length of thigh, 16¾ inches. From knee to ankle, 16½ inches. Calf of leg in girth, 11¾ inches. Sole of foot, 9½ inches. Round head at the middle of the forehead, 20½ inches.

Bandiey. Age about 25. Height, 4 feet 11¾ inches. From top of forehead to bottom of chin, 7 inches. Across face, 6¾ inches. Shoulder to elbow 12¾ inches. From elbow to wrist, 8¾ inches, and on to end of middle finger, 6¼ inches. Round biceps of right arm, 9½ inches. Round biceps of left arm, 9½ inches. Round muscle of right forearm, 8¾ inches. Round muscle of left forearm, 8¾ inches. Round chest, 29½ inches. Length of thigh, 16½ inches. From knee to ankle, 15½ inches. Calf of leg in girth, 11½ inches. Sole of foot, 8¾ inches. Round head at middle of forehead, 20½ inches.

[5] *Ceylon*, vol. I., p. 499; vol. II., p. 439.

[6] *Sc. Galrekki*, *gala* being the Sinhalese word for stone or rock.

and arrowheads from the Moors who live in the villages adjacent to that part of the country which they inhabit in exchange for hides or beeswax, but the system of secret barter to which Sir Emerson Tennent refers[7] is unknown at the present day. The long iron arrow-heads are similarly obtained from the Moors, and are regarded as heirlooms, descending from father to son, and being regarded as possessions of great value by reason of their scarceness, and indeed the arrow not unfrequently consists of merely a sharply-pointed piece of wood with the usual feathers of the wild pea-fowl attached to it.

The general appearance of the Weddas may be described as distinctly non-Aryan. The comparative shortness of their thumbs and their sharply-pointed elbows are worthy of remark, as well as their flat noses and in some cases thick lips, features which at once distinguish them in a marked degree from the oriental races living in their vicinity. Yet their countenances are not absolutely devoid of intelligence, but their coarse flowing hair, their scanty clothing, and their systematic neglect of any kind of ablution present a picture of extreme barbarism. The women wear necklaces and, in common with the men, ornaments in the ears, for which purpose beads are highly valued as well as empty cartridge cases, with which they appear to be greatly pleased, but they have no fondness for bright colours or appreciation of their differences, and it is to be noticed that there is no word in their language for any one of the colours.

They habitually refrain from the use of water except for drinking purposes, upon the ground that the washing of themselves would make them weak, and whilst they speak in an excessively loud and fierce tone of voice, and wear an expression of great unhappiness, it is a remarkable circumstance that they never laugh. They have, nevertheless, that which Juvenal called[8] the finest element in the human character, for they are tender-hearted and can give way to tears. This absence of any disposition to laughter has not been noticed by any one who has yet written upon the Weddas, and it is odd that such a peculiar characteristic should not have been hitherto recorded, for it is a fact well known to the intelligent Sinhalese in the Kandyan districts, and it is certainly deserving of attention. The causes which provoke laughter are doubtless different in different individuals, but every conceivable method for arousing it has been tried upon the Weddas without success, and it was found that the sight of another person laughing produced in them a feeling of unmistakable disgust; upon being asked whether they ever laughed, they replied, "No, why should we? What is there to laugh at?"

There does not seem to be anything in their physical structure or conformation which accounts for this abnormal temperament. It is possible that constant disuse may have caused a certain atrophy and want of power in the muscles of the face which has increased in successive generations, and is analogous to the exceptional development of the strength of the left arm, but from a psychological point of view it may be that their wild habits of life and the total isolation from the rest of the world to which they have been subjected for countless generations have completely deadened in them a susceptibility to external influences, if indeed laughter is exclusively referable to principles of empirical and sensuous nature.

The philosopher Hobbes ascribed it to a feeling of superiority or self-approbation, the result of an act of comparison; and Aristotle seems to have thought that it arose from a sense of something incongruous, unexpected, or sudden.[9] The peculiar test which he mentions was applied to a Wedda, but without success. It may be borne in mind that as a rule all Oriental nations dislike laughter, and that there is no instance of a happy or good-natured laugh recorded in the Bible; and it is noticeable that it is a common practice of the Kandyan Sinhalese to cover their mouth with their hand or to turn away when they laugh, as if they were ashamed. The general subject of laughter has been very fully and ably discussed by Mr. Darwin in his last work, *The Expression of the Emotions*. "It is," he says, "primarily the expression of mere joy or happiness;" and, although the most prevalent and frequent of all the emotional expressions in idiots, it is never to be observed in those who are morose, passionate, or utterly stolid."[10]

Instances have been known in which the muscle designated *zygomaticus minor*, which is one of those which are more especially brought into play by the act of laughing, has been entirely absent from the anatomical structure of the human

[7] *Ceylon*, vol. I., p. 568; vol. II., p. 440.

[8] "Mollissima corda
Humano generi dare se natura fatetur
Quæ lacrymas dedit; hæc nostri pars optima sensus."—*Sat.* xv. 133.

[9] *Διὰ τί αὐτὸς αὑτὸν οὐδεὶς γαργαλίζει; Ἢ ὅτι καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλου ἧττον, ἐὰν προαίσθηται, μᾶλλον δ' ἂν μὴ ὁρᾷ; ὥσθ' ἥκιστα γαργαλισθήσεται, ὅταν μὴ λανθάνῃ τοῦτο πάσχων. Ἐστί δε ὁ γέλως παρακοπή τις καὶ ἀπάτη δι' ὃ καὶ τυπτόμενοι εἰς τὰς φρένας γελῶσιν, οὐ γὰρ ὁ τυχὼν τόπος ἐστιν ᾧ γελῶσιν—τό δε λαθραῖον ἀπατητικόν. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ γίνεται ὁ γέλως καὶ οὐ γίνεται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ*—Aristotle, *Problems*, xxxv. 6.

[10] *The Expression of the Emotions*, p. 196; and cf. also Bain on the *Emotions and the Will*, 1865, p. 247.

face;[11] but it is unlikely that a similar formation should characterize a whole race of people, and no real Wedda has ever yet been subjected to a process of anatomy. An effort was lately made to provoke laughter from five members of the tribe, who are alleged to have been authentic specimens of the Jungle Weddas, and who were exhibited to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales on the occasion of his recent visit to Ceylon. They consisted of two men and three women; two of the women were very gentle in appearance, and one is reported to have been decidedly pretty. The two men were described as small and rather ape-like, and are said to have shot fairly well at a mark with their bows and arrows, but "at the command of the missionary," they grinned horribly.

The experiment of attempting to make them laugh under such conditions as these would have been obviously of no value whatever, even if it had been successful.

But the description given of them in the local newspapers and by various special correspondents with some minuteness and diligence leaves no doubt that they were brought from the district of Battikaloa, where the few remaining Weddas, partly owing to the influence of missionaries, and partly to frequent intermarriages with Tamils, have lost many of the distinguishing features of their primitive condition. It may be well to observe that it is entirely erroneous to speak of any Weddas as belonging to "a very savage hill tribe," as they were described, probably upon the mistaken idea of an analogy between them and some of the aboriginal tribes of India. The country which they inhabit is low-lying and comparatively flat forest-land, which in no part rises to an elevation of much more than two hundred feet above the sea level, and it is characteristic of none but the village Weddas to live in huts.

A curious and comprehensive memorandum upon the Weddas of the Battikaloa district, furnished by one of the chief native officials in 1872, explains that those which belong to that part of the country generally construct temporary buildings to live in, which are cross-tied with the bark of the Halmilla tree, and roofed with illuk grass, but that they abandon them from time to time when they have occasion to resort elsewhere for food or water. They are designated by Tamil names of Manalkadu, or Sandy-jungle Weddas, and Cholaikkadu Weddas respectively; the former term applying to those who inhabit the country near to the seacoast, cultivating chena lands and speaking the Tamil language; and the latter to those who are nomads, and still retain some of their pristine barbarism; and he bears testimony to the important fact that the wilder and less civilised Weddas of the remote parts of the Bintenno district are an entirely distinct class, and utterly unable to count. It is unfortunate that the representatives of the aboriginal race should have been selected from that portion of the country where they are really found only in name, and that they should have been then subjected to several weeks' training in the art of laughter.

An instance, adduced by Mr. R. Downall, of a Wedda who was able to laugh remains to be adverted to, particularly as it has given rise to the somewhat hasty generalisation that all jungle Weddas are able to do so heartily. He records that when he was on a shooting expedition a few years ago, he set up his hat as a mark for the Wedda who was acting as his *Shikâri* to aim at with his arrows, one evening after his return from the day's shooting. The Wedda at once succeeded in sending an arrow through the hat, and then, it is said, joined in the laugh which was raised against its owner. This evidence, coming, as it does, from a gentleman whose statements are most thoroughly deserving of attention and respect, nevertheless loses much of its value from the absence of any specific information regarding the locality to which the Wedda belonged, and the degree of civilisation to which he had attained. It is, however, clear that he had for some time been associated with the Tamils and others who formed the shooting party; and it is easily conceivable that amidst the general laughter he may have been supposed to have joined, for it was in no way suspected that he would not do so by the gentleman, who naturally kept no record whatever of the occurrence, and wrote from his recollection of the incident some years after it took place.

It may also be mentioned that the Wedda Latty, who has been previously referred to, displayed excessive anger and exhibited a morose expression when he succeeded in hitting the Pariah dog at which he aimed.

Moroseness may indeed be said to be traceable in many of their countenances, no less than in the tones of their voices, but there is no ground for considering it to be really inherent in their character, which is remarkable for kindliness of disposition, and elevated by a universal sentiment of satisfaction with their condition, and a consciousness of superiority to their more civilised neighbours. They would exchange their wild forest life for none other, and it was with the utmost difficulty that they could be induced to quit even for a short time their favourite solitude.

It was an experiment of much interest to observe

[11] See Quain's *Anatomy*, vol. I. p. 176 (7th edition).

the effect produced by each successive object as it made its impression for the first time upon their minds, untaught as they were by previous experience of anything besides the mere phenomena of nature. A party of five were upon the first occasion simultaneously brought from their forests. The sight of a brick-built house surprised them, but the first wheeled vehicle they saw filled them with alarm and terror, and as they bent eagerly forward to scrutinize it they instinctively grasped the handles of their axes. The various articles of food which were offered to them were unhesitatingly rejected, and they were with difficulty persuaded at length to eat boiled rice, which they at first seemed to fear would make them intoxicated or stupefied. After a time, however, they became fond of it, and ate it in large quantities with a considerable admixture of salt, with which they expressed themselves highly gratified. They declared that the taste of salt was entirely new to them, and upon their return to their forests they expressly asked that they might be allowed to carry with them in preference to anything else as large a supply as they could transport. A similar taste was subsequently shown by other parties of jungle Weddas both in their forests and also when they were brought away for purposes of observation and inquiry.

Tobacco, which the Village Weddas occasionally use, was contemptuously refused by the jungle Weddas, who called it merely "dry leaves," and betel, and other favourite narcotics of the Sinhalese people were persistently declined.

The intellectual capacity of the Weddas is as low as it can possibly be in any persons endowed with reason. They are wholly unable to count or to comprehend the significance of number; they have no words to denote the ideas of one, or two, or three, nor do they even use their fingers for this purpose; and the chief difficulty in obtaining any information from them arose from their inability to form any but the most simple mental synthesis, and from their very defective power of memory. One of them, called Kôwy, had entirely forgotten the names of his father and of his mother, who were both dead, and only recollected the name of his wife, whom he had seen only three days previously, by a great effort, and after a long interval of consideration.

There is an interesting account given in an appendix to a report by Mr. Green upon the Welikada convict establishment, of a Wedda who had been tried for murder, and had received a commutation of his capital sentence to imprisonment with hard labour in chains. Mr. Green considered him to be a village Wedda, and it was found, on his admission into the jail, that he was able to count six. A native newspaper, called the *Lanka Nidhâna*, contained a report of his trial, in which he was described as "a Wedda or wild man," and it appeared that he had killed another Wedda because he believed that he had destroyed two of his dogs by means of witchcraft. He was found guilty of murder, but the jury prayed for mercy towards him, as he was as ignorant as a beast. The force of this reason became apparent when, after regularly attending the prison school for three months, he had only succeeded in learning nine letters of the Sinhalese alphabet, and extending his knowledge of numbers to counting eighteen. He had no idea of a soul, of a Supreme Being, or of a future state. He thought there was no existence after death; he was conscious of no difference between himself and the wild beasts which roamed through the forest; and the only thing which he knew for certain was that the sun rose in the morning, and in the evening the darkness came on. He had, however, heard some one speak of a Superior Being, called Wallyhami, but could not say whether it was a god or a devil, a good or an evil spirit: he was not afraid of it, nor did he pray to it. It seems probable that he was in this instance alluding to the deity Skanda, the Hindu personification of Ares (Ἄρης), known in Ceylon as Khandaswâmi, who, according to the Sinhalese myth, married a Wedda princess named Walli Amma, under whose peculiar care the Weddas were in consequence assumed to be placed.

It appeared from an *ola*, or book consisting of palm-leaves, inscribed by a stilus, which was in the possession of one of the Kandyan chiefs, that this personage was the offspring of Vishṇu. The *ola*, which bears no date, nor the name of its author, states that the celebrated temple known as the Kataragama Dewâle was built by the famous Sinhalese king, Duṭṭhagâmaṇi, the conqueror of the Tamiḷs, who reigned B.C. 160, and who appointed the Weddas as servants of the god on account of the purity of their caste. The princess, having been miraculously born, was discovered by the Weddas in their hunting excursions and grew up under their care. She became remarkable for her beauty and her charms, and captivated the god Skanda, to whom the Kataragama temple was dedicated. He assumed the disguise of a religious Ascetic, and offered her his hand, which she indignantly refused. The god thereupon went to his brother Gaṇeśa, the god of wisdom, and asked for his assistance, which he at once lent by taking the form of a huge elephant and frightening the maiden. She fled for help to her rejected suitor, who after much entreaty consented to protect her on condi-

tion that she became his wife. She agreed and went with him, but the Weddas chased after them and shot at them with their arrows, which fell at their feet without effect. He then discharged an arrow at the Weddas, and thousands of them fell dead on the spot, but upon the intercession of the damsel, the god, reassuming his proper form, restored them to life, and then married her under the name of Walli Amma.

The merest outlines of this tradition are utterly unknown to the jungle Weddas, and it is doubtful whether many of them had ever heard even the name of the tutelary deity, who represented to the unfortunate prisoner above referred to little more than the principle and personification of the unknown.

Although it is probable that he belonged to the class of Village Weddas, it would appear from the statements which he made, that he was thoroughly conversant with the customs and ideas of the more barbarous Jungle Weddas, and indeed it is not unlikely that he was an instance of a member of the latter class who had by some means become degenerated into the former. His slight knowledge of numbers was evidently due to the efforts of missionaries or other persons who endeavoured shortly before the time of his imprisonment to educate his people. It would perhaps be unfair to attribute to a similar influence the commission of the act of violence which resulted in his trial for murder; but it is worthy of consideration whether the condition of a race barbarous indeed, but nevertheless rejoicing in a complete and long-established immunity from crime, is likely to be enlightened by the benefits of western morality and civilisation.

He seems to have been considerably expert in the use of the bow and arrows, having frequently killed as many as half-a-dozen deer in a day, and upon two occasions an elephant; but when he made trial of his skill with those weapons in the prison he was somewhat unsuccessful. He accounted for his failure by his want of practice with a bow and arrows new and strange to him, and his extreme weakness consequent upon an attack of dysentery; when he was prostrated by this disorder he refused all sort of nourishment, and his recovery was attributed in a great measure to his entire abstinence from food. He continually made piteous appeals to go to his wife and children, and to be taken from the prison where there was so much light and heat and glare to some place where he could lie under the shade of trees and green leaves. It is gratifying to be able to add, that owing to the kind and humane consideration of His Excellency Lord Torrington, the governor, he was released after a short period of incarceration.

The diseases from which all Weddas more particularly suffer are dysentery and fever; and it would seem that the effects of the former have been from time to time exceedingly disastrous. The remedies which they adopt for it, consist in pounding the astringent bark of certain trees which they generally use for chewing and mixing the juice with water which they then drink. In cases of fever they drink warm water, as is the very general custom of the Sinhalese people, and also pour it over the body. Their only surgical implement is the sharp blade of the long spear-like arrow-head, and this is used in cases of midwifery, wherein the husband is alone the operator.

Far from exhibiting any tendency to Pantheistic or the simpler forms of nature worship, as some writers have supposed, the jungle Weddas appear to be almost devoid of any sentiment of religion; they are not even acquainted with the name of Buddha, or the theory of metempsychosis; they have no temples, priests, festivals, or games, but their belief is limited by the notion that after death they become *yakko*, or devils, and herein may be traced their unquestioned identity with the autochthones, of whom an account is given in the ancient chronicles of Ceylon.[12] When one of them dies, the body is wrapped in the hide of a deer, if such a thing be at the time procurable, and a grave is dug with their hatchets and with pointed sticks. This service is performed exclusively by the males, no female being ever present on such an occasion; nothing is put into the grave with the body, and after it has been covered over, the spot where it lies, apparently from mingled motives of fear and sorrow, is never revisited. An offering is then made to the departed spirit which has become a devil, in order that it may not torment the survivors with fever; it consists of the flesh of the wandura, or monkey, and the talagoya, added to a quantity of honey and some esculent roots, which are all roasted together, while the senior member of the family of the deceased repeats the simple formula, "*Malagi etto topan me kewili lapaw*," or, "Ye dead persons, take ye these food offerings," and then divides the whole of it amongst himself and those who are present, by whom it is eaten. In this custom there may possibly be traced the faint germs of a religion; and it is of peculiar ethnological significance if, as has been maintained, the earliest form which religion took consisted in the propitiation of the spirits of deceased ancestors.

The moral characteristics of the Weddas exhibit, as may be supposed, the simplest work-

[12] Cf. *Mahâwanso*, ch. vii.

ings of the unreflecting and subjective will, not regulated by law nor conditioned by experience. They think it perfectly inconceivable that any person should ever take that which does not belong to him, or strike his fellow, or say anything that is untrue. The practice of polygamy and polyandry which still exists to some extent amongst their neighbours, the Sinhalese, is to them entirely unknown. Marriage is, nevertheless, allowed with sisters and with daughters, but never with the eldest sister, and in all cases they are remarkable for constancy to their wives and affection for their children. The practice of marrying sisters is not yet extinct, as Mr. Bailey supposed, amongst the Weddas of Bintenna, for in the year 1872 there was a living instance in the person of one named Wanniya, who had married his sister Latti; he was about twenty years of age, and had one child. It appeared that no one but Wanniya himself, and not even his brother, was ever allowed to go near his wife or child, or to supply them with any food.

A marriage is attended with no ceremony beyond the presentation of some food to the parents of the bride, who is not herself allowed the exercise of any choice in the selection of her husband, and in this respect, as in some others, the subjection of women is complete. A woman is never recognised as the head of a family, nor is she admitted to any participation in the ceremony attending the offering made to the spirits of the dead. The eldest male Wedda is regarded with a sort of patriarchal respect when accident or occasion has brought together any others than the members of one family, but all the rest are considered as equals, and the distinctions of caste are not known. The Kandyans universally agree that they all belong to the royal caste, and it is said that they used to address the king by the now obsolete title *Hura*, or cousin, the term which they applied to myself in conversation.

Their language is a subject which demanded the most particular care and attention, but I reserve for the present any full account of it. It unfortunately possesses no written characters, and, owing to its limited vocabulary, which embraces merely the most elementary concepts, as well as to the difficulty of communicating with people so singularly unintelligent as the Weddas, the results which have been obtained may perhaps not be considered thoroughly conclusive or satisfactory. Their charms or folk-lore show a resemblance to Elu, but they are extremely difficult to translate, and their precise object and signification is for the most part undefined. The list of proper names contains, as Mr. Bailey has observed, some which are in use among the Sinhalese, but high caste and low caste names are indiscriminately jumbled together; others are names common to Tamiḷs, while a large number are entirely unknown to Sinhalese or Tamiḷs, and of these a portion are in common use in Bengal, and belong to Hindu deities or personages mentioned in the *Purâṇas*. Besides the words which indicate an affinity with Sinhalese, there are others which are allied with Pâli and with Sanskrit, and an important residue of doubtful origin; but it is worthy of remark that from beginning to end the vocabulary is characterized by an absence of any distinctly Dravidian element, and that it appears to bear no resemblance whatever to the language spoken by the Yakkas of East Nepâl. A similarity may indeed be traced here and there between a Wedda word and the equivalent for the same idea in modern Tamiḷ, Malayaḷam, or Telugu, but the cases in which comparison is possible are so rare that these apparent coincidences may be fairly considered to be merely fortuitous. The signs of a grammatical structure are too faint to justify any inferences of comparative philological value, and upon an examination of those words which may be said to constitute the most fundamental and necessary portion of a language, no special conclusion is to be drawn. But an analysis or consideration of the Wedda language may be more fitly postponed than dealt with at present, especially as the value of linguistic evidence is but slight in the determination of ethnological questions. Attention may, however, be drawn to the circumstance which has been pointed out by Mr. Taylor,[13] and which invests the subject with peculiar interest, that the Weddas are the only savage race in existence speaking an Aryan language, for such it undoubtedly is, although the people can in no sense be classified ethnologically as Aryans themselves.[14]

[13] *Journal of the Ethnological Society*, April, 1870.

[14] Reprinted by permission from the *Fortnightly Review* vol. XIX. (March 1876) pp. 406—417.

MISCELLANEA.

AN EASTERN CHALUKYA COPPER-PLATE GRANT.

The accompanying plates give a facsimile,—from the original, which belongs to Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I.,—of Mr. Fleet's *Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions*, No. XLII. A transcription and translation of the grant, with remarks, are given at Vol. VII., p. 185. The date of the grant is about Śaka 590 (A.D. 668-9).

EASTERN CHALUKYA GRANT OF THE SECOND YEAR OF VISHNUVARDHANA II.

I.

IIa.

IIb.

III a

J. F. FLEET, BO. C. S.

W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH. PECKHAM.

Ib.

Va.

Vb.

Va.

Vb.

VIa.

VIb.

VII.

J. F. FLEET, BO. C. S. W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH. LONDON. S.E.



METRICAL VERSIONS FROM THE *MAHÂBHÂRATA.*

BY JOHN MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., &c.

(*Continued from p.* 205.)

THE ARTFUL CHARACTER OF WOMEN.

Freely translated from the Mahâbhârata, xiii. 2236ff.

I have elsewhere quoted from this great poem passages in which the fair sex is cordially eulogized, directly or indirectly. The following picture, though in some respects it is flattering to women, as testifying to their great cleverness and powers of allurement, is otherwise far from laudatory; and luckily applies only to the worst part of female society. As the names of the Indian sophists referred to in these lines are not familiar to the English reader, I have substituted that of Machiavelli.

Deep steeped in Machiavellian wiles,
With those that smile a woman smiles,
With those that weep dissolves in tears,
The sad with words of comfort cheers,
By loving tones the hostile gains,
And thus firm hold on men attains,—
Her action suiting well to all
Th' occasions that can e'er befall.
As words of truth she praises lies,
As arrant falsehood truth decries,
And, mistress of deceptive sleight,
Treats right as wrong, and wrong as right.
All powers which wizard demons old,
Of whom such wondrous tales are told,
Displayed, the gods themselves to cheat,
To blind, elude, and so defeat,—
Such fascinating powers we find
In artful women all combined.
So skilfully they men deceive,
So well their viewless nets can weave,
That few whom once these syrens clasp
Can soon escape their magic grasp.
Yet, once their earlier ardour cooled,
They jilt the men they've thus befooled;
And fickly newer objects seek
To suit their changing passion's freak.
Such charmers well to guide and guard,
For men must prove a task too hard.

The following is a nearly literal translation of the greater part of these verses:—

"Women know all the wiles of Sambara, of Namuchi, of Bali, of Kambhînasi. They laugh with him who laughs, weep with him that weeps, with sweet words lay hold on him who dislikes them, all according to the requirements of the situation. The doctrines in which Usanas and Bṛihaspati were skilled are not different from the ideas of women. How then can men watch over them? They call falsehood truth, and truth falsehood. I consider that the selfish doctrines which have been devised by Bṛihaspati and others were principally derived from observation of the ingenuity of women. When they receive honour from men females pervert their minds."

NOTES AND QUERIES.

COBILY-MASH.—With regard to the origin of this word (see *ante* p. 201), there is no need to go to old Siṅghalese for it: it is found in modern Siṅghalese under the form *Kæbali-mas.* The learned Mudaliyar L. De Zoysa, to whom I referred the question, writes me as follows:—"I think the true derivation of 'Cobolly mass' is *kæbali-mas* 'piece-fish,' from *kæbælla,* piece, and *mas,* fish or flesh. *Kæbalikaraṇavâ* is to cut or break into pieces. There are similar compound words in Siṅghalese, *e.g., hun* or *hunu-sâl,* 'powder,' 'broken into pieces, rice.'" The word *Kæbælla* is of course the Pâli *kabala,* Sans. *kavala.* I may mention that Mr. A. Gray, in his paper on the Maldive Islands (*Journal, R. A. S.* N. S., vol. X.) follows Pyrard de la V. in the mistake of referring the word to the Sin. *Kalu-mas,* black fish, a derivation which is manifestly untenable. DONALD FERGUSON.

Colombo, 29th July 1879.

PROPER NAMES.—It is the custom in Behâr when a man's elder children die, to give any children that may be subsequently born, names signifying an unpleasant or disgusting object, and also to bore their noses. This is supposed to make the children, thus named and with their noses thus bored, live long.

This custom obtains amongst all castes from Brâhmaṇs down.

Is there any similar or parallel custom prevalent in Western India, and has the origin of the superstition been explained?

I append a list of names thus applied to younger children for the sake of comparison:—

No.	Name in Nâgarî Character.	Name in English Character.	Meaning.
1	अकलुआ	Akaluâ	Famine-stricken
2	अन्धरा	Andhrâ	Blind.
3	अनपुछा	Anpuchhâ	One not inquired about.
4	करिआ	Kariâ	Black.
5	किरवा	Kirwâ	Worm.
6	कुकरा	Kukrâ	Dog.
7	कंटिटरा	Kaṇṭiṭrâ	One-eyed.
8	गिरगिटवा	Girgiṭwâ	Lizard.
9	गोनौरा	Gonaurâ	Dung-hill.
10	चिलरा	Chilrâ	Louse.

11	चुल्हवा	Chulhbâ	Fire-place.
12	चेथरुआ	Chetharuâ	Rags.
13	छटंकिआ	Chhaṭaṅkiâ	One-sixteenth of a *Sir*.
14	छुछुनरा	Chhuchhunrâ	Musk-rat.
15	झझुआ	Jhajhuâ	? Jangling.
16	झिंगुरा	Jhiṅgurâ	Cricket.
17	ठिठरा	Ṭhiṭhrâ	Benumbed.
18	डोँरवा	Ḍoñrwâ	A petty stream.
19	दहौरा	Dahaurâ	Washed away.
20	दुखिता	Dukhitâ	Afflicted.
21	नकछेदिआ	Nakchhediâ	Having the nose bored.
22	नन्हकिरवा	Nanhkirwâ	Of short stature
23	फतिंगवा	Phatingwâ	Grass-hopper.
24	बगड़ैआ	Bagṛaiâ	Sparrow.
25	बतहा	Bathâ	Mad.
26	बनैआ	Banaiâ	Inhabitant of a forest.
27	बोचवा	Bochwâ	Alligator.
28	बौका	Baukâ	Dumb.
29	बौधा	Baudhâ	Fool.
30	भलुआ	Bhaluâ	Bear.
31	भिखरा	Bhikhrâ	Beggar.
32	भुचवा	Bhuchwâ	Fool.
33	भुसौलवा	Bhusaulwâ	House for storing chaff.
34	भरबीतन	Bharbîtan	One span.
35	मरछवा	Marachhwâ	One whose elder brothers are dead.
36	लंगट	Laṅgaṭ	Scoundrel, naked.
37	सुपना	Supnâ	Sieve-shaped.

Female Names.

1	अन्धरी	Andhrî	Blind.
2	कलरी	Kalarî	Beggar.
3	घेघही	Gheghahî	Goitrous.
4	चिलरी	Chilrî	Louse.
5	चुल्हिआ	Chulhiâ	Fire-place.
6	छुछुनरी	Chhuchhunrî	Musk-rat.
7	धुरिआ	Dhuriâ	Dusty.
8	निरसी	Nirsî	Despised.
9	लिखिआ	Likhiâ	Young of a louse, nit.
10	लंगड़ी	Langḍî	Lame.
11	बौधी	Baudhî	Fool.
12	मछिआ	Machhiâ	Fly.

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BOOK NOTICES.

LA RELIGION VÉDIQUE d'après les Hymnes du Rig-Veda, par ABEL BERGAIGNE, Maître de Conferences à la Faculté des lettres de Paris, &c. (Paris: F. Viegweg: 1878.)

The first volume of this work was published last year, and the second and third will, it is to be hoped, appear in a few months. In an Introduction the author gives an account of the plan and contents of the entire work (including the 2nd and 3rd volumes), parts of which I shall translate more or less exactly, or state in abstract:—

The mythology of the Vedic Aryans, M. Bergaigne considers, is closely connected with their worship, and these two aspects of their religion ought to be studied together.

The Vedic sacrifice, by the very rites which constitute it, or at least by the greater part of the formulas in which these rites are described, appears at once to be an imitation of certain celestial phenomena.

The phenomena with which we are concerned may be reduced to two groups; those which accompany the rising of the sun, and which, the author says, I shall call solar phenomena, and those which after a long drought accompany the fall of rain, and which I shall call meteorological phenomena. In both groups, the Vedic mythology distinguishes between the male and the female elements. The male element in the solar phenomena is the sun itself, and in the meteorological, the lightning. The corresponding female elements are the dawn and the cloud, or . . . . . the dawns and the waters. These different elements admit of different representations which constitute the mythological anthropomorphism and zoomorphism.

The most frequent figures of animals are for the males, the bird, the horse, either winged or otherwise, the bull and the calf; for the females, the mare, and, above all, the cow. Between these beings of the two sexes, whether under their human, or their animal, form, there are established mythical connections representing the supposed relations of the elements to each other. The concomitance, priority, posteriority of phenomena find their expression in the sexual union, or the collateral kinship, in the paternity, or the maternity, in the filiation, of the mythological beings. These relations, too, can be confounded or reversed according to the different or manifold points of view under which they are regarded. Hence the incests of brother and sister, of father and daughter. Hence the paradoxes in which the authors of the hymns take a sort of childish pleasure,—'the daughter has given birth to her father,'—'the son has begotten his mothers,'—

paradoxes which are explained by the fact that the sun has been considered sometimes as the son, sometimes as the father, of the dawn, or that the celestial waters have passed, sometimes for the mothers of the lightning which is produced in the midst of them, sometimes for the daughters of the same lightning which makes them flow.

All this mythical phraseology is reproduced in the description of the ceremonies of worship. These ceremonies have two principal parts, the preparation of the offering and its being sacrificed in the fire. Let us stop first at the second operation. The male element is the fire himself, Agni, whilst the female element is the offering, whatever it be, butter, milk, or the spirituous liquor of the Soma. Now the fire and the offering are often represented under the same forms as the male and female elements of the celestial phenomena, and the relations conceived to exist between the latter are extended to the former . . . . . . (pp. vii—ix.)

There is another order of females which the hymns bring into relation with fire, and still more frequently with the sacrificial beverage. I mean the prayers, these lowing cows which call their calf, or answer him. But these females also have their celestial prototype in the thunder peals, considered as the lowings of the cows of the storm, or are themselves likened to these cows. The correspondence of the rite and the phenomenon is nowhere more evident than in the formulas which consecrate the relation of the prayers to the fire and the consecrated beverage.

I have as yet spoken of an imitation of the phenomena in the worship. But in order to render the exact thought of the Vedic Aryans, it is necessary to go further. The rites are the real reproduction on earth of the acts which are accomplished in heaven. The elements of worship are not mere symbols of the elements of the celestial phenomena;—they are identical with them in nature, and like them derive their origin from heaven (p. ix. f.)

If now we ask ourselves what could be the import (*portée*) of a sacrifice conceived as an imitation of the celestial phenomena, we shall doubtless recognize in it, under the particular form of a naturalistic worship, one of those practices which consist in producing in effigy that which it is desired should take place in reality,—practices which are common to most of the primitive peoples, and which often continue down to a well advanced state of civilization. . . . . The Vedic sacrifice, which, besides, was regulated according to the hours of the day, and the seasons of the year, had for its object to assure the maintenance of the natural order of the world, whether in the solar phenomena, or especially in those meteorological phenomena which are less regular, or even to hasten the production of these last in conformity with human wishes. . . . . . The efficacy of such an operation was the better assured, because, as the Vedic Aryans believed, it was no mere imitation, but because the sacrifice was accomplished by means of elements borrowed from heaven by men who attributed their own origin to the same quarter (p. xii.)

The resemblance conceived to exist between the sacrifice and the celestial phenomena is more complete than I have as yet pointed out. Not only is the sacrifice an imitation of the phenomena; but the phenomena themselves are regarded as a sacrifice (p. xiii.)

The particular conception of the relations of earth and heaven, which, alone, has been so far analyzed, is a directly naturalistic conception, in which the elements themselves play the principal part. Here the real gods are the elements, at least the male elements, the sun, the lightning, or better still, the different forms of the universal element which bears, as fire, the name of Agni, as a beverage, that of Soma, and of which the celestial forms are the sun and the lightning. . . . (p. xiv.)

But the Vedic mythology is acquainted with other deities besides those which directly represent the elements, or the worlds in which these elements are produced. We might, it is true, mention several more which may be purely and simply identified with the sun or the lightning, or rather with Agni, or Soma, under one or other of their forms, or under all these forms at once. It is thus that Pûshan combines with the attributes of the sun certain features which recall the sacred beverage. It is thus, again, that Vishṇu, taking his three steps, appears to be nothing but a representative of the male, Agni, or Soma, moving about in the three worlds. On the other hand the distinction between the element and the person who presides over it . . . . is a fact too simple, too necessarily connected with the natural development of myths to need to be here insisted upon. . . But the god to whom I wish to come appears to be much more widely distinguished from the elements than the different personages who have just been enumerated.

This god, called Indra, is the one who, if the number of hymns addressed to him, and the part there ascribed to him are considered, occupies decidedly the first place in the mythology of the *Ṛig-Veda*. Not that he, too, does not derive his attributes from the elements at his command. . . The character of Indra is, above all, that of a warrior-deity: Agni and Soma, when they are manifested as lightning or the sun, are also

regarded as heroes, conquerors of drought and night, of the waters and the dawns. Between them and Indra the difference appears then to be above all in the point which the personification of the element has reached, or rather in the consistency with which the distinction between the element and the god who presides over it is observed. Whilst, in the cases of Agni, Soma and other gods formerly mentioned, the element and the god, though distinguished, ... are always tending to be confounded anew,—in Indra, who is much more fixed, more thoroughly transformed by anthropomorphism, they remain decidedly and definitively separated. Indra is the god who makes the sun rise after the dawn, and who, armed with the lightning, makes the celestial waters flow (pp. xv. f).

The conception of the order of the world as fixed in the myth of Indra, is dualistic. Good, *i.e.* in the physical sense—light and rain, and evil, that is to say, darkness and drought, are in it referred to two orders of opposing powers. From Indra, the god, men expect only good. Evil is entirely the work of demons, the Paṇis, Śushṇa, Vala, and the most famous of all, Vṛitra, considered especially as the robber of the waters. Indra combats these demons, smites, kills, or mutilates them; and by his victory, he delivers the dawns and the waters, and restores to men light and rain. To this mythological conception a particular conception of the worship corresponds. . . The sacrifice retains its action, in a certain way magical, upon the celestial phenomena. But it no longer does so directly, but through the instrumentality of the god whom the consecrated beverage intoxicates, excites, and enables to sustain, and happily terminate, his conflict with the demons (p. xvii.)

An essential opposition of nature and attributes is to be noted between Indra, and such deities as Parjanya, Rudra, Savitṛi-Tvashtṛi and the Âdityas. To mark that opposition I shall call the latter, for want of another name, the *sovereign* gods, because they rule unopposed over that world over which Indra can only manifest his power by constantly repeated victories. . .

All these divinities belong to an unitarian conception of the order of the world in which good and evil, that is to say, the day and the night, the rain and the drought, are referred to one and the same personage, or to one and the same category of celestial personages. It results thence that these deities have a double aspect, propitious and severe: an equivocal character which, in opposition to the exclusively benevolent character of Indra, may be interpreted in a malevolent sense, so as to assimilate them, in a certain measure, to the demons of the dualistic conception (p. xix.)

The study of the *sovereign gods* of the Vedic religion will lead us to treat the relations of that religion with general morality. .

The hymns are not the works of moralists. Composed for the most part with a view to the ceremonies of worship, they contain, beyond the description of these ceremonies, and the praises of the gods, little but an expression of the desires of their worshippers, and a constantly reiterated appeal to their liberality, and for their protection. Not only is morality never formulated there in precepts; but even in the way of allusion, all that the authors of the hymns allow us to perceive of their ideas regarding the vices or crimes to be shunned, and the virtues to be practised, is limited to very vague generalities . . . . . Of the two literary monuments, the most ancient which our race possesses, the naturalistic and liturgical poetry of the *Ṛig-Veda*, and the Homeric Epic,—the first has over the second an indisputable advantage, that of throwing a much clearer light on the formation of myths and ancient religious beliefs. But if we have only to do with determining the moral condition of a primitive society, the advantage is altogether on the side of the Homeric Epic, and it is too great to admit of any comparison between it and the Vedic hymns.

But the *Ṛig-Veda*, while failing to disclose the particular forms of moral life manifested by the ancestors of the Indian race, reveals at least the intensity of that life, the sentiment, at once lively and deep, which they had of a purity to be preserved, or restored, of taints to be avoided or purged by expiation. The Vedic poets had, in the simple prayers addressed to their gods, no opportunity, as Homer had, to show us the morality of their time in action; but the moral conscience utters in these prayers the only language it was then called to hold: the religious language, the moral sentiment, take in them the only form they could there naturally assume—that of an appeal to the divine justice, and above all to the divine mercy (p. xx. f.)

The first obligation which the Vedic Aryas owed to their gods, was the observance of their worship with its ceremonies. Every omission and mistake in the fulfilment of these rites was a fault. But the consciousness of that fault, and the terrors it causes, do not necessarily belong to the order of moral sentiments in the sense in which we understand that expression. So long as everything passes between the offender and the person offended, we may believe that we merely witness a quarrel in which, on both sides, personal interests alone are concerned. The mere anxiety of the god to avenge the offence against himself

has in it nothing very august, and the prayer addressed to him by the offender may only indicate the natural fear of the feebler in presence of the stronger.

But the moral function of the god becomes clearly defined when he takes up not merely his own cause, but the cause of the fellows of the suppliant whom the latter has wronged. The idea that the gods regard and punish offences other than those which are committed directly against themselves, when it finds its way into naturalistic religions, gives them decidedly the moral character which was wanting to them originally. Now, this idea is expressed in passages of the *Ṛig-Veda*, which, it is true, are but few in number, but of the sense of which there can be no doubt. By means of these texts, passages much more numerous, in which the confession of the sinner is expressed in more general terms, receive a new light. . . . It is fortunate that by this means the moral character of the Vedic religion, which might otherwise have been disputed, has been placed beyond doubt.

But this moral character results from other considerations. . . It is true that the notion of a bargain between two contracting parties (the god and his worshipper),—'give me, I give thee'—continued to be a sufficiently exact formula of the relations established by the Vedic worship between heaven and earth during the long period for which that worship survived the primitive conceptions from which it took its rise. But alongside of this rude idea of the relation between men and the deity, and of other conceptions of worship associated even more closely with the essential principles of the Vedic mythology, there had been formed another notion answering better to the moral requirements of humanity. Confidence in the divine goodness, for example, and repentance founded not only on the fear of punishment, but on regret for having violated a faithful friendship, (for the Ṛishis give their gods the title of friends,) are indisputable manifestations of moral consciousness.

What frequently still further elevates the conception of worship, and gives a moral tendency to the confession of a fault committed against the gods, is the idea that the latter regard, not merely the outward act of sacrifice, but the intention with which it is offered, and that without sincerity on the part of the sacrificer, the offerings cannot please them. This virtue of sincerity is, upon the whole, the chief Vedic virtue; or, to speak more exactly, the Vedic poets when referring, for the most part, in vague terms. to moral good and evil, most frequently mean to apply them to truth and falsehood.

Another idea, the moral import of which could not be denied, is that of "law," as conceived by the Vedic bards. We shall see how the same words denote in turn laws natural, sacrificial, and moral; and the philological discussion of these terms, their primitive and derived significations, will illustrate the origin and development of the ideas themselves. The formation of the idea of law, so far as that idea can be applied to common and social morality, will not be the sole object of enquiry. In showing the resemblance of the laws of sacrifice to those which regulate the order of the world, I shall, says M. Bergaigne, exhibit the conception of the worship under a new aspect, which will result in enhancing its dignity, and will bring out the moral character of repentance testified for an offence against the gods, even if that offence consisted only in an infraction of liturgical prescriptions.

But the Vedic deities do not all interest themselves in the same degree in the distinction between moral good and evil, and are not all equally regarded as governing either the moral or the physical world, by immutable laws. In this double point of view the difference is especially profound between the warrior god I n d r a and those of the sovereign gods, who are called by the common name of Â d i t y a s, of whom the first is V a r u ṇ a . . . . (pp. xxi.—xxiv.)

The author returns again thus in p. xxv. to the distinction in character between Indra and the sovereign gods:

The essential difference between the deities belonging to these two conceptions, the one dualistic, the other unitarian, of the order of the world, is that the warrior god (Indra) opposed to a demon, is exclusively benevolent, whilst the sovereign gods, the authors of physical evil as well as physical good, have a character alternately benevolent and malevolent, which inspires their suppliants with terror as much as with love. That difference is also, in my opinion, the cause of the inequality in the aptitude of the divine personages to be invested with moral functions. The idea of malevolence became, in proportion as the sentiment of the divine majesty became more elevated, inseparable from the idea of justice. I n d r a, always beneficent, was not, and could not be, for the Vedic Âryas, anything but a friend. V a r u ṇ a, alternately propitious and displeased, was their judge. The anger of the god could only be explained by the sin of men. It is thus that the half-demoniacal attributes of the sovereign gods in the order of natural phenomena appear to have been closely connected with their providential attributes in the order of moral ideas.

Whatever opinion may be formed by the scholars who occupy themselves with the same class of

studies, in regard to the light in which M. Bergaigne looks upon the Vedic ceremonies as imitations of celestial phenomena, and as intended to be reproductions on earth of acts performed in heaven, and so forth, little doubt can be entertained of the ingenuity which his theory manifests. His view, also, of the different characters of the Vedic deities, of the distinction to be drawn between Indra as an altogether benevolent being, and Varuṇa and the other "sovereign gods" as the authors of physical evil as well as physical good, as combining the two qualities of severity and benevolence, and as possessing a moral nature, may be noted as interesting.

The following are the contents of the first volume as tabulated at its close. Introduction. Part I. The elements of the Vedic mythology in natural phenomena and in worship. Chap. i. The worlds; Chap. ii. The male elements. Sections i—vi, the heaven; the sun; lightning; Agni; his different forms: celestial origin of terrestrial fire, and of the human race; return of the fire to heaven; myths of the other life; the celestial sacrifice; action of the terrestrial sacrifice on the celestial phenomena; representations of Agni and the sacrificers: Soma; his different forms; celestial origin of the terrestrial Soma; his return to heaven; myths of the other life; the celestial sacrifice; action of the terrestrial sacrifice on the celestial phenomena; representations of Soma and the sacrificers: the mythical personage of the male. Chap. iii. The female elements. The earth; heaven and earth; the dawn; the dawn and night; the water of the cloud; the waters in general; the offerings; the prayers; the mythical personage of the female.

P. S.—M. Bergaigne's book is noticed in pp. 26—29 of the *Rapport Annuel* of the *Société Asiatique de Paris* for this year, by M. Renan.

J. MUIR.

DER ṚIGVEDA, oder die heiligen Hymnen der Brâhmana, zum ersten male vollständig ins deutsche übersetzt mit commentar und einleitung von ALFRED LUDWIG (Prag. F. Tempsky, 1878).

It will be known to many of our readers that two new translations of the hymns of the *Ṛigveda* into German have been published by Professor Ludwig and by Professor Grassmann[1] (in 1876 and 1877). The former of these two scholars has since then brought out (in 1878) a third volume of his work, which bears the special title of "The Mantra-Literature and ancient India, as an introduction to the translation of the *Ṛigveda.*" I shall condense the list of contents of this volume, as given at the commencement. After an introduction and preliminary remarks, the author treats of the following topics: 1, The *Veda*, its component parts: 2, origin of the *Veda*, of its separate hymns; its collections; revelation, the seeing of the hymns; the authorship of the Ṛishis; and, 3, its metrical form; 4, the text and its fortunes; 5, the Vedic poets, authors of the several Maṇḍalas; 6, persons other than the authors of the hymns, named in the several Maṇḍalas; 7, period and antiquity of the *Veda*; 8, the country and people; mountains, rivers, towns, castles; tribes, the Âryas and Dâsas, the invaders, and aborigines, the Paṇis; 9, the Âryas, their different classes; the position of the priests and their sub-divisions; the population not included in the four castes; 10, the Âryan state; the army, the king, and the assemblies of the Âryas; 11, their religion, and its commands and fundamental conceptions; the religious assemblies; faith, zeal, liberality; resistance to these requirements and its punishment; the fundamental conceptions of religion, *ṛita* (truth, right, good, law) *dharma* (order), *satya, brahma, tapas, yajña, dîkshâ*; 12, the gods, their relation to men. Mâyâ, Deva, Dyaus, Varuṇa, Indra, Rudra and Pṛiśni, Agni, Vivasvat, Tvashṭṛi; 13, demons and enchantments, superstition and its effects on life; 14, worship; general stand-point; forms and instruments of sacrifice.

These chapters are followed by translations of a number of hymns.

To chapter 1st on the *Vedas* are prefixed (pp. 1-14) some introductory remarks on the country in which the Vedic hymns were produced; on the Âryas, and their enemies the aborigines; on the language of the hymns, the modifications which it underwent, and their causes, of which Buddhism and the intermixture of the aboriginal tribes are mentioned. The opposition of the Brâhmaṇs to the natural tendency of the Vaiśyas and Śûdras to become blended, their apprehension that by this intermixture the former of these classes would lose its purity, and that this union might lead to the subjected aboriginal population recovering in a certain degree its power, the restriction, by the representatives of religion, of the religious prerogatives which alone could keep together the Âryas as one united body distinguished from the Śûdras, to a small portion of the former, the limited number of the third caste which could receive religious instruction and take part in religious ordinances, and the number of Âryas who, at a comparatively early period, lost their caste and sank into the class of

[1] *Ṛig-Veda übersetzt und mit kritischen und erläuternden anmerkungen versehen* von Hermann Grassmann. 2 Th. (Leipzig: Brockhaus: 1876 and 1877.)

Śûdras, are then referred to. The proportion of the population interested in Brâhmaṇism was thus diminished, until a revolution arose, which, indeed, ended in an outward return to the old state of things, although this was not restored without an essential internal modification. I now quote Prof. Ludwig's remarks, which follow in pp. 11—13, in full, as a specimen of his treatment of his subject:—

"Thus arose the movement which introduced the appearance of Buddha, who proposed the happiness, the redemption, of all from evil, as the object of his efforts, his teaching, his practice; and declared this goal to be attainable by all men. The power which Buddhism exercised upon the oppressed, and in no small measure upon the oppressors likewise, might, even if we had no direct and trustworthy evidence to the same effect, be recognized by the principles which Brâhmaṇism has borrowed from it, in order to assert itself, and to regain its ancient predominance. The principle of tenderness to all living creatures, of liberation from evil, the theory of the transmigration of souls, &c., theorems which were altogether calculated to make a people like the Indians regard the oppressive caste system as endurable,—were derived from Buddhism. These theorems stood, no doubt, in irreconcilable opposition to the supposed origin of castes, and many of the grounds on which the caste system is combated in the more recent Buddhist writings are borrowed from the Buddhistic elements of the later Brâhmaṇism. But the older Brâhmaṇism, too, in its complete transformation (*uebergang*) into pantheism, offered to the innovators sufficient points of connection in the view, which not rarely comes out in the *Veda* itself, of an unity in the nature of the godhead (*Ṛ.-V.* x. 121; 82, 5—7). The progress in this direction may be traced from the the *Veda* through the *Brâhmaṇas* and their branches the *Âraṇyakas* and *Upanishads*, in the philosophy of the Mîmâṁsâ, the Sâṅkhya, and the Yoga; it ends in Buddhism; for if, as the *Ṛigveda* already says, all the gods have sprung from one primeval germ, the same is true of things moving and stationary in general. (*Ṛ.-V.* x. 90.) If the castes, altogether and separately, have sprung from Purusha, an absolute distinctness of the three higher from the fourth is no longer tenable, as the Buddhists themselves intimate: (see *Bṛih. Âr. Up.* i. 4, 15; iv. 3, 22). The theory of the four ages (*yugas*)—which in a certain way existed already in the Vedic age,*—in its further extension gave the last impulse to the overthrew of the views regarding the casce system; so that the Brâhmaṇs also, in order to render a reconciliation possible, had to admit that a Śûdra might be born again as a Kshatriya, &c., and, on the other hand, a Brâhmaṇ in one of the lower castes, and even as a Śûdra.

"As Buddhism occasioned profound and essential alterations in the doctrines of Brâhmaṇism, which could not again be expelled from them, so must also the long continued invasion of the lower classes have left traces, which could not be obliterated, in the entire population. The reconstruction of Brâhmaṇism was only rendered possible by the incorporation in it of important materials, derived from the structure of Buddhism, which were but little in harmony with its ancient plan. Much of the earlier holy scriptures and traditions, which were guarded with so great jealousy, must in the interval have come to the knowledge of people who, according to the Brâhmaṇical ideas, had no right to know it, as, at least, the Buddhistic writings assure us.

"And if, in the following period, the caste-system became more close, and the Pali dialect was set aside, and the sacred language was made the exclusive vehicle of literature, still during the reign of Buddhism the population must have been violently shaken together, (*durcheinander gerürt*) and have become quite changed; we see that while theory sought to realize the absurdest dreams, the actually existing circumstances practically decided matters, and were able to elevate even a Śûdra to the throne. A powerful impression must also have been made upon men's views by the fact that alongside of Brâhmaṇism there existed an independent ground, the occupation of which could enable men to defy the narrow prejudices of caste: besides, there now existed philosophical or philosophizing sects and schools which took their place beside Brâhmaṇism, for the most part, no doubt, without claiming more than a theoretical significance, yet without giving up their own claim to be considered orthodox, however little their theorems might be really reconcilable with the scriptural belief of the Brâhmaṇs.

"Buddha was a Kshatriya; but now the *Brâhmaṇas* and *Upanishads* adduce examples of Brâhmaṇs being instructed by Kshatriyas in the highest truths of religion. Compare the well-known history of Śvetaketu Âruṇeya who came to Pravâhaṇa Jaivali the king of the Panchâlas, *Chhândogya Up.* vv. 3, 9 and *Bṛih. Âr. Up.* vi. 2), or the conversation between Gârgya and Ajâtaśatru (*Bṛiḥ. Âr. Up.* ii. 1). As the

* Compare *Ṛ.-V.* viii. 90, 14:—"Three races have passed away; others have been gathered around the sun;" and x. 97, 1, "before the three-ages of men," and so evidently "in the former age of the gods," x. 72, 2 f. the herbs came to the earth; and *Atharva-Veda* viii. 2, 21.

Upanishads already know and accept the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, we should perhaps seek in these accounts for a designed and significant (*tendenziöze*) allusion to the circumstance that the Brâhmaṇs did not absolutely reject and hold for unlawful, instruction even in the highest truths, received from the Kshatriyas. Ajâtaśatru, as is well known, was king when Buddha was born. There may have prevailed at this very period a general impulse, which was not confined to the Brâhmaṇs, and could not be restricted by them, to engage in enquiries of the highest metaphysic, in which King Janaka, for instance, played a great part; and this circumstance might fix with certainty the origin of the Upanishads as belonging to the period of the beginning of Buddhism, and as contemporaneous with the later Brâhmaṇa era."

The instruction of Brâhmaṇs in divine knowledgeby Kshatriyas is referred to in Professor Max Müller's *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. II. p. 338 (edit. 1867).[3] See also my *Original Sanskṛit Texts*, vol. I. pp. 426—436. The subject has been more recently referred to in M. P. Regnaud's "*Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la philosophie de l'Inde* (Materials for a history of Indian philosophy) Part I. pp. 55 ff., from which I translate the following observations on the "influence exercised by the Kshatriyas on the primitive development of the doctrine of the *âtman*."

"*A priori*, it is very probable that in India philosophical speculations did not originate in the sacerdotal caste, or, at least, were sure, at first, not to meet with much favour among its members.

"When a religious system is established, as Brâhmaṇism was towards the end of the Vedic period, and especially when that system comprises a multitude of rites, the knowledge and practice of which form the appanage of a class which makes it its hereditary profession and property, the priests of which that class is composed have an interest of the first order in constituting themselves the vigilant and perpetual guardians of orthodoxy. It was thus that in Judea the doctrine of Christ found among the priests and the doctors of the law its fiercest and most persevering adversaries. And without going out of India, we have in Buddhism, the founder of which, Śâkya Muni, was sprung from the caste of the Kshatriyas, the example of a new religion or philosophy originating outside of the sacerdotal caste, with which the latter soon entered into open hostility. The doctrine of the Upanishads, from which the orthodox systems of philosophy, and more especially Vedantism, issued, never,—at least if we may judge from the documents which we possess,—entered into pronounced hostility with the primitive Brâhmaṇism. But if the latter incorporated it at an early period into its system, and liked better to adopt it than to combat it, it is not the less presumable that it was neither the initiator nor the early promoter of it. And this is not a mere presumption based upon simple analogies. In reference to the preponderating part played by the Kshatriyas in the propagation of the doctrine of the *âtman*, the ancient *Upanishads* furnish us with indications too explicit to make it possible for us not to take them into serious consideration. and not readily to see in them a movement of ideas inaugurated without the Brâhmaṇs, and perhaps in spite of them.

"I proceed to adduce the different texts which authorize these conjectures, while I draw attention to the circumstance that the proof which they furnish is the stronger, and their authenticity is the less assailable, that the Brâhmaṇs had every interest to suppress them, if the thing had been possible, when they had admitted, and attached to the *Vedas*, the new philosophy."

The texts referred to are then adduced.[4]

J. MUIR.

Über die MAGAVYAKTI des Krishṇadâsa Miçra. Von A. Weber. (Berlin: 1879.)

By way of relaxation from the drudgery and toil which his forthcoming enlarged edition of Hâla entails upon him, Professor A. Weber has been investigating the history of the origin of the Maga or Śâkadvîpîya Brahmans, on the basis of a Sanskrit tract on the subject, the *Magavyakti*. After a critical examination of previous notices of the Maga clan of Brahmans to be found in European writers, but more especially in the *Bhavishya Purâṇa* and in Varâha Mihira's *Bṛihat Saṁhitâ*, he fully discusses the bearing of those accounts on the history of the Parsi settlements in Western India, as well as various collateral questions connected with the religious and literary history of the Hindus, and gives in conclusion the text of the Magavyakti in Roman characters. The whole essay is so interesting and so suggestive of further research that we venture to express a hope that some competent scholar may be induced to make it accessible to a wider circle of readers by means of an English translation. R. R.

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[3] See also the same author's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 80 and 421 ff.

[4] I may mention that the author of this book on the *Upanishads*, M. Regnaud, has been appointed Professor or Lecturer (Maître des Conférences) at the Faculty of Letters in Lyons; and recently opened the work of that chair by an Address on the Sanskrit language and literature.

NOTE ON THE *MENGALA THOK.*

BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., ETC.

WITH reference to a newspaper slip, a copy of which was printed in this Journal (vol. VIII. p. 82), purporting to give a translation of a well-known Burmese text, there called the *Mengla Thut*, taught in the schools in Burmâ, I would remark as follows:—

I have by me a text-book in Burmese, printed by the local Government at Rangoon, for the use of schools, in an issue of 10,000 copies, in A. D. 1867 (Burmese Era 1237). In this book the *Mengala Thôk* forms the first of six texts. It is in Pâli, with a running commentary or rather translation in Burmese after the manner of our Greek and Latin "cribs" in England.[1] The text is also the 5th in the late Professor Childers' *Khuddaka Pâtha*, which is again "the first of the fifteen divisions of the *Khuddaka Nikâya* and immediately precedes the *Dhammapada*." Prof. Childers's text is taken from the Singhalese version, and does not materially differ from the Burmese, and where it does differ, one may be prétty sure that the Singhalese version is the correct one.

I have therefore here taken the liberty of transcribing Childers's text and of using his rendering of the same. It will be observed to differ considerably from that already alluded to (*ante*, p. 82). That version is in fact the Burmese rendering of the Pâli original, the great power of which is nearly entirely lost in it.

With regard to the names *Mengala Thôk* and *Mengla Thut*: these are the same words, as I will proceed to show. The word in Sanskrit is *Mangala-sûtra*, which speaks for itself, and in Pâli is *Mangala-sutta*. In Burmese it is written *Mangalasutt* or *Mangalasut*, in accordance with the usual law of that language, which cuts off the last short terminal syllable of imported Pâli words. By the laws of Burmese phonetics this word *Mangalasut* is pronounced *Mengala Thôk*; *e* as in met, *th* as in *thing*.

The Pâli text according to Childers[2] is as follows:

Mangalasutta.

Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammâ sambuddhassa.

1. Evam me sutaṁ. Ekaṁ samayaṁ Bhagavâ Sâvatthiyaṁ viharati Jetavane Anâthapiṇḍikassa ârâme. Atha kho aññatarâ devatâ abhikkantâya rattiyâ abhikkantavaṇṇâ kevalakappaṁ Jetavanaṁ obhâsetvâ yena Bhagavâ ten' upasaṅkami upasaṅkamitvâ Bhagavantaṁ abhivâdetvâ ekamantaṁ aṭṭhâsi. Ekamantaṁ ṭhitâ kho sâ devatâ Bhagavantaṁ gâthâya ajjhabhâsi.

2. Bahû devâ manussâ cha[3] maṅgalâni achintayuṁ Âkaṅkhamânâ sotthânaṁ. Brûhi maṅgalam uttamaṁ.

3. Asevanâ cha bâlânaṁ paṇḍitânañ cha sevanâ Pûjâ cha pûjanîyânâṁ etam maṅgalam uttamaṁ.

4. Patirûpadesavâso cha pubbe cha katapuññatâ Attasammâpaṇidhi cha etaṁ maṅgalam uttamaṁ.

5. Bâhusachchañ cha sippañ cha vinayo cha susikkhito Subhâsitâ cha yâ vâchâ etam maṅgalam uttamaṁ.

6. Mâtâpitu-upaṭṭhânaṁ puttadârassa saṅgaho Anâkulâ cha kammantâ etam maṅgalam uttamaṁ.

7. Dânañ cha dhammachariyâ cha ñâtakânañ cha saṅgaho Anavajjâni kammâni etam maṅgalam uttamaṁ.

8. Ârati virati pâpâ majjapânâ cha saññamo Appamâdo cha dhammesu etam maṅgalam uttamaṁ.

9. Gâravo cha nivâto cha santuṭṭhî cha kataññutâ Kâlena dhammasavaṇaṁ etam maṅgalam uttamaṁ.

10. Khanti cha sovachassatâ samaṇânañ cha dassanaṁ Kâlena dhammasâkachchhâ etam maṅgalam uttamaṁ.

11. Tapo cha brahmachariyâ cha ariyasachchâna' dassanaṁ Nibbânasachchhikiriyâ cha etam maṅgalam uttamaṁ.

12. Phuṭṭhassa lokadhammehi chittaṁ yassa na kampati Asokaṁ virajaṁ khemaṁ etam maṅgalam uttamaṁ.

13. Etâdisâni katvâna sabbattha-m-aparâjitâ Sabbattha sotthiṁ gachchhanti taṁ tesaṁ maṅgalam uttamaṁ.

Maṅgalasuttaṁ niṭṭhitaṁ.

Professor Childers has translated this very beautiful *Sûtra* as follows, and the translation is of course a good one though somewhat bald.

Praise be to the Blessed One, the Holy One, the Author of all Truth.

I. Thus I have heard. On a certain day dwelt Buddha[4] at Śrâvasti,[5] at the Jetavana monastery, in the garden of Anâthapiṇḍaka. And when the night was far advanced a certain radiant celestial being, illuminating the whole of Jetavana, approached the Blessed One and saluted him and

[1] A translation by the present writer of the 6th of these texts, called the *Lokantti*, or in Burmese the *Lawkantdi*, is to be found in the *Jour. A. S. Beng.* for 1878.

[2] *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. vol. IV. p. 312.

[3] Childers in his texts always uses c to represent the sound of our *ch*. I have however in this transcript reverted to *ch* to represent it.—R. C. T.

[4] The text has "The Blessed One" (*Bhâgavâ*).—R. C. T.

[5] *Sâvatthi* in the text is the Pali pronunciation of the name.—R. C. T.

stood aside. And standing aside addressed him with this verse.[6]

2. Many gods[7] and men, yearning after good, have held divers things to be blessings[8]; say thou, what is the greatest blessing.[9]

3. To serve wise men and not serve fools, to give honor to whom honor is due, this is the greatest blessing.

4. To dwell in a pleasant land, to have done good deeds in a former existence, to have a soul filled with right desires, this is the greatest blessing.

5. Much knowledge and much science, the discipline of a well-trained mind and a word well spoken, this is the greatest blessing.

6. To succour father and mother, to cherish wife and child, to follow a peaceful calling, this is the greatest blessing.

7. To give alms, to live religiously, to give help to relatives, to do blameless deeds, this is the greatest blessing.

8. To cease and abstain from sin, to eschew strong drink, to be diligent in good deeds, this is the greatest blessing.

9. Reverence and lowliness and contentment and gratitude, to receive religious teaching at due seasons, this is the greatest blessing.

10. To be longsuffering and meek, to associate with the priests of Buddha, to hold religious discourse at due seasons, this is the greatest blessing.

11. Temperance and chastity, discernment of the four great truths, the prospect of Nirvâṇa, this is the greatest blessing.

12. The soul of one unshaken by the changes of this life, a soul inaccessible to sorrow, passionless, secure, this is the greatest blessing.

13. They that do these things are invincible on every side, on every side they walk in safety, yea theirs is the greatest blessing.

The Song of Blessing is finished.

A comparison of this powerful text with the rendering given it by the Burmese commentators as translated *ante*, p. 82, will show its immense superiority over the latter.[10]

[6] This latter rendering is a little abridged. I think it is more powerful if given in full:—"Approached the Blessed One, and approaching saluted the Blessed One, and stood aside, and standing aside the angel spake to the Blessed One in verse."—R. C. T.

[7] Angels or celestial beings is a better rendering of *devâ* in a Buddhist work.—R. C. T.

[8] Or have devised blessings; *achintayuṁ* is a very difficult word to render.—R. C. T.

[9] Or tell the greatest blessing.—R. C. T.

[10] The rendering referred to seems to be correct enough as applied to the Burmese text or commentary.—R. C. T.

ON THE PERIPLÛS OF THE ERYTHRÆAN SEA.

BY THE LATE M. REINAUD.

(*Translated from the Mémoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, tom. XXIV. pt. ii.)

The author of the book was a sea captain or commercial agent, who is represented to have departed from Egypt, and who, after having run along the western coast of the Red Sea and eastern coast of Africa as far as Zanzibar, the extreme point of Roman voyages, returns, and coasting the eastern side of the Red Sea where the Romans had formed establishments, he passes a second time through the Strait of Bab-elmandeb, and coasting the south of Arabia, he enters the Gulf of Persia, and arrives at Spasini-Kharax and Obollah.[1] After doing business there he sets sail in the direction of Hormuz; he stops successively at the ports on the south of Persia; he makes a point in the Valley of the Indus, after which, turning southwards, he visits the ports of Gujarat and Malabar.

The author of the *Periplûs* is not a professed scholar. But his chief concern being with commercial matters, he speaks as an intelligent man possessed of a clear judgment. He treats as they deserved certain absurd geographical theories of Ptolemy's. According to one of these theories the continent of Africa stretched to the east, and was connected with the south-east of Asia, making the Erythræan sea a great lake. The author of the *Periplûs* arrived at Zanzibar, says distinctly that from thence the continent bends to the west, and is terminated towards the Atlantic Ocean.[2] Moreover, as to the unpardonable error of Ptolemy who, on leaving the south coast of Persia, seems not to have had a suspicion of the bend which the sea makes to the left and then to the right, and who prolongs the Asiatic continent straight to the east, the author of the *Periplûs* when he arrives at Barugaza, does not fail to notify to the readers that the coast of the peninsula of India trends from thence to the south.[3] He even notices the expression by which the natives designate the southern part of the peninsula among themselves: this is the word Dakhinabad, which means in Sanskṛit, 'the coast of the right hand.'[4] Finally, at the end of his narrative, making only one nation of the Sêres and Sines or Thines, which Ptolemy by mistake had made two different

[1] This is an Arab corruption of Apologos—'a custom-house.'—Reinaud, *Mém. de l'Acad. des ins.*, tom. XXIV. pt. ii. p. 218; and see *ante* p. 137.—Ed.

[2] § 18, *ante* p. 129.

[3] § 50, *ante* p. 148.

[4] *Ibid.* and Reinaud, *Introduction à la géographie d'Aboulféda*, p. 192.

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Persian Gulf and the peninsula of India.[11] The *Periplûs* could not have been compiled from a single voyage; indeed, at that period, the ships were committed to the monsoon, and did not approach the coast except where they had to receive or deliver goods. Now, here, the narrator proceeds from one port to another without seeming to quit the coast. For this it would be necessary that a ship should be under his orders, as might no doubt be done for a political personage, but this is not natural. In attributing the compilation of the *Periplûs* to the agent of a company, it is clear that this agent might have seen a number of the places himself, and that, for the rest, he was aided by notes supplied by his colleagues. On the whole, I am in accord with Dodwell, in taking the expression *emperors* in the plural. Doubtless some scholars have remarked that this circumstance is not a sufficient argument, and that the word *emperors* might designate emperors in general; the remark is just; but as we shall see this is not the only argument.[12] . . . .

The vessels sailed from Myos Hormos, a port in the same latitude with Koptos and Thebes, and it was from these two cities that the merchandise of eastern Asia descended the Nile to Alexandria, by the same route that the commerce of Europe was conveyed to the shores of the Red Sea. A road, of which traces are still found, led from the Red Sea to the Nile. All that in Egypt related to the navigation of the eastern seas, formed a special administration entrusted to the direction of the functionary charged with the administration of Upper Egypt.[13] None but ships of small draught went up as far as the present town of Suez.

This state of things rose from the dangers presented by the navigation of the sea towards the north, which has only been changed in these latter times from the application of steam to navigation. An Arab writer in the first half of the tenth century of our era says: "Vessels from the Persian Gulf which enter the Red Sea stop at Jedda. They dare not advance beyond that, because of the difficulties of the navigation and the great number of rocks which rise from the water. Add to this, that on the coasts there is neither government nor inhabited places. A ship that sails in this sea requires to seek every night for a place of refuge for fear of being dashed against the rocks; it proceeds by day but stops by night. This sea indeed is foggy and liable to disagreeable exhalations. Nothing good is found at the bottom of this sea nor at its surface."[14]

In the time of Pliny the naturalist, the Roman vessels did not come even so far as Myos Hormos, but stopped to the south of it at Berenikê under the tropic of Cancer and almost in the latitude of Syene.[15] A special road placed this port in communication with the Nile valley. Why this difference? We know that in the third century of our era the barbarous populations called Blemyes pressed Egypt on the south and threatened the security of the caravans.[16] This was probably the cause of the change.

The ship took a southern course. Under Augustus, Abyssinia was subject to a queen who lived in the interior, in the district called the Isle of Meroe. In the 3rd century the capital had been removed near the coast to Axum, a few marches from the sea, and having Adulis, a place much frequented, for its port. At the time of the arrival of the ship at Adulis, the country was under a native prince, who is called Ζωσκάλης and who like most barbaric princes of that age was initiated in Greek letters. It is this prince's name which serves as M. Charles Müller's chief argument for placing the *Periplûs* about the year 80 of our era.

The Ethiopien chronicles, properly speaking, do not commence till after the 10th century. For the preceding periods we have only lists of the names of kings, which do not always agree among themselves. These lists were published by Salt in 1816,[17] and reproduced with more exactitude in 1853 by Dillmann, a German orientalist.[18] Ordinarily the names of persons are preceded by the letters *z-a*, of which the meaning is not known. Now on the authority of Salt, Müller remarks that under a date corresponding to a little before 80 A.D. there was a king called Hêglê, and he does not hesitate to recognize in this the name of

[11] Vopiscus, *Historia Augusta*, on Firmus.

[12] M. Vivien de Saint Martin in *Le nord de l'Afrique dans l'antiquité grecque et romaine*, strongly supports the opinion of M. Ch. Müller. For the western shore of the Red Sea and the coast of Zanzibar, he has compared (pp. 195 ff.) the account of Ptolemy and that of the *Periplûs*, and is taken with the idea that Ptolemy is not only later than the author of the *Periplûs*, but that when writing he had it under his eye. Now the statement of the *Periplûs* is almost from beginning to end a rectification of that of Ptolemy. At least if Ptolemy has jumbled matters we must admit that this illustrious geometer, who appears never to have left his country, had only defective information at command, and that the author of the *Periplûs*, coming after him, in respect to the memoir of his predecessor, profited by his position to supply so far what was still wanting: thus the reputations of both are saved (see below, p. 377).

[13] *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de l'Egypt*, par Letronne, t. II. p. 35. He was Στρατηγὸς τῆς ʼινδικῆς καὶ ʼΕρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης.

[14] *Relations des voyages des Arabes et des Persans dans l'Inde et la Chine*, tom. I. p. 142.

[15] Plin. *Hist. Nat.* lib. VI. c. xxvi.

[16] See the observations of Letrónne, *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.* tom. IX. p. 156; tom. X. pp. 185 seqq.

[17] Salt, *Abyssinia*, pp. 460 ff.; conf. also *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII. p. 235.

[18] *Journal of the German Oriental Soc.* vol. VII. p. 338.

Zôskalês. But, for my part, I find in the same lists, under a date corresponding to the years 246 and 247 A.D., a prince of the name of Sâgal or Asgal[19]—in which the form approaches satisfactorily to the Greek one.

The ship after sailing as far as Zanzibar returns to the head of the Red Sea, and stops on the Arabian coast at Leukê Kômê or the 'white village.' The text states that from Leukê Kômê a road led directly to the city of Petra.[20] The vast commerce of Petra was mostly carried by camels, but it also received by sea and exported by the same some of its traffic, and Leukê Kômê served it as an entrepôt in its relations with Arabia Felix, Abyssinia, India, &c. M. Müller thinks, with reason I believe, that Leukê Kômê corresponds with the place called Al-Hauara. But I may not stop at this; my attention is specially directed to two circumstances mentioned in the text, viz., that the city of Petra was then subject to Malikha, king of the Nabathæans, and that the Roman Government maintained an agent at Leukê Kômê charged with superintending the customs on the merchandise, as well as a centurion and company of soldiers.[21]

In Arabic *malek* is 'king,' and serves as a proper name also. Exactly in the 3rd century history presents us with persons of the name of Malek among the Arabs. Is it used here as a name or a title? Unfortunately the Arab genealogies afford us nothing more precise. M. Müller observes, with reason, that in the year 80 the kingdom of Petra still subsisted, but was overthrown some years later by Trajan. However, nothing opposes our believing that under the emperor Philip the Roman Government was confined in these parts, to the possession of the maritime places most accessible and where the Roman vessels put in, and that it had abandoned the interior to an Arab Sheikh. This is what the Arab writers say of the Gassanite[22] princes of whom some had embraced Christianity, and which agrees with Roman numismatology. Among the Roman medals struck at Petra, we possess pieces of Adrian, Marcus Aurelius, Septimus Severus and his children; but there are none for the epoch now under consideration.[23] Let us hope that the inscriptions in Sinaitic characters which have lately been discovered on the route from Petra to the Hauran and Palmyra may throw light on this matter.

When the voyage was made along the coast to the east and south, all Arabia Felix on this side and beyond the Strait of Babelmandeb formed one vast state under the King Kharibaêl. This kingdom appears to have been bordered on the north only by half-savage peoples addicted to violence and piracy; but on the south-east it was limited by the possessions of a prince called Eleazos. The author of the *Periplûs* adds that Kharibaêl took special care to cultivate the friendship of the *emperors*,[24] and to this end sent them frequent deputations and rich presents. No writer, Greek or Arab, mentions the name of Kharibaêl, but it is met with in certain inscriptions in the Himyaritic character and language recently discovered.[25] Now we know that in the 3rd, 4th and 5th centuries the Himyarites, called Homêrites by the Greeks, formed a powerful state.[26] Certain of its princes had embraced Judaism; and the Jews were always numerous in the country. Among the inscriptions is one dated 573 and another 640. These dates have proved an enigma to scholars. The facts known and the presence of the Jews in the country indicate that the Seleukidan era only can be used, adopted by all the Jewish communities under the style of the *era of the contracts*. This gives us for 573 the year 261 A.D., and for 640, 323 A.D., which fall within the limits established for the date of the composition of the *Periplûs*.

Among the towns which Kharibaêl possessed on the southern coast of Arabia the *Periplûs* mentions one called Arabia Felix.[27] Situated at the entry of the Gulf of Arabia it necessarily corresponds to the modern 'Âden (עדן). The fact is that 'Âden by its situation and the strength of its position has always been a place of considerable importance. Now the author of the *Periplûs* says that, after the discovery of the monsoons, it was at Arabia Felix that the Arab, Indian and Malay ships bearing the rich products of eastern Asia arrived, and that thither the ships from Egypt came to load. When the fleets from Egypt came to sail directly for the western coast of peninsular India the importance of Arabia Felix diminished; it was however a place of frequent call; but in the

[19] This is El-Segel in Salt's list, and who is there placed in A.D. 275 and 276; Dillmann's dates are more exact.—Ed.

[20] Mém. sur le royaume de la Mésène et de la Kharacène in *Mém. de l'Inst.* tom. XXIV. pt. ii. p. 188, also *Jour. Asiatique*, Vième Ser. tom. XVIII. pp. 197, 198, 217.

[21] The interpretation of Letronne (*Mém. de l'Acad. des inscrip.* &c. t. IX, p. 175) is preferable to that of Müller. Letronne's opinion had been already held by Dr. Vincent.

[22] Caussin de Perceval, *Histoire des Arabes*, t. II. pp. 199—222.

[23] See Eckhel, *Doctrina*, t. III. p. 503; Mionnet *Descr. des médailles antiques*, t. V. p. 58, and Suppl. t. VIII. p. 387.

[24] *Φίλος των αὐτοκρατόρων.*—*Perip.* § 23, ante p. 130.

[25] Memoir of M. Fresnel in the *Jour. Asiat.* for Sept. 1845 pp. 169 ff. See also the Memoir of M. Osiander in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, 1856, vol. X. pp. 59 ff.

[26] M. Reinaud's Mémoire on Mésène and Kharacène, *Mém. de l'Inst.* tom. XXIV. pt. ii. p. 202.

[27] *'Εὐδαίμων 'Αραβία.* § 26, ante p. 132.

time of the author of the *Periplûs* the town had recently been destroyed by a Roman emperor which he simply designates as Caesar.[28] We know that the title of Caesar was applied in a special way to the first twelve emperors, some because they belonged to the family of Julius Caesar, and others because their family was originally of Rome. Scholars who refer the composition of the *Periplûs* to the first century have found a confirmation of their opinion in this. But after the first twelve emperors, the Romans continued to give their princes the title of Caesar: frequently they were called by no other name. It is by this word only that the younger Pliny designates Trajan in his Panegyric. The title of Caesar to designate the Roman and Byzantine emperors was spread to the remotest east, and is found in Syriac, Arab, Persian, Turkish, and even Chinese writers.[29] As to the destruction of Arabia Felix by the Romans the matter is very simple. The Romans had a lucrative commerce in the eastern seas, and it led from time to time to conflicts; perhaps Arabia Felix had given refuge to pirates. The prince who destroyed Arabia Felix was probably Septimus Severus.[30]

Now we come to a fact decisive for the date I assign to the composition of the *Periplûs*. The ship in pursuing its course to the south of Arabia delays, a little before entering the Persian Gulf, at a port defended by a Persian guard.[31] In 246 Persia was under the rule of Sapor I. The existence of a Persian guard on the south coast of Arabia naturally applies to a time when the Persians held Bahrein and all the borders of the Persian Gulf. Till about the year 225 A.D., that is, until the fall of the kingdom of Mesene, the Persian kings had neither maritime commerce nor fleet. Why and how had they established a port in a country so distant?

Leaving this, the ship, entering the Persian Gulf, sails to Spasini-Kharax and moors at the quay of Obollah.[32] This city[33] which the author takes care to say was a place of Persian commerce, is indicated under the Greek form of Apologos. It is the first occasion on which the name occurs. It is not found in Ptolemy,—a fresh proof that the work of Ptolemy is long anterior to the *Periplûs*. Shall we say that if Ptolemy does not mention this town, it is from sheer forgetfulness? Ptolemy does not forget things of the kind.[34]

Next the ship sets sail to the south by the coast of Persia, and proceeds towards the mouths of the Indus. After 6 days' sail it anchors at a place called Omana, which was then the rendezvous of traders from India, Obollah, the south coast of Arabia, and the Red Sea. It next reached a place on the coast which was independent of Persia, and was called Oraia. It was situated on a bay from the middle of which a promontory ran out, near the mouth of a navigable river; at a distance of seven marches into the interior was a city where the king of the country resided.[35] C. Müller places Oman on the south coast of Persia near the town of Tiz; Oræa he places in the country of the Orites. Omana, it seems to me, should be placed at the entrance of the Persian Gulf in the neighbourhood of Ormus. The name of Ormus is of great antiquity, and though the city many times changed, its position at the entry of the Persian gulf necessarily preserved its importance. A Persian writer mentions that Ardeshir on mounting the throne set himself to restore the town. His successors followed his example.[36] It appears to me then that the ship, needing to revictual, or rather having goods to ship or to discharge, could not help visiting this place. As for the name Oman it was applied here to Kerman and to the whole coast of the Persian kingdom washed by the Indian Ocean. Whence came this? Was it from the name of the country forming the south-east of the Arabian peninsula? What is certain is that the author of the Arabic dictionary of Geography called *Mérasid*, speaking of the town of Tiz, says it was situated in the face of Oman.[37]

The country to which the *Periplûs* gives the name of Parsidai, and which formed a separate state, appears to correspond to Makran of the Arabs and the Gedrosia of the ancients. This is now included in Beluchistan. I place the bay of which the author speaks, and which he calls Terabdon at the place now called Guetter.[38] This is not far from the town of Kej, the chief town of the province of Makran. A consider-

[28] *Kaîσαρ.*

[29] The word *Caesar* is found in Syric writers of the age of the *Periplûs* (see *Acta Martyr. Pers.* by Asseman, t. I., passim). For the Chinese testimonies, see the memoir of M. Pauthier on the authenticity of the inscription of Singan-fu, Paris, 1857, p. 32. The Chinese form is *Kai-sa.* It may be noted that in Greek the word *Kaîσαρ* is preceded by the article.

[30] In fact it is said by Eutropius (lib. viii. c. 18) that Septimus Severus conquered Arabia and reduced it to a Roman province. See also Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus.* Septimus Severus moreover was favoured with special titles from the eastern provinces (see Amédée Thierry, *Tableau de l'empire romain*, Paris, 1862, p. 170).

[31] Αλλ' *ηδη τῆς Περσίδος,* see § 33, ante p. 136.

[32] § 35, ante p. 137.

[33] *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscrip.* tom. XXIV. pt. ii. pp. 199 ff.

[34] Quatremère remarks that the name of Obollah is mentioned in the Arabic work on Nabathean Agriculture. This is an additional proof that the composition of that treatise does not belong to a very early period.—*Jour. Asiat.* févr. 1861, p. 158.

[35] §§ 36, 37, ante p. 138.

[36] Silvestre de Sacy. *Transl. of Mirkhond*, pp. 277, 293.

[37] See Juynboll's ed. tom. I. p. 222; also below, next page.

[38] Horsburg, *Sailing Directions.*

able river for so arid a country falls into the bay: it is the Bhegvor or Bhugwur, on the left bank of which stands Kej.

It may be objected here that the *Periplûs* asserts that the Parsidai were independent of Persia, and separated Persia from India. Our most trustworthy authorities aver that, if, during the rule of the Arsacidæ, Persia was divided into principalities and fiefs, the policy of Ardeshir was, on the contrary, to re-unite the separate branches into one stock, and restore the glorious times of the Akhæmenian kings. Is it unnatural to refer what is said in the text to what prevailed under the Arsacidan kings, and consequently before the fall of Mêsêne?

The coasts of the country known under the general name of Beluchistan have always been barren and unhealthy. In early times, ships when they were unable to quit the coast nor avoid passing the nights in bays and creeks, the navigation gave a certain activity to these inhospitable parts. But the discovery of the monsoon gave the first blow to this unhappy country. The advance of navigation increased the evil. For the time preceding the use of the monsoon we have the account of Nearkhus; for times a little later we have the relation of the biography of Apollonius of Tyana when he returned from his visit to India.[39]

Herodotus tells us that Darius Hystaspes subjugated the whole valley of the Indus; this leads us to believe that he also occupied the coast of Gedrosia. But it is only necessary to read the account of Nearkhus to show that this occupation could not have been complete; and that it possessed no interest for the Persian government except with a view to maritime commerce more or less active at that date.[40] It was the same at a later date with the Arabs, when they had conquered Persia and the Indus valley. The populations of the interior were cantoned in the mountains, those of the coast were left almost to themselves.[41]

History tells us that the condition of Beluchistan under the rule of the Sassanidæ was almost the same, and that, if, for a time, the country was re-conquered, it was rather as a matter of boast than with a view to actual occupation. It is enough to cite three instances which seem to me decisive.

About 435 A.D. the Sassanian King Bahram Gor, seized with a desire for travel, visited India, and there, say oriental writers, he received from the king of India his daughter in marriage, and the district here under discussion.[42] These districts then did not belong to Persia. A century later, about 560 A.D., the king Khosrû-Nushirwan, who raised the government to great splendour, and who had a complaint of certain acts of piracy committed by Indian ships, caused these same provinces to be restored to him. Finally, a century after, about 640, the same districts according to the decisive testimony of Hiwen Thsang, were under the rule of an Indian prince.

Mirkhond relates that Nushirwan having despatched an army against the king of India, the Indian Prince sent deputies to him with presents, and that to obtain peace he gave up the *countries situated on the borders of Oman, which touch on the frontiers of Persia*, that is the modern Beluchistan.[43]

We have less difficulty in understanding the influence exercised by India over the eastern provinces of Persia, when we consider the religions of these countries. When Darius, son of Hystaspes, conquered these provinces, the worship of the inhabitants was probably a mixture of the Zoroastrian and Brahmanical cults, which were not then so settled as they were later. Under Aśoka about 240 B.C. Buddhism was introduced into the country by a teacher from Mathurâ called Upagupta[44] and made great progress. Then came the doctrines of the Indian Śaivas. If we add to this the worship of the Sun and of the goddess Nanea or Anaïtis, which had also penetrated the whole of the Indus Valley, we see that the inhabitants of eastern Persia belonged at the same time to India and Persia. When Hiwen Thsang passed through the Indus Valley about 640 A.D., in the same towns were professors of Zoroastrianism, Brahmanism, Buddhism, &c.

Now the question is to determine what king of India it was who for most of this time made his authority felt even over Beluchistan? India is a vast country, and, parcelled out as it almost always has been, we cannot imagine orders, issuing from the banks of the Ganges, put in execution in Beluchistan. With Sanskrit writers, however, Beluchistan and the valley of the Indus are not regarded as belonging to India properly speaking.[45] It is evident that according to the author of the *Periplûs*, India proper did not extend beyond the Ganges and Gulf of Khambay. The king in ques-

[39] *Philostrati Opera* (ed. Didot, p. 70), *Vit. Apoll. Tyan.* lib. iii. c. 53 seqq.

[40] Pliny says (lib. vi. c. 26) that the rule of Persia under the Akhæmenians did not extend to Gedrosia.

[41] See the Arabic work of Alestakhry, autograph text by M. Mœller, pp. 71 ff.

[42] Nikbi, *Recueil des notices et extraits*, t. II. p. 336.

[43] Silvestre de Sacy's text p. 245, and translation p. 372, where, however he has not rendered it with his usual precision, and this has led V. Saint-Martin (*Biographie Universelle*, t. XXII. p. 382, 1er ed.) into serious error. On the use of the term *Oman* here see above, p. 334.

[44] Conf. Burnouf, *Introd.* pp. 133, 221, 424 ff. and St. Julien's *Relat. des voyages de Hiouen Thsang*, t. I. p. 418, t. II. p. 171.

[45] See however Pliny, lib. vi. c. 23.

tion can only be sought for in the Indus Valley, This moreover is what Hiwen Thsang affirms.

Herodotus informs us that Darius, the son of Hystaspes, conquered the Indus Valley, and his testimony is confirmed by the cuneiform inscriptions engraved in his reign.[46] But Herodotus is careful to state that his conquest did not extend beyond the valley.[47] Persian and Arab writers who come later do not speak of Darius, and attribute the conquest of India to a king called Gustasp. They add that Gustasp gave the government of the Indus Valley to one of his grandsons named Bahman surnamed Deraz-Dest or Longimanus.[48] During his Government Bahman founded, in the north of the delta of the Indus, a city which he called Bahmanâbâd, or *city of Bahman*. After the death of his grandfather, Bahman returned to Persia, and mounted the throne; but at his death he left the crown to his daughter Humaï, in preference to his son Sassan, and the latter retired discontented to Bahmanâbâd where he had a family. From one of his children descended Sassan, the father of Ardeshir, founder of the dynasty of the Sassanian kings.[49]

Be this as it may, the existence of Bahmanâbâd as a city and even as a special seat of government is indisputable. It was found existing by the Arabs in 706 A.D. when they first arrived in the Indus Valley: it was there the king of the country resided. It continued to be the seat even of the government established by the Arabs.[50]

The names of four or five localities in Beluchistan are mentioned by Hiwan Thsang.[51] It is almost impossible that hè should not have mentioned Bahman-âbâd. Now there is a city which he calls the capital of the kingdom of Sindh, which he places exactly in the position of Bahman-âbâd, and which exercised supremacy over Beluchistan. Can the Chinese and Persian names be brought to coincide? The Chinese name was rendered in 1836 by Abel Rimusat, Klaproth and Landresse as *Pi-chen-pho-pu-lo*.[52] In 1853 M. Stanislas Julien, in his translation of the life of Hiwen-Thsang,[53] wrote the word *Vijanva-pura*. He transcribed it in 1858 in his translation of the travels of Hiwen-Thsang[54] as *Vichava-pura*. Finally in his *Méthode pour déchiffer et transcrire les noms sanscrits qui se rencontrent dans les livres chinois*,[55] he writes *Vijambha-pura*. In 1853 and 1858, M. Julien accompanied his transcriptions with a note of interrogation; in his later publication he gives the new transcription as definitive.

Now to express the word *city* the Persians say *abâd*,[56] and the Indians sometimes *pura* (Gr. πόλις) and sometimes *nagara*. Thus the last word need not trouble us, and we take up the first. Now *Bahman* ends in *n*, a letter often suppressed in Chinese; thus for *avadana* they write *po-to*. Then *Bahma* may be rendered as *Bahma, Bahpa, Bahba, Bahva, Basva, Vasva, Vasma,* &c. In fact *v* and *b* are employed indifferently. We know also that the Hindus employ indifferently *h* and *s*; thus in India they say *Hind* or *Sind;* so, to express 'seven' the Greeks said 'ἑπτά and the Latins *septem*.[57] Then in Chinese, while the name of Buddha is written *fo*, Bengal is written *mang-ga-la*, and *mang-ga-ta*. Now in *Pi-chen-pho*, we have a *p* in place of *b* and of *v*, a *ch* in place of *h* or *s*, and a *ph* in place of *m*—the whole giving Vasmapura and Bahmapura.

It is also possible that the natives, in place of *pura* used *nagara*, if as I am led to believe the city in question is the same as Minnagara of which Ptolemy and the *Periplûs* speak. Be this as it may, by a curious coincidence, Isidor of Kharax places a town named Minpolis[58] in the neighbourhood of the Indus.

[46] Rawlinson, *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. X. pp. 280, 294; Oppert, *Jour. As.* févr. 1852, pp. 141 ff.

[47] Bk. III. c. 101, and Bk. IV. c. 44.

[48] The Persian writers besides the name of Bahman give him also that of Ardeshir, which has led certain authors to confound him with Artaxerxes Longmanus. Moreover the word Bahman itself is susceptible of the sense of Long-Hand, if as often happens we substitute *s* for *h* and read *basu* (Sans. *bâhu*) in place of *bah*. See Bohlen *De Origine Linguæ Zendicæ e Sanscrita repetenda* p. 48. The Pehlvi form was Vohumano (Spiegel, *Die traditionelle Literatur der Parsen*, Vienna, 1860, p. 449). Perhaps Vohumano is equivalent to the Sansk. *Vasumanas*, a word which in the *Rig Veda* designates an indigenous person.

[49] Mouradgea D'Ohsson, *Tableau historique de l'Orient*, t. I. p. 355 seqq. t. II. p. 156; see also Reinaud, *Frag. arabes et persans inédits sur l'Inde*, p. 41.

[50] For an account of the revolutions through which Bahman-âbâd passed, see my *Mémoire geographique historique et scientifique sur l'Inde*, which appeared in tome XVIII. of the *Recueil de l'Académie*.

[Here follows a digression on the difficulties of identifying names written in Chinese, with reference to Sinibaldo de Mas, *La Chine et les puissances chrétiennes* t. I. p. 14; t. II. p. 250; M. Pauthier in *Jour. As.* September 1861, pp. 272 seqq. Léon de Rosny, *Essai sur la langue chinoise*. On the Mongol alphabetical writing called *passʻpa* from its inventor: *Jour. As.* avr. 1860, p. 321 and Jan. 1862, p. 5, and the identification of certain places in the author's *Mém. sur l'Inde*.—ED.]

[51] *Hist. de la vie de H.-T.* pp. 207 ff. 465; *Rel. du voy.* tom. II. pp. 169 ff.

[52] *Foe-koue-ki*, p. 393.

[53] P. 444.

[54] Tom. II. p. 170.

[55] Paris, 1861, p. 92.

[56] *Abâd* (اباد) is still used in Persia in the sense of 'a place where there is water,' 'inhabited place,' 'dwelling.' It is found in Pehlvi under the form *afât* (Spiegel, *Dic. traditionelle Litter.* p. 355). It is composed of *ab* or *af*, water, and the suffix *âd* indicating possession, and which exists in Sanskrit under the forms *at* and *ant*. For *abâd*, the Persians use also *abdan* (ابدان) or place containing water.

[57] Sansk.—*Saptan*, Zend—*haftan*, Greek—*hepta*, Latin—*septem*, German—*sieben*, Gothic—*sibun*, Lithuanian—*septyny*, Armenian—*eutan* (Bopp. *Vergleich. Gram.* II. p. 74).

[58] Μὶν πόλις—*Geog. Gr. Min.* tom. I. p. 258.

But to return to the *Periplûs:* the author says that as the Indus up to Minnagara had not sufficient depth, vessels anchored at a port near the mouth, and that goods were transported to Minnagara on barges. Ptolemy had given to the Indus Valley the name of Indo-Skuthia, and the author of the *Periplûs* makes use of that term, but adds that it was then under the rule of Parthian chiefs, continually at war with one another.[59]

Whence came the name Indo-Skuthia? It is true the Latin authors did not adopt it, and Dionysius Periegetes, who flourished towards the end of the first century, did not know it.

After the time of Aśoka, the Greek generals who had raised the standard of independence in Baktria crossed the Hindu Khush, and established their authority throughout the valley of the Indus; their power extended to the Ganges on the east and to the Gulf of Khambay on the south-east.[60]

The authority of the Greek kings of Baktria continued for more than a century. We know in a general way that their rule was not without its glory. We know also that while they made the Greek name respected, as is proved by their coins, they made concessions to the prejudices of the natives. For example, I am led to believe that the king Menander, whose beautiful coins the author of the *Periplûs* found still in circulation in the commercial cities of India,[61] had embraced Buddhism. In fact, Plutarch says that this prince made himself so beloved by the natives that at his death the people disputed among themselves for his ashes,[62] a circumstance which had taken place some centuries before for the body of Buddha, and which could not occur but with relation to a Buddhist and on the part of Buddhists. I suppose also that Menander is the same as king Milinda, who has left a memory well known to the Buddists of Ceylon.[63] Unfortunately these countries were too far off for the Greek historians to know of what passed in them, or what the Greek writers did say has been lost.

About 130 B.C. Phraates, king of the Parthians, meeting with great difficulties in his strife with the kings of Syria, appealed to the populations to whom the Greek writers give the name of Skuthes, and who, driven from their native country on the borders of China, had established themselves on the banks of the Oxus. These barbarians becoming embroiled with the Parthians turned to the east and seized upon Baktria.[64] Then after a time they left, in their turn, the Hindu Khush, and occupied all the countries that had been conquered by the Greeks from Kashmir to the sea, from Afghanistan to the Ganges and the gulf of Khambay. This is how the Indus Valley received from Ptolemy the name of Indo-Skuthia.

Coins of the Indo-Skuthian kings have come down to us; but we know nothing of their history, and but for the Chinese annals their occupation of the Indus Valley would have been to us a mystery. It is necessary to know that the policy of the Chinese government has always been to keep itself acquainted with the concerns of the various populations that dwell near the frontiers of the Celestial Empire, for the purpose of corrupting and setting the one against the other. It is only in this way that the Chinese empire has been able to maintain itself so long. Scarcely had the populations now in question quitted their country when spies were sent after them to observe their movements. This explains how the Chinese annals are so rich in historical and geographical notices of the countries at all times shut out from European nations. Deguignes, Abel Rémusat, and Klaproth have specially noticed that important chapter of the Chinese Chronicles.[65]

I cannot deal with the rule of the Skuthian kings in the Indus Valley without departing from my plan. I limit myself to a single fact; but that is a capital one, for the question at issue, and it alone is sufficient to prove that the *Periplûs* had no other date than that which I have assigned to it. I have said that the *Periplûs* was written, or at least received its last form, in the year 246 or 247 A.D., and that at the time of the compilation the Skuthians had been driven out by the warlike Parthians. Now the Chinese annals say that the rule of the Skuths in the Indus Valley continued till the time of the Han dynasty, which ruled from 221 to 263 of our era. Could we look for a more perfect agreement? James Prinsep, under the supposition that the occupation of the Indus Valley took place in 26 B.C., concludes that this occupation lasted 248 years.[66] M. Vivien de Saint-Martin, by placing the compilation of the *Periplûs* with Letronne in the last years of the second century, destroys their authority. In his *Mémoire* (1858) he goes further, and although continuing to insist on the import-

[59] *Periplûs*, § 38, *ante* pp. 138, 139.
[60] Strabo, lib. XI. c. xi.
[61] § 47, *ante* p. 148.
[62] Plut. *Præcepta gerendæ republicæ* (ed. Didot, tom. II., p. 1002).
[63] Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 512. Lassen and Weber made the first approaches to these conjectures.
[64] Strabo, lib. XI. c. viii.
[65] The most extended notices are by Pauthier in the *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VI. (1837) Jan. and a dissertation published in 1849 by M. Vivien de Saint-Martin in the *Annales des voyages*, under the title of *Les Huns blancs ou Ephthalites.*
[66] *Jour. A. S. Ben.* vol. VI. p. 63.

ance of the Chinese testimony, he forgets what he had said, and with M. Charles Müller he places the compilation of the *Periplûs* about the year 80 A.D.

The Greek writer says that in his time the Indus Valley was under the power of the Parthians,[67] continually at war among themselves. In fact he does not refer here to a conquest by the Arsacidan king—a conquest of which there is not a trace anywhere, but to an enterprise on the part of refugees and isolated individuals. The Persian writers affirm that Artâban, the last Arsacidan king, had four sons, and that after his death two of his sons, and especially the eldest, who was also called Bahman, took refuge in the Indus Valley.[68] Could we have a more satisfactory concurrence of testimony?

The *Periplûs* allows a vast area to Indo-Skuthia, and one is tempted to imagine that really the Parthian refugees had subjugated it entirely. Beginning from Kashmir and stopping only at the sea, it embraces not only the provinces conquered by Alexander, and where, he says, traces of the passage of the Macedonians were still seen, but the adjoining countries to the Ganges and Gulf of Khambay. Among the populations he names are the Aratri, Arakhosians, Gandharians, and the province of Peukêlaïs, where Alexander founded Boukêphala. In the time of Ptolemy, the capital of this vast state was the city of Minnagara on the banks of the Indus not far from the sea. Minnagara is a contracted form of Bahmanagara, which clears away all difficulties,—the Bâhmana near Tatta, the latter being locally known as Nagar.[69] The occupation of the Indus Valley by the Parthians does not seem to have lasted long. Be this as it may, it may explain the occurrence of a class of Arsacidan coins with both Persian and Indian characters.[70]

The chapter on India in Strabo is very defective. This he felt himself, for he complains of the want of trustworthy information.[71] In Pliny's time there were more sources; he had also collected a large number of names of people and places. Proudly he exclaims: "Quæ omnia gentium portuumve aut oppidorum nomina apud neminem priorum reperiuntur."[72] But most of his names are altered, and the place assigned to them is so vague that it is impossible to recognise it. Pliny is said to have used the map of Agrippa which had been prepared in the portico of that name; but for countries beyond the empire what value could a map have, prepared from the statements of men unversed in geography, and without the aid of geometry and astronomy?

The *Periplûs* could not avoid speaking of the monsoon. It mentions the wind of Hippalos, so called from the name of the Roman who first remarked its periodical recurrence. Pliny the Naturalist speaks of him as having lived shortly before his time. The author of the *Periplûs* speaks of him as early.[73]

[67] Ὑπὸ Πάρθων, and not as supposed ὑπὸ τῶν Πάρθων with the article.

[68] *Tableau historique de l'Orient*, Mouradgea d'Ohsson, t. II. p. 158 seqq; *Shah Nameh*, Calc. ed. vol. III. p. 1364 ff.

[69] *Jour. Ger. Or. Soc.* 1861, p. 696. Conf. Burnes's account and Pottinger's vol. II. p. 189.

[70] Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. I. p. 402, Ariana.

[71] Strab. lib. XV. ad init.

[72] Pliny, lib. VI. c. xxvi.

[73] This paper is a somewhat abridged version of the second half of a long Essay by M. Reinaud, the first draft of which appeared in the *Jour. Asiatique*, VIème Ser. tom. XVIII. (1861), pp. 223—262. It is intended to supplement Mr. McCrindle's version of the *Periplûs*, *ante*, pp. 107 ff.—ED.

MISCELLANEA.

METRICAL VERSIONS FROM THE *MAHÂBHÂRATA*.

BY JOHN MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., &c.

(*Continued from p.* 321.)

THE LASTING PAIN INFLICTED BY HARSH WORDS.

Mahâbhârata, xiii. 9787f. = v. 1172f.

The wound a foeman's trenchant steel
Inflicts, in time again will heal;
The tree a woodman's axe o'erthrows
Soon sprouts again, and freshly grows;
But never more those wounds are closed
Which harsh and cutting words have caused.
The shafts men's flesh which pierce and gall,—
A leech's skill draws out them all;
No power extracts the sharp word-dart,
Which rankles, bedded in the heart.

THE SAME.

Mahâbhârata, xiii. 4896; v. 1266.

The tongue discharges shafts of speech,
Which cut and torture those they reach.
They light on none but tender parts,—
They burn men's vitals, bones, and hearts:
Let none shoot forth those cruel darts.

PRAISE OF A DUTIFUL WIFE.

Paraphrased from the *Mahâbhârata*, i. 3027 ff.[1]

That dame deserves the name of wife
Whose husband is her breath of life,
Who on him ever fondly dotes,
To him her being all devotes;
Who, versed in all indoor affairs,
Her lord relieves of household cares,
Who fills his house, a mother proud,
With children bright, a merry crowd.

[1] These lines have been partially and differently versified in *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 241, and my *Religious and Moral Sentiments metrically rendered from Sanskrit writers*, p. 65.

A wife is half the man,—transcends
In value far all other friends.
She every earthly blessing brings,
And even redemption from her springs.
The men possessed of virtuous wives
Can lead at home religious lives.
They need not to the woods repair,
And merit seek through hardships there.[2]
A happy, joyful life they lead;
Their undertakings all succeed.
In lonely hours, companions bright,—
These charming women give delight;
Like fathers wise, in duty tried,
To virtuous acts they prompt and guide.
Whene'er we suffer pain and grief,
Like mothers kind, they bring relief.[3]
The weary man whom toils oppress,
When travelling through life's wilderness,
Finds in his spouse a place of rest,
And there abides, refreshed and blest.
When men at length this life forsake,
And other forms of being take,
Then, too, do faithful wives pursue
Their husbands all their wanderings through,
The wife who first departs, awaits
Her lord's approach at Hades' gates;
When he dies first, the faithful wife,
To join her spouse, resigns her life.

THE SAME.

Mahâbhârata, xii. 5503ff.[4]

Her husband's chiefest treasure, friend,
And comrade to his journey's end,—
A wife in duty aids her lord,
With gold she helps to swell his hoard;
Assists in all his hours of joy,
And seeks to spare him all annoy.
A spouse devoted, tender, kind,
Bears all her husband's wants in mind,
Consults his ease, his wishes meets,
With smiles his advent ever greets.
He knows, when forced abroad to roam,
That all is safe, with her at home.
In doubt, in fear, in want, in grief,
He turns to her, and finds relief.
When racked by pain, by sickness worn,
By outrage stung, by anguish torn,
Disturbed, perplexed, oppressed, forlorn,
Men find their spouses' love and skill
The surest cure for every ill.
The luckless wight who lacks a wife,
And leads a doleful single life,
Should leave his home, and lonely dwell
In some secluded forest dell,
And there should spend his days and nights
In fasting, penance, painful rites,—
For now, without a helpmate dear,
His house is but a desert drear.
Who then would live without a wife—
His house's joy and light and life?
With her the poorest hut will please,
And want and toil be borne with ease.
Without her, spacious gilded halls
Possess no charm,—all splendour palls.

SACRIFICE IS EVERYTHING.

Mahâbhârata, xii. 2320.

A man of wicked life, a thief,—
Of sinners, yea, the very chief,—
Is reckoned good, if so he bring
The gods a fitting offering.

THE RESULTS OF FORESIGHT AND COURAGE AND THEIR CONTRARIES.

Mahâbhârata, i. 8404f.

The prudent man, alive, awake,
To all the turns events may take,—
The vigorous man, prepared to brave
All strokes of fate,[5] however grave,—
Is never taken by surprise
When ills assail and troubles rise.
Though laid by rude misfortune low,
He does not faint beneath the blow,
But, soon recovering strength, is fain
To fight life's battle o'er again.
His manly spirit nought dismays,
He strives and hopes for better days.
But thoughtless men, who never see
Th' approach of dire calamity,—
Of yawning ruin never think,—
Until they stand upon its brink,
When trouble comes, oppressed and scared,
For struggling 'gainst it unprepared,
Succumb beneath the blows of fate,
And rise no more to high estate.[6]

[2] Four stages in the religious life of a Brâhman, viz., those of the student, householder, anchorite, and mendicant, are recognised by Indian writers, and the last are generally regarded as representing an advance in perfection. In one passage, however, at least, of the *Mahâbhârata*, xii. 343ff., preference is given to the householder's life, as more excellent than all the others; and an abandonment of domestic life is characterised as folly. I have introduced this sentiment here, although it is not expressed in the original of the passage translated.

[3] "When pain and anguish wring the brow,
A ministering angel thou."—SIR WALTER SCOTT.

[4] A continuation of the verses translated in *Religious and Moral Sentiments*, No. 64, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 202, No. 24.

[5] The word "fate" is used by me here merely in the sense of calamity.

[6] In these lines the ideas of the original are very much expanded. The following is a nearly literal translation:—
"The wise man is awake before the time of calamity. When it comes upon him he is never distressed. But the thoughtless man, who does not perceive that calamity is near, is distressed when it comes, and does not attain to great prosperity."

BOOK NOTICE.

HINDUISM; by MONIER WILLIAMS, M.A., D.C.L. London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge: 1877.

This may be regarded as an abridgment of the author's larger work entitled *Indian Wisdom,* and is a companion volume to Mr. Rhys Davids' little work on *Buddhism,* which was reviewed in these pages a few months ago (*ante* p. 178). There is much in it that is calculated to be useful to the general reader who does not care to take up the translations of the original works on which it is based. Of course the barest outline is presented of the ramifications of the huge system which the author attempts to depict, but the sketch is in the main correct, though not wholly so.

The fourth chapter is devoted to the consideration of the *Upanishads* and philosophy, and, under six heads, the author gives what he terms the common creed of the schools. He adds:—

"From a consideration of the above six essential elements of Brahmanical philosophy, we find that its one great aim is to teach men to abstain from action of every kind, good or bad; as much from liking as from disliking, as much from loving as from hating, and even from indifference. Actions are the fetters of the embodied soul, which when it has shaken off, it will lose all sense of individual personality, and return to the condition of simple soul." This however is not quite correct; for though actions are the cause of the renewed transmigrations which bind the soul to earth, still it is not strictly accurate to say that the "one great aim" of the systems "is to teach men to abstain from action," and that when this has been done, the soul loses "all sense of individual personality." The systematists rather teach that the soul is fettered by ignorance of certain truths which they endeavour to set forth; and they assert that when this ignorance has given place to true knowledge, emancipation is ensured at death.

The "one great aim" of the Vedânta, for example, is to set forth the unity of Brahma and individual souls; and it declares that when, after a course of instruction from a preceptor, and the practise of the prescribed amount of *Śravaṇa, manana, nididhyâsana,* and the two-fold *samâdhi,* the qualified aspirant so cognizes Brahma as to say "I am Brahma," he is practically free. He is charged indeed to live as becomes one who has attained to this high knowledge, but it is emphatically and repeatedly laid down that he is delivered from the effects of all actions but those which have already begun to bear fruit (*prârabdhâni*).

It is clear then that no mere abstention from action could effect deliverance; and that after the acquisition of a certain *knowledge,* actions are no fetter at all. It ought perhaps to be pointed out that what the learned author calls the "common philosophical creed" is more properly a set of axioms acknowledged by all the schools, forming the basis for the systems, but by no means containing their "essential elements."

There is rather an amusing slip on page 59. We read there that, "as unmarried student the young Brahman was to reside with his preceptor until he had gained a thorough knowledge of the three *Vedas.* He was to go through twelve *Sanskâras* or 'purificatory rites,' which purify a man from the taint of sin derived from his parents, and are enjoined with certain variations on all the three first classes alike." As it here stands, this sentence surely teaches that the 'purificatory rites' are to be performed by the 'unmarried student' himself, yet on referring to the list of them we find that it includes the *Garbhâdhâna, Pumsavana,* and such like!

On page 66, we learn that the object of certain funeral rites is "to furnish the *preta* with an intermediate body, between the *linga* or 'subtile' and the *sthûla* or 'gross body,'—with a body, that is to say, which is capable of enjoying or suffering, and which, as leading to another future gross body, is called by philosophers the *kâraṇa-śarîra* or causal body!"

This is certainly a remarkable statement, and the learned professor would seem to have forgotten that the 'causal body', of the Vedânta, is placed *inside* the subtile body, and is, as it were, the casket of the individual self. In fact, the existence of a subtile frame untenanted by a causal one, would be impossible. The causal frame forms the innermost of the five sheaths supposed to envelope every sentient being "like the coats of an onion," and is named the *ânandamaya.* It is not clear why, on page 206 (note), the professor speaks so doubtfully of this sheath. In enumerating the sheaths, he says: "These are called *Vijñâna-maya, Mano-maya, Prâna-maya, Anna-maya,* and a fifth is sometimes named *Ânandamaya.*" Why "sometimes"? G. A. J.

Bombay, 7th November 1879.

A SPURIOUS EARLY CHALUKYA COPPER-PLATE GRANT.

The accompanying plates give a facsimile,—from the original, which is in the British Museum,—of Mr. Fleet's *Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions,* No. XLIV. A transcription and translation of the grant, with remarks are given at vol. VII., p. 209. The grant purports to have been made in Śaka 411 (A.D. 489-90); but it is in reality a forgery of not earlier than the tenth century A.D.

I.

IIa.

IIb.

IIIa

IIIb.

IVa.

IVb

V

INDEX.

* Abbreviations :—

C.—cape.
c.—city.
ca.—caste.
Chô.—Chôla
co.—country.
d.—district.
E. Chal.—Eastern Chalukya.
Early Chal.—Early Chalukya.
g.—god, or goddess.
Ga.—Gaṅga.
Gûr.—Gûrjara.
Is.—Island or Islands.
k.—king.
Kaḷa.—Kaḷachurya.
l. m.—land-measure.
Mt.—mountain.
mot.—motto.
Nik.—Nikumbha.
o.—official.
Pall.—Pallava.
q.—queen.
r.—river.
Râsh.—Râshṭrakûṭa.
s.—sect.
Śilâ.—Śilâditya.
v.—village.
Va.—Valabhî.
W. Chal.—Western Chalukya.
W. Châl.—Western Châlukya.